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In this Issue:

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The Philippines: A Capsule History
Horacio de la Costa, S.J.

The Philippines in Transition
Thomas R. McHale

The Religion of Dr. Jose Rizal
Pedro Gagelonia

Making Rizal's Teaching Effective
Leopoldo R. Serrano

The Age of Awakening
Eduardo Lachica

Necrological Service for Paul Patrick Judge
Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr.

**Remarks at the Necrological Service of the Late
Paul Patrick Judge**
Hon. Alejandro R. Roces

Book Review

Index for 1963

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316

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VOLUME VII

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
The Philippines: A Capsule History <i>Horacio de la Costa, S.J.</i>	285
The Philippines in Transition <i>Thomas R. McHale</i>	293
The Religion of Dr. Jose Rizal <i>Pedro Gagelonia</i>	301
Making Rizal's Teachings Effective ... <i>Leopoldo R. Serrano</i>	324
The Age of Awakening	335
Part One — 1830: Manila Becomes An Open Port	
Part Two — The Early English	
Part Three — The Early Americans	
Part Four — The Spanish Houses	
Necrological Service for Paul Patrick Judge <i>Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr.</i>	382
Remarks at the Necrological Service for the Late Paul Patrick Judge — <i>Hon. Alejandro R. Roces</i>	
Book Reviews:	386
The Forest — <i>William Pomeroy</i> Reviewed by <i>F. Delor Angeles</i>	
Index for 1963	388

THE PHILIPPINES: A CAPSULE HISTORY*

By Horacio de la Costa, S.J.**

This paper gives a panoramic view by one of the most respected Filipino historians of Philippine history from the earliest time to the present.

The first inhabitants of the Philippines were probably the small black people whom the Spaniards called Negritos, and they probably crossed over when these islands were still connected by land bridges to the Asian mainland.

They were followed by Indonesian peoples of whom the hill tribes of the Mountain Province and of Central and Eastern Mindanao are the descendants, and then by seafaring Malays who drove their predecessors from the plains and river valleys and occupied them themselves.

When the Spaniards came to conquer the land in the latter part of the sixteenth century, they found these lowland peoples—Ilocanos, Pampangos, Tagalogs, Visayans—living in scattered clan communities and practising two types of rice cultivation—shifting and settled—which are still characteristic of Southeast-Asian Agriculture. There were two levels of society: the freeborn, and those who in varying degrees were less than free. These last, serfs and slaves owed tribute in goods and services to their masters, but had in turn a claim on their protection; both—tribute and protection—were regulated by customary law.

Certain advantageously located communities—Manila, Sugbu, Butuan—had become modest centers of trade and regular ports of call for Chinese and Moslem traders. The latter brought with them from Borneo and Indonesia to these trading towns not only the Moslem religion but more sophisticated forms of political and

* *Exchange News*, 3rd Quarter, No. 24, 1962, The U.S. Educational Foundation in the Philippines & the PFSA, Manila.

** FR. HORACIO DE LA COSTA, S.J., one of the most respected historians in the Philippines, received his basic education at the Ateneo de Manila. He holds a Ph. D. degree (history) from Harvard University and has been honored with a number of fellowships abroad. Head of the history faculty of Ateneo, he will soon assume a post-doctoral research associateship at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London.

social organization: monarchy, written law, planned military and economic enterprise.

But this indigenous evolution was arrested by the Spanish conquest, and native institutions were either modified or overlaid by those imposed by the conqueror. The Spaniards came to the Philippines equipped with three-quarters of a century of colonial experience in America. During that time they had developed certain institutions designed to reconcile the three main objectives of Spanish colonization: the extension of imperial sovereignty, the conversion of the native peoples to Christianity, and economic profit. "God, gold and glory"—objectives difficult to harmonize; but the attempt was made.

Conquered territory was divided into areas of jurisdiction called *encomiendas*, literally trust territories, and assigned to a conquistador or settler. The "encomendero" as trustee assumed the responsibility of maintaining peace and order in his *encomienda* and supporting the missionaries engaged in Christianizing the natives; in consideration of these services he was empowered to collect tribute. Certain requirements of the colonial government were met by the *repartimiento*, a system of requisitioning; thus, military and naval stores were requisitioned from the villages, and manpower for the shipyards, for the lumber camps that supplied them with timber, for the galleys of the inter-island fleet, and for the gold mines.

Missionaries, sent from Spain at government expense, kept pace with the "conquistador." They were, almost to a man, members of religious orders; the first Augustinians came with Legazpi's expedition in 1565, the Franciscans in 1577, the Jesuits in 1581, the Dominicans in 1587, the Augustinian Recollects in 1606. They divided the islands among them and established doctrines or mission stations everywhere they went. By bringing the scattered clan communities to settle together around the mission station, they introduced the first fundamental modification in Philippine society. They founded the Philippine town. The pattern they imposed upon it is still discernible in countless surviving examples: a cluster of wood and bamboo houses around a central square, and rising above them an adobe church, built (by Filipino and Chinese craftsmen under the missionary's amateur direction) in a style that has been well termed "earthquake baroque."

One important difference between the Philippines and Spanish America must be stressed at this point. In colonial Mexico, immigrant Spaniards constituted fully 30% of the total population; in the Philippines, the number of Spaniards at any time were

never more, and often far less than 1% of the whole. This meant that for all practical purposes, outside of Manila, the capital, the chartered cities of Vigan, Naga, Cebu and Hoilo, and the naval stations of Cavite and Zamboanga, the only representative of Spanish authority was the Spanish missionary. Even more than Mexico, the Philippines may be termed—in Robert Richard's phrase—"une conquete spirituelle," a spiritual conquest.

This "spiritual conquest" conferred on the Filipinos the same benefits as those which the acceptance of Christianity brought the peoples of Western Europe. The more odious forms of slavery were gradually abolished. Monogamy became the rule. The idea of law as being distinct from, and above the arbitrary will of the ruler, and of the ruler as being himself subject to the law, was established as a principle, if not always followed in practice. The catechism of Christian doctrine was translated into all the principal languages of the archipelago. The first edition, printed from wood blocks in Spanish and Tagalog, appeared in 1593; it was followed by countless others. For most Filipinos, the catechism was the sum and substance of whatever formal education they received. Often enough they learned it by rote; but when generation after generation learns something, even by rote, rote memory passes into folk memory. And so there passed into the very core of our culture the great truths of the little catechism: that there is a God; that all men are equal before God; and that every man, being made before God, has a dignity, has certain unalienable right, which no man can take away. In the beginning, the full implications of these truths were but dimly realized. But a seed was planted; it would grow.

The benefits of Christian faith and Spanish law were paid for. The price was high. The colony was divided into provinces and needy office seekers were sent to govern them in the capacity of *alcaldes mayores*. These provincial governors received only a token salary; their rapacity became proverbial. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch moved into Southeast Asia to wrest control of the sources of the spice trade from the Spaniards and Portuguese. Year after year they attacked and blockaded Manila, and Filipino labor and had to build and equip the ships with which the embattled Spaniards fought them off. Only towards the middle of the century, after Ternate and Tidore and Portuguese Malaca had fallen to the Dutch, was a *modus vivendi* reached. Meanwhile the Moslems of Mindanao and Sulu, whom the Spaniards repeatedly but unsuccessfully tried to bring under

their dominion, struck back in swift and savage raids which laid waste the islands as far north as the outskirts of Manila itself.

However, as many a French and British traveller had observed the Philippines was spared the worst evils of colonial exploitation. For one thing, the Philippines did not have the spices of the Moluccas, nor the silver of Mexico and Peru. For another, the Spaniards had found a fantastically lucrative source of income which did not involve exploiting the natives. This was the China trade. The Chinese badly wanted silver, while Spanish America, and Europe itself, were avid for silk and chinoiserie. Manila became the entrepot where this profitable exchange was effected. Moreover, the Chinese came not merely to trade but to settle. They soon became the craftsmen, the tradesmen and the middlemen of the colony, and by intermarrying freely with the native population contributed not insignificantly to the emergence of a middle class.

But while the China trade enriched the merchants of Manila, it scarcely paid for the upkeep of the colony as a whole. In fact, the colonial government could make both ends meet only with the aid of an annual subsidy from Mexico. This fact was not lost on the Bourbons, who, upon their accession to the Spanish throne in the beginning of the eighteenth century, brought to bear on the government of the empire the economic ideas of the French Enlightenment.

Ways and means were sought to make the Philippines more profitable economically. A Royal Philippine Company was formed to encourage the cultivation of commercial crops. The most successful of these crops, tobacco, was made a state monopoly. Meanwhile, the brief occupation of Manila by the British in 1762-63—an incident of the Seven Years' War—brought the possibilities of Philippine sugar to the attention of the British country trade. Agents of British companies trading with China began to finance sugar planting in Panay and Negros, thus laying the foundations of a great new industry. Towards the end of the century the Philippines was not only paying for itself, but sending money to Spain.

Because of this agricultural and commercial expansion, there now begins to form, between the upper level of Spanish officialdom and the lower level of the peasantry, a new Filipino middle class. The family of Jose Rizal, the national hero, was typical of this class. Rizal's father made a modest fortune by leasing land from the Calamba estate of the Dominicans and developing it with the aid of Kasama (share croppers), a pattern which would

henceforward be characteristic of Philippine agriculture. This made it possible for the family to give young Jose a college education; Jose thereafter, along with other Filipinos of the same social class, went on to the university and then abroad, to Europe, there to forge the Philippine nationalist movement.

All colonial regimes are, in a sense, self-liquidating. For no matter how benighted and exploitative, they must, by the very terms of the colonial problem, form a native elite. This elite is bound to grow both in numbers and maturity; it is bound to grow to the point where its members strike their heads against the ceiling which in all colonies the ruler from the ruled. And then they will ask: Why must there be this ceiling? Why cannot we, who are intellectually and every other way the equals of the master race, be their social equals also? And this is no great distance from the further question: Why indeed must there be masters? Why can we not be equals politically as well—not subjects but fellow citizens? Here then is the first stage in the transformation of a colony into a nation—the movement for reforms.

Compared with other colonial regimes, that of Spain was certainly not benighted, and it was only mildly exploitative. But the time came, in the nineteenth century, when the native clergy began to ask why the best parishes and preferments always seemed to go to the Spanish clergy. The most vocal of them were silenced; but this only made it worse. For then others began asking questions too—up-and-coming clerks in the bureaucracy, petty officials in the provinces, prosperous farmers and traders, rural school teachers with no future—asking the same questions about their Spanish superiors and counterparts. You will find all these types in Rizal's two novels, and you will find the second novel dedicated to Fathers Burgos, Gomez and Zamora, who were killed for asking questions.

In 1843 an early foreign correspondent, Sinibaldo de Mas, posed the problem neatly to the Spanish government. If you wish eventually to set the Filipinos free, he said in effect, then by all means give them an education, as you are doing now; but if you have no such intention, then do not even permit them to educate themselves.

The dilemma was not perceived. Spain allowed the most intelligent Filipinos to educate themselves; and then refused to set their people free.

Rizal and his companions were reformalists, not revolutionaries. They wanted social and political equality for Filipinos, but within

the colonial framework. They were groping toward the kind of commonwealth into which, decades later, the British managed to transform their empire. But Spain, which had almost within living memory lost her empire in America, was not in a mood for concessions. The leadership of the Philippine nationalist movement passed, as Rizal had foretold it would pass, to more radical hands; to Bonifacio and Jacinto; and the result was the Revolution of '96.

It was a revolution manquée. The Spanish-American War brought Dewey's warships steaming into Manila Bay, and when the smoke of battle cleared, the Filipinos realized that they had merely changed masters.

But the change was a change. The new colonial power was one which had itself experienced colonial rule, and which had thrown off the yoke of revolution successfully completed. It was therefore highly sympathetic with Filipino aspirations, and gave practical expression to this sympathy in the solemn commitment to grant the Philippines independence "as soon as a stable government shall be established therein."

Under American rule, Filipinos advanced in their understanding of democratic institutions, and in their capacity to operate these institutions for themselves. Sergio Osmeña, in particular, developed a Philippine parliamentary tradition, as Manuel Quezon did an executive tradition. They sought independence from the United States, but there was never any doubt in their minds as to the kind of independent state they wanted. Representative government; the separation of powers; the concept of public office as a public trust; a civil service based on merit; training for citizenship in a system of general education accessible to all; all these bulwarks of the American constitution became in a few decades the pillars of the Philippine political system.

It should be pointed out, however, that this education in democracy might not have been as successful as it was had it not been preceded by three centuries of education in Christianity; in those momentous questions and answers of the little catechism which form the best, and perhaps the only secure frame of reference for a democratic system. And this too must be pointed out: that American rule did not succeed in providing a solid economic base for the democratic institutions which it introduced. The free-trade arrangement between the Philippines and the United States encouraged the development of a plantation and export-crop economy which, in effect, transformed the small independent farmer

into a landless tenant and handed political power over to a landlord class.

Be that as it may, the Japanese invasion served to bring out, in untold suffering but with the utmost clarity, how close Filipinos and Americans had come in a common consensus on the ultimate values of human life and purpose. Nowhere in Asia did a subject people fight with such stubborn loyalty by the side of their local colonial rulers against an Asian power. They did so because they looked upon that power—at least as it was at that time— as a common enemy; not America's alone but theirs; not a threat to a culture that was Western and therefore alien, but to the culture that was their own.

In 1946 the United States liberated the Philippines from the Japanese military occupation and, keeping a deadline which had been set ten years earlier, gave its independence. Freedom has brought many difficulties, but no one could have foreseen the dimensions which these difficulties actually assumed. It was quite clear in the 1930's that independence would put their economy under a severe strain; but no one allowed for the possibility that they would have to meet that strain with an economy severely damaged by three years of war and enemy occupation.

Up to the present time, and doubtless for some time still to come, the principal problem facing the Philippine Republic is to provide its democratic institutions with a sound economic and social base.

A democracy is such in name only unless the governed widely participate in the decisions of the government, and effectively control its operations. They cannot do so unless the vote they cast is both a free vote and an instructed vote. But this is impossible without an economy that assures the majority of the people an independent, or at least a secure source of livelihood, and the education that will enable them properly to discharge the duties of citizenship. Here then is one aspect of the problem: how to develop a national economy that will produce enough, and whose product will be equitably distributed.

There is this also to be considered. A republic cannot survive unless its members understand, and are loyal to, the *res publica*, that public interest which must often override the interests of family, group or region. And yet the strongest loyalties in Philippine society have been traditionally, and to a large extent are still, to the family and its various extensions. How to widen the scope

of these loyalties to embrace the nation as such, subsidiary groups which make a nation a living organism—here is the other aspect of our contemporary problem.

The Philippines must solve this problem under the almost intolerable pressures of a cold war. If it fails to solve this problem, it will be one more bastion lost to the free world. No great loss, perhaps, but a loss; and a loss in a deadly game where no one can afford to lose. But if it succeeds, it may in its own small way make history.

Given the unique synthesis of East-Asian and West European elements that is its culture, may it not hereafter serve as a middle pier on which a bridge may be pitched between the two great traditions? These islands which Columbus sought and Magellan found, this half-way house to the lands of the Great Khan, the great continent of Asia, may it not be once again the meeting place of Eastern junks and Western galleons, exchanging not silk and silver, but those great ideas by which the peoples of the world have for so long lived separately, and in the light of which they must now walk together?

THE PHILIPPINES IN TRANSITION *

By Thomas R. McHale

The author, who is familiar to students of Philippine socio-economic development, discusses the transitional institutional forces that affect the traditional institutions and values of Filipino society.

In recent years, the Philippines along with numerous other "developing" nations of the world, has experienced an accelerated change in many of its basic social institutions. To put it simply, we can describe these changes as part of the transition from a traditionalized, agriculturally oriented socio-economic structure to one more in line with the goals and institutions of a modern industrial society. The actual situation, however, is more complex, and a number of other factors not necessarily related to industrialization have been involved. These include changes in the demographic structure, shifting loci of political power, and the "demonstration effect" of numerous external agencies which have widened both taste and aspiration horizons.

While it cannot be ignored that a small minority of individuals and groups resident in the Philippines over the past two centuries were outside the "traditional agricultural" orientation of Filipino society, these individuals and groups, until recently, had been associated with the "foreign" Euro-Americans or Chinese sectors of the community. In the contemporary Philippines, however, "non-traditional" attributes have involved a significant and increasingly larger number of Filipinos. The terms "transitional Philippines" as well as "transitional Filipino," therefore, are both descriptive and highly relevant to discussions of the contemporary Philippine scene.

This article will concern itself with the transitional process as it affects the traditional institutions and values of Filipino society. By focussing on five underlying forces contributing to this transition and, where possible, providing quantitative as well as qualitative dimensions to such forces both the nature and direction of change will be suggested.

* *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Published by the Association for Asian Studies, Inc., Vol. XX, No. 3, 1961, pp. 331-391.

It should be noted that the selection of five transitional forces is an arbitrary and subjective one; equally illuminating frames of analytical reference might be constructed by shifting to alternative taxonomic identification of transitional forces in the contemporary milieu of Philippine life. To be noted, too, is the fact that the forces of transition discussed are invariably interrelated and almost always many-sided in their impact. When specific transitional forces are treated in isolation, therefore, the reader should understand that it is done for convenience of analysis than as an attempt to blink at the complexity of interrelations involved.

Shifting Population Ratios

The base upon which the traditional Filipino socio-economic system rests is agricultural land. In its functional use, in its income flows, and in its alienation patterns, agricultural land plays a fundamental role in the ordering of society. Individual social relationships, class status, production goals, consumption patterns, and the very ethos of the system, are all closely linked with land control. Within the traditional system, land is not considered as one of several variable, and monetarily measurable, input factors of production. It exists as a unique social, political, and economic factor around which all other factors tend to be aligned, rather than as one of several factor inputs in the economist's "theory of the firm."

Basic to any analysis of transition in the Philippines is the shifting population-land ratio brought about by the large relative and absolute growth in population. Rapid population growth in itself is not something entirely new to the Philippines. In the nineteenth century, the population of the islands tripled; annual population increments in the first three decades of that century probably averaged nearly two per cent with a number of shorter periods in the century in excess of 2.5 per cent. New to the situation is the rapid growth combined with the almost complete disappearance of "frontier lands" in the Philippines lowlands.

The mid-1960 population of the Philippines was approximately twenty-seven and a half million. No breakdown of this population figure is available regarding labor force status, but the Bureau of Census' Statistical Survey of Households, carried out in May of 1956, indicated that the labor force of the Philippines was 9.5 million at that time; a conservative projection of this figure for 1960 would give a labor force of about 10.5 million. Land that can be brought under cultivation in the Philippines

totals, probably at the very most, ten to eleven million hectares, of which approximately 7.1 million hectares is now being farmed. The arable land-labor force ratio, using cultivated and potentially cultivable land on the one hand and the total labor force available for all productive occupations on the other, works out close to one hectare to one.

The significance of this low availability of land relative to high availability of labor, using "aggregate" figures, takes on added significance when we note three additional facts: (1) the average Filipino farmer using traditional tools and techniques, and with a single carabao, can usually handle about 2.5 hectares of lowland rice land, the most important of the labor-intensive agricultural activities in the Philippines, and with two carabaos he can usually double this figure; (2) there is no significant tendency to shift to more labor-intensive techniques or crops in the Philippines; (3) most of the potentially arable though still uncultivated land remaining in the Philippines is unsuitable for such a labor-intensive crop as lowland rice.

In the absence of substantial new outlets for labor developing in other sectors of the economy, the difficulty of maintaining optimum labor force-agricultural land factor proportions, even to perpetuate the traditional techniques of production, is clear. It is also obvious that farm mechanization, "rationalization" of current traditional agricultural practices, or the introduction of labor-saving technology compounds the labor factor proportion problem.¹ In recent history, labor has become more and more redundant in relationship to available arable land in terms of traditional factor proportions in the Philippines; to an increasing degree, labor has been forced to look elsewhere for a productive place in society.

While traditional agriculture serves as the base for a way of life and a livelihood that is all-embracing, employment outside of this context involves specific monetary relationships, technical competencies, functional specializations, impersonal markets, time as an important dimension of economic activities, and "marginal" measurements. The individual no longer has the security of a traditional fixed place and role; instead his labor becomes merely

¹ Mechanization of Philippine agriculture has increased slowly but steadily over the past fifteen years, particularly in the sugar industry. In 1959, 5,223 agricultural tractors were reported to be in use in the Philippines, 1,999 of which were in the sugar growing province of Negros Occidental. The use of tractors in the rice industry is now becoming more common, and the Central Luzon rice bowl had over a thousand tractors operating in 1959.

one of many competitive inputs in the production process, with status and role largely dependent on his function. This is the case with the growing number of Filipinos who must turn from agriculture for their livelihood.² Their transitional role is formed by circumstances rather than by their own design, but the result—a push out of an agricultural land-based society—has much the same effect as that experienced by others pulled to the city and towns by their promise of better things.

Urbanization

A second major transitional force in the Philippines is urbanization. One explanation for the increasing numbers of individuals in urban areas can be found in the aforementioned general growth of population—yet this is only part of the picture. The growth of Manila, the key urban area of the Philippines, has been far more rapid than the growth of the population as a whole. To a slightly lesser degree, this also holds for the smaller urban centers.

Obviously, the traditional Filipino socio-economic system cannot thrive in an urban setting. Even when adaptations have permitted the survival of some elements of the system, urbanization, by its very nature, constantly undermines the base of the traditional system. Of fundamental importance is the fact that an individual must establish a far wider range of personal contacts, few of which can be oriented around or structured on the basis of traditional kinship ties and status patterns. In traditional rural agricultural areas, it is possible to limit significant “social” and “economic” interaction to a relatively small group of individuals, all well known to each other, and all with fairly well-defined roles and status characteristics. Urban life, on the other hand, requires interaction with a constantly changing and ever-widening number of individuals. This in turn, requires a new set of attitudes and

² The very concept of unemployment was unknown in the Philippines at the turn of the century, and the descriptive literature of the first decade of the century is filled with statements about labor shortages and the possible desirability of bringing Chinese coolie labor to work in the expanding agricultural enterprises.

In recent years, and at an accelerated rate since the end of the Second World War, unemployment has become a widely recognized problem. Many people are now treating it as the most critical and basic of the economic problems facing the nation.

Estimates of unemployment in any underdeveloped area like the Philippines are largely a function of definition, and are in no way comparable to figures used in the industrially developed nations of the world. A basic defect lies in the absence of any meaningful measurements of underemployment. Nevertheless, total unemployment estimates in 1956 by the Philippine Statistical Survey of Households were 1,182,000 out of a labor force of 9,497,000 or over 12.5 per cent. P.S.S.H. Bulletin, Series No. 1, Vol. I, 16.

a new frame of interpersonal reference. The relationships that emerge are frequently functional and transient. The specific rights and obligations and the emphasis on contractual economic ties are in distinct contrast to the customary and diffused web of relationships which characterize the traditional rural society.

Education

The impact of formal education in the Philippines, particularly over the past six decades, has been tremendous in both the quantitative and qualitative sense. The expansion in the number and variety of schools in the Philippines has been extremely rapid and has brought "education" to a large and growing segment of the population. In substance, the development of the educational system has introduced a wide range of new ideas, has significantly increased aspirational levels, and has offered new symbols of prestige; at the same time, it has served to erode the foundations of authority patterns and value hierarchies within the traditional system throughout the Philippines.

The transitional impact of the present Philippine educational system is not hard to find. Education has vastly expanded the social, political, and economic horizons of Filipinos by bringing more and more Filipinos into the mainstreams of Western knowledge as well as increasing self-knowledge; it has been a prime mover in the expansion of material and status aspirational levels by introducing a whole new range of "wants"; and it has ignited a competitive spark in both business activities and in the professions by equating success with positions of "achieved" leadership and power.

Education has also been responsible for the creation of, and the awareness of, status symbols external to those ascribed by the traditional kincentric social structure. It has focused attention on technical expertise in such fields as accounting, engineering, and law, which have role or status as such in the traditional system. It is significant to note that the Filipino political and business elite today, almost without exception, is composed of individuals with an English-language education or with a full command of the English language.³

³ The Philippine educational system, both public and private, has been a prime carrier of a Weberistic "Protestant ethic" in the Philippines since the turn of the century. Emphasis on "pluck, not luck," "the sanctity of work," and the desirability of continuously striving to improve one's material surroundings are all to be found in American-oriented educational system of the twentieth century. It is worthy of note that much of the leadership in the spreading of the "Protestant ethic" was supplied by American-trained Catholic educationists, particularly the Jesuits.

Communications

The combination of widely increased literacy and a mass press media, plus the growth of other communications media such as radio, movies, and television, has made a deep impact on the traditional system. The written and spoken word, formerly restricted in range to the small and mostly face-to-face contact group of kinsmen or perhaps a small group of social peers, now reaches an ever-widening audience and cuts across all the traditional barrier lines of social or kinship groupings.

It is now possible for individual Filipinos to relate their attitudes, social and economic goals, and aspirations to a large part of the total population. Such means of communication provide a vehicle for developing appeals on class, industry, or political party lines wholly outside a vehicle the traditional kincentric patterns. The increasing range and speed of communications have also cleared the way for the modern advertiser as well as for the aggressive merchandising techniques of American business aimed at the development of mass tastes and mass markets.

Increasing Monetization

The increasing monetization of the overall Philippine economy and the growth of a "price" market orientation can be listed as another important transition force in the Philippines.

One indication of the increasing monetization of the Philippine economy can be found in the increasing money supply. Statistical evidence for inter-temporal comparisons is difficult to handle with precision, since there was no officially established monetary system in the Philippines until early in the twentieth century; but "order of magnitude" comparisons can be made and are suggestive.

Before 1903, a myriad of foreign currencies circulated, including the pound sterling and the American dollar, gold and silver metallic units from Spain and Spanish America, and a small amount of bank-issued notes. The numerous and varied "monies," in addition to changing price levels, population growth, and changes in real income, all bear on the problem of comparison. By marshalling a number of basic facts, however, a good indication of the growth of monetization of the economy can be gained.

At the beginning of the century, 35,000,000 would be a reasonable estimate for the total money supply in the Philippines. By 1950, the money supply had increased to 1,299 million pesos;

in 1959 it had moved beyond 1.8 billion pesos, roughly fifty times the estimated level of 1900.

Adjusting these figures for population growth alone, the per capita money supply has increased from about six pesos in 1900 to approximately sixty-seven pesos in 1958. Deflating this for an upward shift in the price levels, roughly estimated at four times those of 1900, the per capita adjusted figure would still be several times what it was at the turn of century. This calculation makes no attempt to include the rapid expansion of "near money" in the Philippines in recent years nor the increased velocity of money circulation, both of which would substantially increase the degree to which the economy has been monetized.

It is not difficult to see how the increasing use of money in the Philippines and the increasing number of transactions that have taken place in price markets are both symptomatic of, and a causal factor in, the breakdown of the traditional socio-economic system. Money is now a necessary and appropriate means of securing what was, in the traditional system, largely the function of an individual's kin and social class relationships and realignments. Money and markets are now important factors in the provision of one's individual welfare, which, in the traditional system, was almost exclusively embedded in kincentric relationships.

The monetization of the economy also weakens the traditional system by making money goals for individuals more important than status goals internal to the kincentric group. Money provides power, prestige, and control over resources that, in the traditional system, were the function of the kincentric and social class system. Money also lends it self to double entry bookkeeping and the treatment of production enterprises as discrete firm operations apart from kin relationships.

Monetization of the economy also permits a greater degree of identification of class and industry interest beyond family ties. The relationship of a wage labourer to his employer, for example, can be expressed in terms of the monetary transaction involved in the wage payment; such a payment is time-restricted and free from the traditional system's diffuse web of social obligations and from the responsibilities between two individuals. Money wages provide the labourers as a class with a common denominator that is easily identifiable—wage levels.

As production moves into price markets, a similar development takes place in the recognition of industry interests. Once production moves outside the range of the traditional system's

restricted kincentric context, common denominators in terms of prices and costs promote industry-wide awareness of common problems and make industry organization feasible.

An excellent example of this development in the Philippines can be found in the sugar industry, the first industry to organize around a highly standardized product, a common modern technology, and specific economic production functions. The organization of the modern centrifugal sugar industry involved price markets for both products and production factors tied very closely to a world price structure. The common sharing within the industry, rather than within a kin aggroupation alone, of the impact of price fluctuations, tariff levels, and quota restrictions, ultimately led to the formation of associations wielding political and economic power largely on the basis of industry interests. The basis of these associations transcended kinship, linguistic, or regional ties, and related almost exclusively to the common economic function of the individuals within the economy. Particularly over the past decade, there has been a tremendous growth in the importance of the Sugar Bloc in the Philippines, as well as a rapidly increasing number of similar organizations representing such varied groups as the "Filled Milk" producers and cement manufacturers.

The five transitional forces outlined have set in motion fundamental changes in the nature of Philippine society: there is every indication that their impact is only beginning to take effect. Traditional values and traditional social institutions are nonviable and are becoming increasingly anachronistic as their agrarian base is eroded. New institutional forms such as the business corporation and the professional associations are growing in importance while kincentric and local territorial ties weaken. New problems, such as high unemployment and juvenile delinquency are emerging as endemic problems. In contemporary Philippine politics, business, and popular culture, one finds a growing response to the ubiquitous transitional forces canvassed in this article.

THE RELIGION OF RIZAL

By Pedro A. Gagelonia *

"RELIGION is the most saintly thing, most pure, most fantastic," said Rizal, "so that it escapes from all human sophistications."¹

When reminded by his mother on December 11, 1884 never to forget his duties as a true Christian, Rizal answered: "What you said about my duties as a Christian, I have the pleasure of being able to tell you that never for a moment have I stopped believing in the fundamental principles of our religion: my childhood beliefs have given place to the convictions of youth, which in the course of years will take root in me: essence that will not undergo revision thru examination and change of time should become an affair of the mind and cease to be a matter of the heart; one should not strive to live in illusions and falsehoods. What I do believe now, I believe through reasoning and it is because my conscience can not accept more than what is compatible with thought. I can bow my head before what is to me a mysterious thing, provided that it comes from a fact, but never to something absurd, neither to a probability.... I believe that I would be remiss in my duty of being rational if I prostitute my reason and accept what is absurd. I believe that God would not punish me if in trying to understand Him I use reason and intelligence, His most precious gift; and I believe that to honor Him more all I have to do is present myself to Him and make use of the best that He has given me.... If sometime I shall come to possess a little of that divine acumen that is called science, I will not hesitate to use it for the service of God, and if in my reasoning I make a mistake, I commit an error, God will not punish me."²

Rizal did not write nor publish any religious or theological treatise but a vivid scrutiny of his various works, writings and letters reveals that he was truly a devout and religious man. His religiousness stemmed from his clear understanding of the prin-

* Dr. Gagelonia is a member of The Faculty of The Department of History, Institute of Arts and Sciences, Far Eastern University.

¹ *One Hundred Letters of Rizal to His Parents, Brother, Sisters, Relatives*, Philippine National Historical Society, Manila 1959, p. 226.

² *Loc. cit.*

principles and tenets of the different religions particularly the Christian religion.

Among the very few things beyond the possibility of tangible proofs that man accepts and believes, is the existence of an Omnipotent Power that fixes humanity to varied religions. To Rizal, man's, knowledge of God, the Supreme Being and His nature is possible through the use of reason. In a letter to Father Pastells in 1892 he made it plain that reason is the gift given to man by God to guide him in life. He said:³ I do not consider as very censurable the act of looking at one's affairs through the prism of one's judgment and self-love, because God must have given such qualities to man for some purpose. If we were to look at our personal affairs through the prism of others, we would find that it is not very practical and as there as many prisms as there are individuals, we would not know which to choose — and in choosing we still would have to use our own judgment unless we chose indiscriminately, in which case, the result would be that everyone of us would be wise in another's house, and other people would direct our acts and we theirs, and everything then would be confusion unless we renounce in favor of others private judgment and our self-love. This, in my opinion, would be offending God because it is tantamount to scorning His most precious gifts. I say so because I think that when God endowed everybody with a mind of his own, he did what was best and he does not wish that he who has less brains should think like the one who has more, and vice-versa, in the same way that no one digest the stomach of another; rather like perfect machines, different from one another and each one adapted to purposes He should know, each is designed to consume so much coal in its engine, to run so many miles, and to move with so much speed, and He should know why He made them that way.

To me, the mind is similar to the lamp that a father gives to each of his sons before they set out on a trip along rough and tortuous paths. To the son who will pass through storms, the father will shield the light with strong glasses. If the light is of inflammable gas, he will protect it with a wire screen like a miner's lamp. If the bearer suffers from photophobia, he will give him smoked lenses and if, on the contrary, the son has cataracts, he will provide an electric light, especially so if the son has to traverse very dark roads. Unfortunate would be the son who out of whim

³ *Dr. Jose Rizal—Fr. Pablo Pastells Religious Controversy*, R. Martinez & Sons, Quezon City, 1961.

or madness exchanges while on the way his lamp for another. Everyone should try to keep and improve what he has; no one should envy or despise another although he should not fail to take advantages of the rays from the other lights and of the signs and warnings left behind by those who have preceded him.

With regard to self-love, I must confess I have been praying for a long time that God dispossess me of it, but He who knows what is best for us, has preserved it. I understand now that a man should never be without it, though he should never exaggerate it. I think self-esteem is the greatest good given by God to man for the latter's perfection and integrity, because it saves him from many perverse and vile acts when the precepts which he has learned or have been inculcated upon him are forgotten. Precisely, love, when not exaggerated, should be regarded as something noble, not unlike the sap that forces the tree to grow up in search of the sun, the power that launches the steamship on its course. Reason, however, should temper or moderate self-love. To me, man is a masterpiece of creation, so perfect in his nature, that he cannot be deprived of any his component parts, physical or moral, without disfiguring him and making him miserable.

I do not know how you will take these ideas of mine. Perhaps you will consider them as too bold and independent, but I am really like that, I have been brought up that way, and I would be offending you if I did not write what I sincerely feel. I do not believe they are motivated by pride, and I do not even know whether I am proud or not: only God who cannot err in His judgments can tell".

The Roman Catholic Church maintains that "the natural light of reason rightly used can lead man to a clear knowledge of the existence of God and the infinity of His perfections."⁴ Rizal's view is definitely in line with that of the Catholic Church as manifested in the Vatican Councils Statement in 1870, to wit:

"Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God, the beginning and end of all things, may be certainly known by the natural light of human reason by means of created things... God... can be known as a cause through his effects."⁵

"Every human being," avowed Pope John XXIII has the right to honor God according to the dictates of an upright conscience

⁴ Vide, Walter Marshall Horton, *Christian Theology An Ecumenical Approach*, Harper & Bros., N. Y. 1955, p. 56.

⁵ Canon George D. Smith (ed.), *The Teachings of the Catholic Church*, Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1952, London, p. 31.

(*ad rectam normam conscientiae*). One must never confuse error and the person who errs, not even when there is a question of error or inadequate knowledge of truth in the moral and or religious field."⁶

Canon George D. Smith asserts that according to the Catholic teaching "the power of the human mind is not limited to the mere knowledge of God; he can know many of his own duties in regard to his Creator . . . he can learn naturally much concerning his own nature and destiny . . . There is, in short, a whole body of religious truth . . . which man is able to acquire with certainty by the use of his natural powers."⁷

To Rizal the very foundation of true religion depends on man's concept of the Supreme Being, the concept of which is derived from reason superimposed by conscience. Said he to Father Pastells.⁸ Not so much by faith but by reasoning and by necessity, I firmly believe in the existence of a Creator, Who is He? What human sounds, what words of any language can envelop the name of such Being whose works stagger the imagination that pictures them? Who can give Him an adequate name when a petty human being here with an ephemeral power has two or three names, three or four surnames, and many titles and nicknames? We call him *Dios* in Spanish, but that name merely recalls the Latin *deus* and the Greek *Zeus*. How is He? I would ascribe to Him to an infinite degree all the beautiful and holy qualities that my mind can conceive if fear of my ignorance did not restrain me. Somebody has said that each man makes his God to his own image and likeness, and if I do remember wrong. Anacreon said that if the bull could imagine a god, it would imagine him to be like itself—horns and bellowing in a superlative manner. Nevertheless, I believe God to be infinitely wise, powerful, and good; but I cannot but consider my idea of the infinite imperfect and confused, when I consider the wonders of His works, the order that reign in them, their overwhelming magnificence and extent, and the goodness that shines in all of them. The lucubrations of a poor worm, the least of all creatures on this earth, however crazy they may be, can never offend His inconceivable majesty. The very thought of Him overwhelms me, make me giddy, and every time my reason tries to lift up its eyes to that Being, it falls stupefied, dazzled, con-

⁶ Francis X. Murphy, C.S.S.R., "Pope John XXII Pastor and Theologian," *The Catholic World*, Vol. 197, New Jersey, August, 1963, p. 323.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

founded. Fear seizes me, and I prefer to keep silent to being Anacreon's bull.

Penetrated by this vague but irresistible feeling before the inconceivable, the superhuman, the infinite, I leave its study to clearer minds. I listen in suspense to what the different religious say, and incapable of passing judgment on what exceeds my comprehension, I content myself with studying Him in His creatures, my fellow-beings, and in the voice of my conscience, which can come from no other but Him alone. I try to read and guess what His will might be in the things which surround me and in the mysterious feeling I have within me the purity which I endeavor to preserve above all things so as to enable to act in accordance with it."

Christian philosophy has since its advent attempted to see the universe as a "sphere of freedom, of contingency and at the same time of Providence." St. Thomas Aquinas' convincing argument is a statement viewing God's relation to the world order which he thought was implied in the Christian faith and validated by strict proper rationalization. "God", he said "is the End of all Things; hence it is certain that he governs and rules all things by his providence, directing and guiding them physically or spiritually to their destiny. God moves all things in being for as colour disappears with the quenching of the light, so all things would cease to be, did not God conserve them." Moreover, God is the principle of action in everything that is done, for God is in all things. . . . "But the operations of providence are mediated through secondary causes or natural agents. One of these secondary causes is the will of man; this will is free, yet the motions of the will are themselves caused by God. . . . Whatever God foresees will occur, but God foresees that some events will take place contingently, and some by the free choice of men."⁹

Socrates (470 B.C.—399 B.C.), the self-confessed agnostic holds an enviable position among the religious teachers of mankind by virtue of his reverence for the sacred and ideal. He was no theological teacher nor in any way an ethical preacher, he subscribed to no creed, but in his honest and faithful reverence before the Right, The Beautiful and The True as man may conceive them, he is truly and supremely a religious man. Realizing the limits of man's powers, he said: "In this respect, I believe myself to differ from man in general, and may perhaps claim to be wiser than they

⁹ Nathaniel Micklew, *Religion*, New York, 1950, pp. 133-135.

are: — that whereas I know but little of the next world, I do not suppose that I know: but I do know that injustice and disobedience to some thing higher, whether God or man, is evil and dishonorable, and I will never fear or avoid a possible good rather than a certain evil.

Rebuking his countrymen, he said: "Men of Athens, I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting anyone whom I meet and saying to him as my habit is: you, my friend,—a citizen of the great and wise and mighty city of Athens,—are you not ashamed of trying to get as much money and honour and reputation as possible, while remaining careless and indifferent to wisdom and truth and the greatest perfection of your soul? . . . I think that he has no virtue in him but only says that he has, I reproach him with undervaluing the greater, and overvaluing the less and I shall repeat the same words to everyone whom I meet, young and old, citizen and alien, but especially to any fellow-Athenians, because they are more closely related to me. For I know that this is the command of God, and I believe that no greater good has ever happened to Athens than my service to the God."¹⁰

Rizal believed that God is knowable although he admitted that He is so far beyond man's comprehension or ability to understand adequately and fully. Rizal described Him as "Inconceivable" or "Inscrutable" and attributed the following qualities to God: "Infinitely wise," "the intelligence that moves the machinery of the world," "the Almighty," "infinitely powerful," "inconceivable majesty," "Highest good," "divine purity," "just," "merciful," "God of Mercy," "Creator," etc. These attributes are in keeping with what we found in various theological books or treatises, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic.

This attitude of Rizal is also reflected in another letter he wrote to Father Pastells on April 4, 1893 which in part is as follows:¹¹ "We are in complete accord in admitting the existence of God. How can I doubt His existence when I am convinced of my own? To admit the effect is to admit the causes. To doubt God's existence is to doubt one's own awareness; and to doubt one's own awareness is to doubt everything, and in such a case, what would the purpose of life be?"

¹⁰ *Noli Me Tangere* (Derbysire Translation), p. 358.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

“Now, my belief in God, if the result of reasoning may be called belief, is blind, blind in the sense that it knows nothing. I neither believe nor disbelieve the attributes that many people ascribe to Him; I smile at the definitions and lucubrations of theologians and philosophers alike about the ineffable and inscrutable being. Convinced that I stand before the supreme Problem which confused voices pretend to explain to me, I cannot but answer: ‘Maybe; but the God I conceive is very much greater and far better. *Plus supra!*’ ‘Far beyond!’

Rizal however rejects the idea or the revelations which “every religion pretends to possess.” He said:¹² I do not believe that *Revelation* is impossible; rather I believe in it; but I do not believe in the *revelation* or *revelations* which each and every religion pretends to possess. If such revelations are examined, compared, and scrutinized impartially, one cannot but detect in all of them, the human *claw* and the stamp of the age in which they were written. No, man makes his God to his own image and likeness and then ascribes to his God his own works in the same way that the Polish magnates used to choose their king and later impose on him their will. All of us do the same: Your Reverence also does it when you say to me: ‘He who made eyes, will he not see?’ He who formed the ears, will he not hear?’ Pardon me, but inasmuch as we have already spoken about the bull of Anacreon, let us hear it follow: ‘He who made the horns, will he not know how to gore?’ No, what is perfection in us may be an imperfection in God.

We, poor inhabitants of a small planet lost in the infinite space, should not make a god to our own image. However brilliant and sublime may be our intellect, it is not even a tiny spark that glows and is extinguished in a moment, and our intellect alone cannot give us an idea of that blaze, that conflagration, that vast ocean of light.

I believe in revelation, but in that living revelation of Nation which surrounds us everywhere, in that powerful, eternal, incessant, incorruptible, clear, distinct, and universal voice like the being from whom it emanates, in that revelation which speaks to us and permeates our being from the time we are born to the moment of our death. What books can reveal better to us the goodness, love, providence, eternity, glory and wisdom of God? *Coeli enar-*

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77.

rant gloriam Domini, et opera manum ejus anuntiat firmamentum. 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament shows the works of his hand?' What more Bible, what other gospel, does humanity wish? Ah, does not Your Reverence think that men did very wrong in seeking the divine will in parchments and temples, instead of looking for it in the works of Nature and under the august dome of the heaven? Instead of interpreting obscure passages or abstruse phrases that provoke hatreds, wars, and dissensions, would it have not been better if we tried to interpret the works of Nature in order to adjust our lives better to its inviolable laws and utilize its forces for our perfection? Did not men begin to act as brothers only from the time they discovered the first pages of the work of God? Like the prodigal son who was blind to the joys of his parents' home and left in search of other homes, mankind has wandered, miserable and full of hate for many centuries.

I do not deny that there are precepts of absolute necessity and usefulness which are not found clearly enunciated in Nature, but God has put them in the heart, in the conscience of man, which is His best temple. Because of this, I adore more this good and provident God, who has endowed each of us with all that is necessary to save ourselves, and has kept the book of His revelation continuously open to us, with His priest unceasingly speaking to us through the voice of our conscience.

Hence, the best religions are the more simple ones, the most natural, those which are most in harmony with man's needs and aspirations, and herein lies the principal excellence of Christ's doctrine.

I do not prejudice when I say that the voice of my conscience can come only from God; this judgment is inferred by deductions. God could not have created me for my misfortune; because what wrong could I have done to Him before I was created, that He should desire my perdition? Nor could He have created me for no purpose at all or for an indifferent one; for then, why my sufferings, why the slow torture of my unceasing longing? He must have created me for a good purpose and for this I have nothing that can guide me better than my conscience, my conscience alone, which judges and evaluates my acts. He would be inconsistent if after having created me for a definite purpose, He did not provide me with the means to attain that purpose; he would be like a blacksmith who wanted to make a knife, but failed later to sharpen any of the edge."

Rizal refused to believe the divine character of the Roman Catholic Church. He also rejected its "hierarchical character and its claim of infallibility." He considered the Roman Catholic or any church for that matter as purely human institution.

"All the brilliant and subtle arguments adduced by Your Reverence," wrote Rizal to Father Pastells, "which I shall not try to refute because it would require me to write a whole pamphlet, cannot convince me that the Catholic Church is endowed with infallibility. In it is also the human claw; it is an institution more more perfect than the others, but is still a human institution with all the defects, errors, and vicissitudes accompanying every work of man. It is managed more wisely and more ably than the other religions, because it is the direct heir of the political sciences, the religions, and the arts of Egypt, Greece and Rome; its foundation lies in the heart of the people, in the imagination of the multitude, in the tenderness of women; but like all other religions, it has its dark points, which it cloaks with the name of mysteries; it has its puerilities, which it sanctifies by calling them miracles; it has its divisions or dissensions which it calls sects or heresies."¹³

In his article *La Vision de Fray Rodriguez* Rizal manifested his contempt and disgust over the claim of friars to govern in God's name, to teach or to possess sacramental powers. The article in itself was a bold and satiric denial of the supernatural claims of the Catholic hierarchy. The following quotation from the article betrays Rizal's attitude.¹⁴ Go to earth,' the omnipotent voice commanded, 'and tell those who call themselves your sons that I, who created millions of suns around which revolves thousands of worlds, each inhabited by millions and millions of being created by me in my infinite mercy, will not be an instrument to the petty passions of a few creatures who are not even perfect, a handful of dust carried away by the wind, insignificant parts of the inhabitants of one of my smallest worlds.

"Tell them that they must not exploit in my name the misery and ignorance of their brothers, nor must they in my name try to control the intelligence and thought which I willed to be free. Neither must they commit abuses in my name nor cause a tear or a single drop of blood to shed. They must not represent me as a cruel and vindictive master, subject to their whims and their will. Nor must they present me as a tyrant or a bad Father. They must not pretend that they are the only possessors of light and life

¹⁴ Juan Collas, *Rizal's Unknown Writings*, 1953, pp. 27-31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

eternal. How could I, who have given to each being air, light, life, love, and food, so that each may be happy, deny to others the most essential and transcendental, which is true happiness, for the sake of a few who are not even the best? That is absurd, impious! Tell them that I, who am All, and apart from whom nothing exists nor can exist, have no enemies and cannot have any. None can be my equal and none can go against my will!

‘Tell them that their enemies are not mine; that I have never identified myself with them and that their behaviour is vain, insensible, and blasphemous. Tell them that I forgive error, but will punish iniquity; that I forgive an offense against me, but will persecute those who oppress the unfortunate. That being infinitely powerful, all the wrongs of all the inhabitants of all the worlds, a thousand times centuplicated, cannot dim an iota of my glory. But the least injury to the poor and the oppressed I will punish, for I have not created or given life to anybody in order to make him unhappy or let him be the plaything of his brothers. I am the Father of all that exist. I know the destiny of every atom; let me love my creatures whose miseries and needs I know. Let each one do his duty, I, the God of Mercy, know what to do’.

‘Thus spoke the Almighty; and I came here to do his bidding. Now, I say to you: ‘Reports on the miseries of the unhappy *Indio* whom you have impoverished and brutified have reached the throne of the Highest. So many minds have been obscured and mutilated by you, so many virgins deflowered. The cry of so many exiles, tortured and killed at your instigation, has reached Heaven! The tears of so many mothers and the misery of so many orphans, all mingled with the clatter of your orgies!

Know that there is one God (perhaps you doubt his existence, and only use his name to promote your ends) who will someday call you to account for all your iniquities. Know that he does not need the money of the poor, and that to worship him it is not necessary to light candles and burn incense, to say masses or believe blindly what others say, especially when what they say runs counter to reason.

He has luminaries greater than your sun, flowers more fragrant than those on earth, and music in the concert of the spheres sweeter than any man has heard. He is self-sufficient. He created intelligence not to enslave it, but to give it freedom so that on its wings man may be happy and learn to raise himself to Him. God

needs no one. He created man, not for Him but for man himself. He is happy for all eternity.

You obstinately uphold the existence of Purgatory, using every weapon, even the most ignoble, to defend your belief. Why, instead of wasting your time in affirming the existence of something you have never seen, don't you preach love and charity among yourselves? Why don't you preach hope and comfort so as to sweeten somewhat the evils of life, instead of expatiating on future punishments? Why? Because Christ's true doctrine will bring you no material wealth; and what you want is gold, gold, and gold! And for that purpose you have invented Purgatory with which to wrest money from fearful souls. Why frighten orphans and widows with dreadful tales of the next life just to extort from them a few cents? Have you forgotten what the Apostle said? *'Nolo vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus, ut non contristemini, sicut qui spem non habent!* But I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning those who are asleep, that you may not grieve as others do who have no hope!' Also, what I said, *'Haec enim est christianae fidei summa: vitam veram expectare post mortem.'* Here is the summary of Christian faith; to hope for a true life after death!

But lacking in charity, you work against Christ, and for vile interests you meddle with the divine judgment. All the force of your arguments rest on your theory that there are souls not sufficiently guilty to be condemned nor sufficiently pure to enter the Kingdom of God. Who has authorized you to oppose the judgment of him who weighs and considers the slightest thought, and knows that it is impossible to demand divine perfection of beings made of clay, subject on earth to miseries, wants, and oppression? Who has told you that he will judge like you whose intelligence is so limited? Who has told you that here we do not atone for our faults with the miseries to which we are subjected? If once I could admit a shadow of that possibility, now, more convinced of divine goodness and of the misery of man, I have absolute confidence in him, and am certain that his conduct and judgment are infinitely juster and better than mine."

Rizal's rejection of the divine character of the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines is glaringly illustrated in his letter to the Young Women of Malolos, when he said:¹⁵ You already know

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-66; The Roman Catholic Church is said to have been chosen and created by God to give substance to the supernatural destiny of man. Catholicism according to Yves de Monhevil, S. J., is distinguished from all other forms of religion,

that God's will is different and distinct from the will of a priest; that religiousness does not consist in bending one's knees for a long time, much less in mumbling kilometric prayers, counting the beads of big rosaries, and wearing grimy scapularies. It consists rather in spotless conduct, in the purity of one's intention and in the uprightness of one's judgment or criterion. You know that prudence does not mean blind obedience to whatever whims may strike the fancy of godlings. It means doing what is reasonable and just, because blind obedience is itself the cause of such whims, and hence those who provoke them are the real sinners.

Officials or friars can no longer assert that they alone are responsible for their unjust orders, because God has endowed each person with reason and a will of his or her own, and that reason enables its possessor to distinguish what is just from what is unjust. All of us were born free, unshackled, and nobody has the right to subjugate the will and the spirit of another. And why should one submit one's thoughts, free, and noble, to another?

It is cowardice and a mistake to believe that saintliness is blind obedience and that prudence and the ability to think are signs of presumption. Ignorance has even been ignorance; it has never been prudence and honor. God, the primal source of all wisdom, does not demand that man, created in his own image allow himself to be deceived or hoodwinked. He wants us to use and let shine the light of reason with which he has so mercifully endowed us. He is like the father who handed a torch to each of his sons to light their way in the darkness, bidding them keep its flame ever bright and not to trust to the light of the others, but to help and advise one another to find the right path. Fools they would be if they fell headlong for following the light of another; and the father would be right in reproaching them, thus: 'Did I not give a torch to each of you?' But he would have no reason to chide them if they fell due to the light of their respective torches because then the light might have been dim and the road are extremely bad.

Commonplace to the deceiver is the saying that it is presumptuous to rely on one's own judgment. In my opinion, what is presumptuous is to impose one's will on others and insist on having one's own way. And it is more presumptuous for a man to con-

Christian or non-Christian, by the importance it gives the church. "The CHURCH herself," said Canon G. Smith, "is supernatural in her nature and essence, since she is the Body of Christ, living with the life of Christ himself, with a supernatural life. From the fulness of Christ all his members are filled, so that the Church herself is the fulness of him who is wholly fulfilled in all."

stitute himself into an idol and pretend to know the thoughts of God. What is more presumptuous still—it is even blasphemous—is for a person to ascribe to God every movement of his lips, to present every whim of his God's will and to brand his own enemy as God's enemy. Certainly, we should not rely on our own judgment alone. We should consult and hear the opinion of others, before we do what appears to us most reasonable.

“The habit or the cassock does not by itself generate or impart wisdom. A wild man from the hills, although clad in a priest's robe will still be a hillsman and will deceive only the weakling and the ignorant. You could bear me out by just buying a priest's robe like that of a Franciscan and putting it on a carabao. You will be lucky if the carabao does not become lazier as a result of the robe itself. However, I shall leave this point and speak of something else

Prudence is said to be sanctity and love of God. Yet what sanctity has been taught us? To pray and kneel often, to kiss the hand of a priest, waste money on churches and swallow everything the friar is pleased to tell us. Result: gossip, hardened knees and blistered noses.

As to offerings and gifts to God, is there anything in the world that does not belong to him? What would you say of a servant who gave his master as a present the very cloth he had borrowed from him? Who is so vain and crazy as to give alms to God and believe that his miserable gift will serve to clothe the Creator of all things? Blessed are they who succor their fellowmen, help the poor and feed the hungry: but cursed are they who turn a deaf ear to the supplications of the poor, who give only to him who has plenty and spend their money lavishly on silver altar hangings for the church, or donate it to the friar who wallows in wealth secured from fees for masses of thanksgiving, from serenades and fireworks. Such money squeezed out of the marrow of the poor is offered to the master so that he can forge more chains with which to subdue better and hire thugs and executioners. Oh, what blindness and lack of understanding!

The first requisite of saintliness is obedience to the dictates of reason, happen what may. ‘Deeds, not words, are what I wish from you,’ said Christ. ‘He is no son of my father who comes repeating, my father, my father; but he who lives doing my father's will.’ Saintliness does not lie in abjectness. Christ's successor is not to be distinguished by his willingness to extend his

hand to be kissed, Christ did not give the kiss of peace to the Pharisees and never extended his hand to be kissed. He did not cater to the rich and vain scribes. He did not mention scapularies, nor did he manufacture rosaries. He did not solicit alms or offerings for saying special masses nor did he exact payment for praying. If John the Baptist did not demand fees for baptizing in Jordan, and Christ did not charge for his teaching, now did it happen that the friars now refuse to move unless they are paid in advance? And, as if they were starving, they sell scapularies, rosaries, belts, and other things which are nothing more than schemes for making money to the prejudice of the soul itself. Because even if all the rags on earth were converted into scapularies and all the trees in the forest into rosaries, and even if the skins of all the beasts were transformed into belts, and signs of the Cross were made and all the priests on earth mumbled prayers and sprinkled oceans of holy water, still all this would not purify a rogue or forgive his sin if he himself did not repent.

Through cupidity or greed, the numerous bans or prohibitions, such as those against eating meat, marrying close relatives, etc., are lifted for a price. Why? Can God be bribed and blinded by money through no less than a friar? Can the bandit who has obtained a bull of compromise live in peace with his booty? Will God sit at a table where robbery provides the viands? Has the Omnipotent become a pauper that he must assume the role of the excise man or civil guard? If that is the God the friars worship, then I turn my back on him."

Rizal maintained that God's relationship to the world is best manifested by nature. He refused to admit any infraction of the natural law. He refused to imagine a God being capricious or fickle as to upset or suspend His own laws to save man or that God will work out a miracle to deprive his own creation the chance to use their God-given potentialities. Miracle to Rizal is a "contradiction, an overturning of natural laws."¹⁶

Such talk is only possible from a man who may have been greatly influenced by the works and writings of great thinkers like, Zoroaster, Ikhmaton, Tzu, Ssu, Spinoza, refutedly known as "the saint of rationalism, Goethe, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, one of the first scientific writers on religion, Voltaire, to mention a few. Rizal had a complete set of Voltaire's books when he was in Spain. It was Voltaire who popularized Deism in France

¹⁶ *Noli Me Tangere*, p. 261.

and elsewhere. Deism or rationalism is sometimes referred to as natural religion.

Natural religion attached primary importance on seeking the true revelation of God in the laws of nature and man while Deism holds the view that God does not interfere with the natural order of things and rationalism stresses the application of reason to the solution of any religious enigma. The book *Christianity As Old As Creation* published by Matthew Tindal in 1730 is said to be the bible of the Deists. Tindal opined that Christianity is older than Christ because "what Christ taught is identical with that religion which anyone may discover for himself by observation and common sense." The following quotations speak for themselves: "The religion of nature is universal, and the gospel a reduplication of it... By natural religion, I understand the belief of the existence of God, and the sense and practice of those duties which result from the knowledge... it takes in everything that is founded on reason and nature of things..."

"God is a Being absolutely perfect, and infinitely happy in himself... The creatures can neither add to, nor take from the happiness of that being... He is ... infinitely good and wise... and ... can design nothing by his laws but our good... being infinitely powerful he can bring everything to pass which he designs for that end."¹⁷

Father Pastells suggested that Rizal should "read for God's sake, the history of the past before the coming of Jesus and see how far mankind, left to its own strength, had reached, how all peoples that did not acknowledge revelation fell into the deep abyss of idolatry and all ideas of the most practical and transcendental truths of the natural moral law came to be obliterated almost completely, from the hearts of peoples, families, and individuals, notwithstanding the fact that the natural law had been engraved by God in the consciences of men more deeply than in marble... that God alone had the power to rehabilitate fallen mankind, and this was precisely what Jesus Christ did at the fulness of time. Jesus Christ, therefore, was God."¹⁸

As a rejoinder to Father Pastell's suggestion, Rizal declared: I cannot believe that before the coming of Jesus Christ, all the peoples were in the infernal abyss you speak of. No; there precisely is Socrates who gives his life for proclaiming the existence

¹⁷ Eugene A. Hesscl, *The Religious Thought of Jose Rizal*, Philippine Education Company, 1961, p. 251.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

of only one God; there is the divine Plato, the virtuous Aristides, Phocion, and Miltiades; there is Zorathustra, founder of the religion of force; and there is King Sien, founder of the religion of reason and the lawmaker of China.

“Neither can I believe that after the advent of Christ everything has been light, peace and bliss; that the majority of men have become just. That is not true; to confute such assertions, there you have the battlefields, the conflagrations, the fires, the prisons, the abuses, the tortures of the Inquisition; there you have the hates that Christian nations declare openly against one another on account of flimsy differences; the slavery that was tolerated, if not sanctioned for eighteen centuries; there you have the prostitutions. There, finally, is great portion of society that is still hostile to its own religion. Your Reverence will tell me that all this exists because they separated from the church: but when the church was dominant, did not these evils exist? Was it perhaps in the Middle Ages, and when the whole of Europe was a battlefield? No? Did they not exist when in the first three centuries the church was in the catacombs, groaning as a prisoner, and did not have power? If there was peace that time—and there was no peace—it could not have been due to the church because the church was not then in power. Ah! No, my dear Father Pastells, I rejoice when I see men like Your Reverence, filled with faith, and virtue, sustaining a faith and lamenting the present troubles of humanity, because this shows love of humanity. It also shows that generous spirits like Your Reverence watch over its future. But I do rejoice more beholding humanity in its immortal march, always progressing, in spite of its disappointments and blunders, in spite of its errors, because all this shows to me that it has a glorious end, that it has been created for a better purpose than to be a pabulum for flames. All this fills me with trust in God who will not allow His Creation to perish in spite of the devil and all our madness.

As to the contradictions in the canonical books and miracles, I confess that the subject has been a beaten track and that it will be waste of time to go over it again. Everything can be explained when one wants it explained, and all can be believed when one wishes to believe. The will has an enormous influence when over the imagination in the same way that the imagination exercises enormous power over the will. Hence, I shall not mention either the contradictions in the genealogies or the miracle at Cana, which Christ performed in spite of having announced

that His hour had not yet come, nor the loaves of bread and fishes or the temptation, etc. All these things do not detract from the greatness of the man who uttered the Sermon on the Mount and said the famous: 'Father, forgive them...' What I am after is much more important. Who died on the Cross? Was it the God or was it the man? If it was God, I do not understand how a God, conscious of his mission, could die, how a God could exclaim in the garden: '*Pater, si possibile transeat a me calix ista*' 'Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me! 'He again exclaimed on the cross, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" This cry is absolutely human, the cry of a man who had faith in the justice and goodness of his cause. Except the words, '*Hodie mecum eris,*' 'today you will be with me,' a cry of Christ on Calvary, everything reveals a man in torment and agony, but what a man! As far as I am concerned, Christ the man is greater than Christ the God. If it were God who said, 'Father, forgive them for they know not what they do,' those who laid hands on him would have been forgiven, unless of course we say that God is like certain men who say one thing and then do another.

Another objection I find to the miracles of Christ is the apostasy of his disciples and their incredulity in his resurrection. Had they really witnessed so many miracles and his resurrection, they would not have forsaken him so cowardly nor would they have doubted his resurrection. Whoever brings others back to life can very well give life to himself.

As to the explanation Your Reverence gives to the miracles that He who has decreed the laws does not contradict himself if he suspends them at certain times in order to attain certain objectives, it occurs to me that even if he may not contradict himself, yet he would be inferior to him who can realize the same objectives without suspending or changing anything. Only an ordinary ruler gets out of difficulty by suspending the operation of laws; a good one governs in peace without changing or upsetting anything.

Your Reverence brands this as stupid pride of rationalists. But I have still another question to ask: who is more stupidly proud, the man who is contented with following his own reason, or the man who tries to impose on others what his reason does not dictate to him but just because he surmises it to be the truth? What has been reasoned out has never appeared stupid to me, whereas pride has always manifested itself in the idea of imposing one's opinion on others."

When Rizal's friend, Dr. Blumentritt warned him of his critical views against Catholicism, Rizal wrote him saying: "I shall not forget your warning with reference to religion. I admit that the friars have done much good, or at least have wanted to do so. But allow me to add that they were well paid for their services, first by earthly riches and afterwards in heaven. In truth they have exchanged the fields of our ancestors for those of heaven. Sir, you know our country through books written by friars and Spaniards, who copied among themselves. If you had grown up in one of our towns as I did and witnessed the sufferings of our peasants, you would have a different conception of Catholicism in the Philippines. I have had the opportunity of studying the religions of Europe. I have found Christianity splendid and Catholicism attractive as well as poetic. It is much finer than insipid Protestantism—but all these are unknown in my country, especially by our peasants."¹⁹

Father Pastells admired and respected the guts of Dr. Rizal but he said.²⁰ What a pity that a young man so gifted does not use his talents in defending better causes . . . ? Oh! and how much the karats of the precious natural faculties of my dear friend could have arisen, had he sustained those ideas in the *Noli Me Tangere*, *El Filibusterismo* and Annotations to the History of Morga and other writings! . . .

"Had he done that, the name of Rizal could have achieved, rightly and justly, through his works, immortal glory and would have been blessed by future generations. But, unhappily for us and with incalculable damage to the good cause, the holy ark fell, as another would say, into the hands of the Philistines, and it has not been recovered yet.

There was a critical period in the history of your youth which determined your leaving for abroad. You left the Philippines, personally exasperated and resentful due to reasons or motives that I cannot and do not like to judge now. The thorn which you carried nailed to your heart deep scars in all your faculties, and created prejudices which the memories and feelings of your dignity, which you thought was bruised, firmly rooted. That exaggerated private judgment and this excessive self-love finally disposed you to cross the great bridge of inconsequence, or to make, in Germany, the great leap or great fall that submerged you in

¹⁹ Carlos Quirino, *The Great Malayan*, Philippine Education Company, Manila 1858.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 7-9.

the deep abyss of prevarication, and you separated yourself from the Catholic religion and from Spanish nationality, and hoisted the colours of *Filibusterism*.

This was already foreseen by the enemies of our religion and country, and thenceforth they strove, without repose, in all earnestness and cunning, to pervert your clear intelligence by inculcating reformist and separatist doctrines and to inject in your already wounded heart the poison of sectarianism. And after you had unwarily drunk the mortal poison offered to you in a golden cup, what ought necessarily to happen did happen, which an Austrian professor, a very good friend of yours, had already foretold. That is no other than that the Protestant took possession of you, and then a little later the Francmasons. The result of the first captivity, was the Rizal of the *Noli Me Tangere*, and of the second captivity, the Rizal of the *El Filibusterismo*. Here you have, my dearest Pepe, explained in new words the cause that gave birth to your misfortune. If, with the blood of my veins I could erase those premises, do not doubt, my dear friend, that I would be the first who would strive with greater zeal to avert from you their evil consequences. In what a bad situation you have placed yourself! Believe me, lean with sincerity upon better trees in order that ampler shades may protect you in the future. The heretical foreigners sowed in your soul those evil winds, and from them you are now reaping tempests. And how dark appears the future!"

In answer to the fears and suspicions of Father Pastells, Rizal replied:²¹ It is quite possible that there are better causes than the one I have embraced, but my cause is good and that is sufficient for me. Other causes, no doubt, may offer greater advantages, greater fame, greater honors, and greater glory, but the bamboo that grows on our soil is intended to support nipa huts and not the heavy materials for European edifices. I am not sorry for the humbleness of my cause nor for the poverty of rewards it offers. What I am sorry for is the little talent God gave me to serve such causes. If instead of being a frail bamboo, I were a solid *molave*, I might have rendered better service. But He who ordained it that way knows what the future will bring, and He does not commit any mistake in His acts He knows very well what the tiniest things are for.

As to the honors, fame or benefits that I might have reaped, I agree that all that is tempting, especially to a young man like

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 25.

me, of flesh and blood with so many frailties as any other human being. But as nobody can choose the race or nationality into which he will be born, and at the time of birth the privileges and disadvantages inherent in one's race and nationality already exist, I embrace my country's cause confident that He who made me a Filipino will forgive whatever mistakes I may commit, especially so if one takes into consideration our difficult situation and the faulty education which we receive from the day of our birth. Besides, I do not aspire to eternal fame or to eternal renown, nor do I desire to equal others whose conditions, faculties, and circumstances could be and are, in effect, different from mine; my only desire is to do what is possible, what is within my power, what is most necessary. I have perceived a little light and it is my duty, I believe, to show it to my countrymen. Let others who are more fortunate, like Sarda or any other, soar to the high heavens.

Your Reverence did well in confining yourself within a philosophico-religious question in your letter, leaving aside politics for another occasion; in fact I would ask that you defer the latter in abeyance *ad kalendar graecas* never to be touched anymore. The subject is a very delicate one, and should not be discussed, as Your Reverence will readily understand, under the circumstances in which I find myself. It would be provocative for a person without freedom to broach a rather independent idea; to express a servile idea, on the other hand, would be considered as meanness and flattery. I cannot be a provoker, neither can I be mean or fawner. There must be, in my opinion, a wide sphere of freedom in order that politics may be discussed intelligently and profitably.

Commenting on the genesis of my works and others writings, you suggest an idea that never occurred to me, when you allude to certain resentments and to my bruised dignity. I do not deny the possibility that I might regard to the early ones... With all the sincerity and impartiality a man is capable of when he reviews his past, I look back to the years of my youth and asked myself if resentment could have ever impelled the pen that wrote the *Noli Me Tangere*, and my memory has answered me in the negative. If on various occasions I was treated with glaring injustice; if my works were ignored with noticeable contempt; if in spite of all reason my complaints were unheeded, I was then very young yet, and I forgave more readily when I do now, however deep the wounds were at the time, they were healed finally, thanks to the excessive mildness with which nature has endowed me. There were thus no "festering wounds," no thorns that sunk deeper and

deeper." What I did have was a clear vision of the reality in my country, a vivid recollection of what was going on and a sufficient keenness to judge its etiology, which enabled me not only to portray the events, but also to foresee the future. In fact, right now I see what I then called a "novel" unfolding with such accuracy that I am witnessing the performance of my own work and taking part in it.

As to the German, Protestant, and other 'inspirations', I should tell you that I am quite surprised to see so intelligent a man as Father Pastells as one of the populace who believes everything it hears without investigating it first. It is true that I read German books, but to assume that Germans had inspired me is to betray ignorance about the German people, their character and their occupations. One-half of the *Noli Me Tangere* was written in Madrid, one-fourth in Paris, and the other fourth in Germany: witnesses were my countrymen who saw me at work. When peoples come upon something which is amazing and do not have either the patience or calmness to investigate it, they at once attribute it to causes that prepossess their minds. If it is good, they attribute it on friendly spirits; if it is bad, to foes. In the Middle ages, everything evil was the work of the Devil, and everything good was the work of God or His saints; the French of today see everything in reverse and blame the Germans for it.

In the interest of truth, however, I will say that in correcting my novel in Germany, I retouched it a great deal and condensed it further. But I also toned down its temper, tamed many expression, and reduced a number of things to proper proportions as I acquired broader perspective of things seen from afar, as my imagination began to cool in the midst of the peculiar calm in that country. I can add something more; no German had heard of my book before it was published not even Blumentritt who always extolled the Catholic religion in his letters, nor Virchow, nor Jagor, nor Joest, with all of whom I associated in the clubs of which I was a member, nor Schulzer in whose clinic I worked for some time. Nevertheless, I do not deny that the environment in which I lived influenced me, above all whenever I remembered my native land in the midst of that free industrious, studious, and well-administered people, full of confidence in its future and master of its destiny.

As to my being a Protestant . . . if Your Reverence know what I lost for not declaring myself in agreement with Protestant tenets, you would not certainly say such a thing. If I had not

always respected religious ideas; If I had regarded religion as a science of conveniences or an art of enjoying life, I would by now be rich, free, and full of honors, instead of being a poor deportee. Rizal, a Protestant! I am moved to laughter, which can be restrained only by my respect for all that you say. Your Reverence should have read my discussions with a Protestant minister during long twilights of summer in the solitude in Odenwald. There in calm and dispassionate conversation and in complete freedom, we talked about our respective beliefs on the morality of peoples and the influence of their respective beliefs on the morality of peoples and the influence of their respective creeds on them. A great respect for the good faith of one's opponent and for the most opposite ideas, that must inevitably result from diversity of race, education and age, almost always led us to the conclusion that religions, no matter what they may be, should never make men enemies but brothers, and good brothers. From these conversations held almost everyday for a period of three months, I believe I draw no other conclusions, if I remember correctly, than to have a deep respect for every idea sincerely conceived and practiced. Nearly every month, a Catholic priest, a close friend of the Protestant, gave me an example of this Christian fraternity. They regarded themselves as two servants of the same God, and instead of wasting their time fighting between themselves, each of them did his duty and left to their Master to judge which of them had interpreted better His will."

Protestants believed the Bible as the Word of God, "the only rule of faith and practice." They aver that "in it and through it God has chosen, through Christ, the World par excellence to speak to man". Rizal did not subscribe to this view. The rationalist that he was, he was more inclined to believe that the Bible is a collection of inspirational precepts and teachings. Rizal believed that man has been endowed by God with his own means of salvation by way of leading a good and righteous life. To Rizal's mind Christianity is not the only, nor the final religion because God is just and merciful and it is His supreme desire to save man and humanity. "Humanity", he said, "in its worst madness, has not been able to extinguish this lamp given by God to man; its light has flickered sometimes, and man has lost this way; but such condition passes and the light shines afterwards more brightly and steadily, and by its ways the mistakes of the past are recognized and the abysses of the future are marked out.

Although Rizal died at 35, he lived a life that is truly religious. His spiritual disposition bordered that of the highest order for he was kind, charitable, benevolent and disinterestedly beneficent. His unshakable faith and conviction was that the human reason by study and application could determine value, virtue, right, beauty and other great ideals. He did what he deemed fit for the good of others without any thought of earning their gratitude or other reward, but because he prized their happiness and welfare and its promotion even at the expense of his only life. He did not scoff nor held in contempt any body's religion when it was sincere. He admired genuine faith wherever he found it. He inspired men to use reason, to be free and above all he envisioned his countrymen to have the courage and pride to face the truth.

Rizal's quest for truth can best be expressed in Miguel de Unamuno's (1864-1936) life-quality, to wit: "My religion is to seek truth in life and life in truth, even though knowing fully well that I shall never find them so long as I live; my religion is to wrestle unceasingly and unwearingly with mystery, my religion is to wrestle with God from nightfall to the breaking of the day, as Jacob is said to have wrestled with him."²²

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

MAKING EFFECTIVE RIZAL'S TEACHINGS

By Leopoldo R. Serrano

At the outset, I would like to state that the teaching of the life and labors of Dr. José Rizal in our schools, particularly the public schools is not a new or post-liberation innovation in our educational system. Let there be no mistake about this.

The Americans, who came in big numbers to dominate us after Admiral Dewey had defeated the Spanish Fleet in the famous naval Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, came to know that we, as a people, idolized Rizal. They found out that he was a man of peace and a believer and advocate of the idea that education is the *sine qua non* of freedom, of our people's desire to have a place in the sun. And so, it was but natural for the new alien masters to capitalize on this as an effective means of winning our confidence and seeing their supposed good intentions.

No wonder, through the American-patterned public school system that they soon implanted here, they tried to convince our people, especially those still offering armed resistance to their domination, that they came here in order to implement the reforms that the Great Kalambeño sought in vain during the last two decades of Spanish rule in this country.

Many of those engaged in the back-breaking task of educating our children may be surprised to know that Rizal was first honored in our public schools established by the Americans as early as 1901. I quote from an article written by Eurette A. G. Hoyles, American teacher assigned in Malabon, Rizal, which was published in the issue of a Manila daily on January 1, 1902:

In the schools which closed on December 20, Rizal was the theme of the last day's program . . . One wall was draped white with a red canopy, under which Rizal's picture hung crowned with a wreath of ylang-ylang and red hibiscus.

In the same year, the then Attorney General of the Philippines, Libbeus R. Wilfley, delivered a long and eloquent speech wherein he eulogized Rizal. Here is a part of that significant speech written by one of the high American officials of the Insular Government of the Philippines:

It is natural and proper that we should worship our heroes. A nation without heroes is a nation without history, for history is but a little more than the story of great men. Rizal is the hero of the Filipino people. He was a man of intelligence and courage. His life contained a prophecy of his race and his death marked an epoch in the history of the people. In his achievements we have a promise of the capabilities of the Filipino in the islands.

Those were flattering words uttered even when the guerilla war against the Americans in the Philippines was still raging in many parts of the country. They may be interpreted as a recognition of the greatness of our national hero.

Rizal's Own Story, a booklet written by Austin Craig in 1909, was read by the pupils in our public schools. This American, employed first as a teacher of our children, became a famous Rizalist. Through his research and patient study of Rizal's life and labors, he was instrumental in making our young people know Rizal and appreciate his works.

On April 19, 1910, Act No. 1982 was approved by our legislature. It directed all our public schools to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Rizal. Section 1 of the said Act provided:

The Director of Education shall, subject to the approval of the Secretary of Public Instruction, prepare an adequate programme of school exercises and other acts having allusion to the life of Dr. José Rizal, and, subject to like approval, the said Director of Education may announce competitions, grant prizes, print pamphlets and do any other thing tending to carry into effect the purpose of this Act to solemnly commemorate the said fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Dr. José Rizal. The Director of Education is hereby authorized to charge any sum, not in excess of fifteen thousand pesos, that he may consider necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, against the contingent expenses of this Bureau.

In 1917, Craig's *Lineage, Life and Labors of José Rizal*, the first complete biography of the hero in English, was made outside reading for Grade VII. In 1920, *The Social Cancer and the Reign of Greed*, Charles Derbyshire's translation into English of Rizal's *Noli* and *Fili*, respectively, were approved as required home readings for the last two years of the high school: the former for third year students and the latter for fourth year students. Then in 1923, the *Hero of the Filipinos*, another biography of Rizal in English written by Charles Edward Russell and Eulogio Rodriguez, was approved for high school libraries. In the late twenties, the *Philippine Prose and Poetry* series, which

contained important selections about Rizal, began to be studied as prescribed textbooks in literature. And in the University of the Philippines, *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, in their original Spanish, were used as basic textbooks in advanced Spanish. I had the rare privilege of taking that course under Professor Jaime C. de Veyra, a prominent Rizalist and head of the Department of Spanish at that time.

I have to mention also Proclamation No. 377 which was issued by the then Acting Governor General George C. Butte on April 9, 1931. It ordained and proclaimed "that June nineteenth, the anniversary of the birth of Dr. José Rizal, shall hereafter be solemnly celebrated beginning June 19th, 1931, in all schools of the Philippine Islands subject to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Public Instruction." Pursuant to that Proclamation, Luther B. Bewley, then the Director of Education, issued on May 29, 1931 Circular No. 10, s. 1931 enjoining the school heads to hold on June 19 every year appropriate programs "with a view to instilling in the minds of our youth the spirit of service and the love of country that made Rizal the idol of his people."

It is very clear then that, during the first three decades of American rule, the life and works of Dr. Rizal were taught in our public schools, from the elementary level to the university. And strangely enough, there was no opposition raised by the Catholic elements of our population, even to the teaching of the *Noli* and *Fili*.

Let me mention two cases that may interest many of us. In December, 1918, as part of the participation of the Division of City Schools of Manila in the Rizal Day celebration of that year, it initiated a project. A large number of prizes were awarded to the deserving pupils in the elementary schools in the city. Written tests on the life and writings of Dr. Rizal were given to the pupils in the intermediate schools. The test questions were prepared in the Office of the Superintendent of City Schools. The tests were conducted during the first two recitation periods on Friday morning, December 13, 1918. Each teacher graded the papers of her own class and submitted to the principal of the school the best three papers in her class. A committee in each school, consisting of the principal and four teachers, reviewed all the papers and then submitted and certified to the Office of the Superintendent of City Schools the winners of the first and second prizes in each grade. The Superintendent then submitted the final reports to the Rizal

Day Committee. The prizes were awarded on December 30th, the anniversary of the hero's execution.

In the early thirties, while handling my third and fourth year classes in English in a secondary school in Central Luzon, I tried to comply religiously with the policy of the Bureau of Education (now the Bureau of Public Schools) of requiring every third year student to read the *Noli* and every fourth year student the *Fili*. The first thing that I did was to persuade the librarian of the school to requisition a set of forty-four copies for each class section. That time, the only translations into English of Rizal's two novels were those by Charles Derbyshire and those by Feliciano Basa and Paz Marquez Benitez.

Each student was asked to borrow and read a copy of the required novel. And to guide him in his reading, he was given a mimeographed copy of a long list of guide questions of study helps. Several recitation periods were set aside for the discussion of the novel read by all the members of the class. A student was asked to summarize the novel after it had been discussed. A week or so later, a written test was given by me, and results were posted on the bulletin board of the school. Every graduate of that school knew the *Noli* and the *Fili* as a result.

I also stressed the selections about Rizal found in the *Philippine Prose and Poetry* series. And I can say that I was never aware of any opposition the emphasis I gave Rizal and his works before the last global war, although the controversial retraction of the hero was beginning to divide our Rizalists into two hostile camps.

Serious opposition to teaching Rizal and his works began to crop up in 1949, when the Department of Education decided to purchase 10,000 copies of *The Pride of the Malay Race*, Justice Ramon Ozaeta's translation into English of *Biografía de Rizal*, the best biography of the hero ever written by a Filipino. A chapter in this book disproves Rizal's retraction, and it aroused the ire of Archbishop Gabriel Reyes of Manila and a number of Catholic priests and laymen. This was aggravated by the presentation in Congress in 1956 of the bill requiring compulsory teaching in our schools, public and private, of the two novels of Rizal. On April 21, 1956, the Catholic Hierarchy of the Philippines issued a long statement or pastoral on the novels of Rizal. I quote its concluding part:

We, the Catholic Philippine Hierarchy, maintain that these two novels do contain teachings contrary to our faith and we are opposed to the proposed compulsory reading in their entirety of such books in any school in the Philippines where Catholic students may be affected.

The post-liberation opposition to the teaching of Palma's biography of Rizal and the *Noli* and the *Fili* by the Catholic leaders has made our national hero a controversial figure. This is unfortunate. It makes the work of a teacher of a course on Rizal quite difficult, specially if she is a devout Catholic or a person under the influence of the friars or an institution known for its Anti-Rizal tendency.

However, courses on Rizal have to be taught in every Philippine school in accordance with the provisions of Republic Act No. 1425, which was approved on June 12, 1956 or on the occasion of the observance of the 60th anniversary of the declaration of Philippine independence at Kawit, Kavite. As may one of us know, the Rizal law provides:

Courses on the life, works and writings of José Rizal, particularly his novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, shall be included in the curriculum of all schools, colleges, and universities, public or private; *provided*, that in the collegiate courses, the original or unexpurgated editions of the *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* or their English translation shall be used as basic texts.

What are the factors to consider in making effective Rizal's teachings? I would like to discuss the following: (1) the teacher, (2) the textbooks, (3) the curriculum, and (4) the objectives.

The way I see it, several factors contribute to making Rizal's teachings less effective. They are: (1) indifferent and ill-prepared teachers, (2) undeserving textbooks, (3) hostile attitude of some schools, (4) lack of interest or enthusiasm on the part of the learners, and (5) absence of, or vague, objectives.

Many wonder why, at present, a college graduate cannot sustain a conversation in Spanish after completing 24 units in Spanish, as required by law. The same thing happens in the teaching of the courses on Rizal.

Many of those teaching courses on Rizal in our schools are ill-prepared and even hostile to the national hero because of their religious bias. Even if a teacher is steeped in the knowledge of Rizal and his works, if she is bigoted, she has no right to teach those courses. She cannot do justice to Rizal and make her

young wards love the hero and appreciate his works and labors for this country. According to Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella, a UP professor handling classes on Rizal, "only broadminded and thoroughly nationalistic persons should be permitted to teach, for "to be able to teach Rizal properly, because Rizal himself was liberal and a humanist, the teacher should also be a liberal." Prof. Fabella is right. To allow a Catholic priest or a bigoted Catholic to teach Rizal is like allowing the editor of the *Izvestia* to teach theology in a Catholic seminary.

Teachers allowed to teach courses on Rizal must be screened and selected. One of the serious criticisms hurled against the José Rizal National Centennial Commission is that majority of its employes have not been screened thoroughly. That government agency, created by law to make Rizal and his teachings better known here and abroad, could have realized its objectives according to schedule if only persons known for their pro-Rizal leaning and knowledge of the hero's life and labors had been allowed to serve in it during the first two or three years of its existence.

When a teacher, who is ignorant of, or indifferent to, Rizal, is allowed to teach courses on Rizal, she is liable to misrepresent Rizal, put him in a bad light, and even portray him as a playboy, or an enemy of the Catholic Church.

It is often said, and with reason, that we turn out thousands of half-baked graduates at the end of every academic year because there is dearth of textbooks or references in most of our schools, particularly in the provinces. It is to be admitted that one big handicap of teachers teaching Rizal is also the dearth of Rizaliana materials or references.

And even if there are adequate textbooks, as in the case of some schools and colleges in Manila, some of those textbooks used are undeserving. It is with a ring of authority that I say this, much to my regret. For more than two years now, as a senior historical researcher of the José Rizal National Centennial Commission, I, in collaboration with a ranking member of the Commission, have been correcting and revising textbooks and reference books on Rizal submitted for approval to the National Board of Education. The latter always submitted them for review to the JRNCC before approving them.

I reluctantly confess that many of the manuscript submitted were poorly written and showed inadequate knowledge and lack of appreciation of Rizal's life and labors by their authors. Several times, I had to reject the manuscripts or summon the authors or

publishers (some works submitted were already printed) for conference or rectification of some serious errors found in their works. Some even contain misstatements or exaggerations which, when allowed to remain uncorrected, would put Rizal in bad light or make him appear ridiculous in the eyes of our young people.

Some schools, for religious or financial reasons, are not enthusiastic about the courses on Rizal. I have been told that in some religious schools, unexpurgated copies of the novels of Rizal are seen in the bookcases either for exhibition or to impress a visiting supervisor from the Bureau of Private Schools. Some students are even encouraged to sign affidavits declaring that, for religious reasons, they do not choose to read the unexpurgated editions of the *Noli* and the *Fili* or their translation.

This must not be the case. Our students should be made to understand that no Filipino should be considered educated unless he or she has read those novels which are the bible of our liberty.

When a learner lacks interest and attention, he cannot get much profit greatly from the course he is taking. It is the duty of a teacher of the courses on Rizal, if she is competent and a true Rizalist, to make every learner under her interested in the hero and enjoy drinking from the fountain of his wisdom.

May I say, that in a way, teaching or education is to be defined as *radiation*. The best method of teaching, I believe, is the exemplary life and attitude of the teacher, particularly if she is a teacher of the courses on Rizal. Years before the last global war, I was exceedingly impressed by a minister of the Gospel. He was not an eloquent preacher, and his knowledge of the Holy Scripture was not very profound. Others could give better sermons than he. But to me, his exemplary Christian life was his best sermon. Every gesture he made, every word he uttered, the silent message from his eyes, the warmth that his smile imparted, the confidence his voice created—all those made my heart burn, like the two travelers from Emmaus on the morning of the Resurrection of the Lord. He radiate something that was more valuable, more effective than a thousand sermons.

True, before a teacher can teach Rizal, she must know and believe in Rizal. Otherwise, her words will be just sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

What about the curriculum or the course of study? The National Board of Education has prescribed the courses for the elementary and secondary levels. For the elementary course, from Grade I to Grade VII, we stress Rizal's childhood, his boyhood,

his student days, his travels, his exile to Dapitan, and his martyrdom. For the secondary course, from first year to fourth year. We stress the genius, Rizal the leader and patriot, Rizal the reformer, and Rizal the Filipino hero.

On the college or university level, may I cite the *Syllabus Outline* used in the University of the Philippines? There are 33 meetings that a student taking Philippine Institution 100 (the Rizal course) has to attend. During the first two meetings, lectures on the historical background of the times of Rizal are given. For eight meetings, the following periods of Rizal's life are taken up: childhood years (1861-1872). Atenco and Santo Tomas years (1872-1882), first European period (1887-1888), second European period (1888-1892), Hongkong interlude (1891-1892), Dapitan years (1892-1896), and last Odyssey and death (August-December, 1896).

In taking up those periods in the Hero's life, emphasis has to be "placed on Rizal's one consuming desire, namely, to make himself serviceable to his country" and how "he strove to make himself educated and enlightened so that he could help his country and people pull themselves from ignorance and oppression."

Seven meetings are required for the study of *Noli Me Tangere* and seven for *El Filibusterismo*. Not much time is devoted to the plot, in view of the fact that the students took the courses on Rizal in High School. But aesthetic and ideological interpretations are stressed.

There are eight meetings for the study of Rizal's essays, letters, and short stories, and one for the final examinations.

There is one advantage of following the syllabus outline of the state university. The instructor or professor knows the minimum requirements for the course and the major objectives to stress.

What must be stressed in teaching Rizal? Not his love affairs. Not the smallest details in his travels. Not his mastery of more than twenty languages. Not his having attained the level of a superman. Not his famous friends in the scientific and cultural circles of Europe. Not his alleged retraction. Not his accomplishments as a universal man. Not the cult of him by our less educated countrymen. Not the tributes given him by his countrymen and foreign admirers.

What then should we stress? Perhaps we may find the answer in What Gilbert S. Perez, an American who gave the best years of his life to the service of our youth, said. Here are his words:

Jose Rizal should be to our young people not merely as an example of one who died for his country, but what is more important, as one who contributed most gloriously to the freedom and to the welfare of his people.

Our teachers assigned to teach courses on Rizal should also be reminded of the Bureau of Education Circular No. 10, s. 1931, which urges them to instill "in the minds of our youth the spirit of service and the love of country that made Rizal the idol of his people."

In my work as a Rizaliana researcher, I came across materials about Rizal and the propagation of his teachings, which are worth remembering and using. One of them was an article written by José Delgado, which appeared in the issue of *The Independent*, a fighting Filipino weekly, on January 3, 1920. I like it because the author, even forty years ago, advocated teaching Rizal on the grassroots level. He wrote:

Let every Filipino, without exception, know the works and teachings of Rizal. Spread Rizal literature freely. Let every province have a permanent committee to arrange for the different barrios lectures on Rizal. Let there be circulated freely write-ups, written in the local dialects. I believe, in every town in the Philippines, will be found men who will gladly do the work freely. Let the old "tao" in the barrio before he passes away know some more of Rizal. Let every home keep a copy of the *El Filibusterismo* and *Noli Me Tangere* and let there be hung on the walls a portrait of Rizal. Work so that every Philippine barrio have its Rizal memorial be it a ten-peso bust or a tree stump.

Of course, there will always be enemies, open or hidden, of Rizal. And dedicated teachers of the courses on Rizal must never underestimate their strength and shrewdness. Some appear as admirers and lovers of the hero, although they are wolves in sheep clothing. Many become members of pro-Rizal organizations, teach courses on Rizal, participate in movements or celebrations to honor the hero or foster the dissemination of his ideas, or even write articles, pamphlets, or books about the Pride of the Malay Race.

We should unmask them, for they are the ones who, like Lady Macbeth, listen to this advice of their masters: "Look like an innocent flower, but be the serpent underneath." We must not be surprised if we find in the José Rizal Centennial Commission and the Kabataang Maka-Rizal persons whose motives and views are diametrically opposed to those of Rizal. The hypocrisy of those people must be exposed and attacked with all the forces at our command.

Let us tell them that Rizal is our national symbol. Let us point to them the truth that Rizal is the Great Spirit that guides our people in their march to a better tomorrow, a brighter future. Let us endeavor to make Rizal live forever. Let us believe that, with every passing year, Rizal's influence on our lives becomes greater. Let us tell from the housetops that that is so, because the teachings he left to us do not only appear on the printed pages of books and periodicals and on memorial tablets but they are also written in our hearts.

I would like to cite excerpts from the historic speech of Arthur W. Fergusson, an American high official who played a prominent role in the history of our country during the first decade of American rule here, which was delivered at a grand *velada* held in the Manila Grand Opera House on January 14, 1907. Follow some of them:

The eight hissing messengers of hate and death that crashed through his patriot breast and laid low forever the man, loosed from the mortal flesh that bound it for a few short years his undying soul and placed the seal of immortality on the ideas for which he dies! These creatures of the patriot brain that was stilled for all time sprang from the prostrate form to enjoy life everlasting!

They who sought his ruin builded for him a fadeless fame.

The bullets which laid prone his mortal body gave a force to Rizal's idea greater than the energy in the powder behind them. The wounds in his frame proclaimed the idea more elegantly than his tongue had ever done, and his blood on Bagumbayan field watered the plant that then began to put forth the bud of unified nationality.

He reeled and fell upon his back, his face upturned to the bright blue sky as though watching the flight of his soul to its home beyond the stars.

The father-land adored became the fatherland grateful!

The volley that closed his book of life, like a historical shot that still echoes through the corridors of history was "heard around the world," awakening the nations of the earth of the existence of these distant islands, and the inhabitants thereof to the sentiment of unity.

Rizal, as an American daily in Manila editorialized more than half a century ago, lives today and ever shall live in the hearts of his countrymen and in the memories of all who revere patriotism. Wherever men gather to plan the breaking of the chains of despotism, the name of Rizal may well be heard. In the words of one of his well-known American biographers, Dr. Frank C. Lau-

bach, "José Rizal is greater in the eyes of the Philippines and of the world than when he died 65 years ago."

All teachers of the courses on Rizal should be sincere and enthusiastic propagandists of the teachings of the Great Malayan. They have an important mission to accomplish. As long as there are many Filipino young men and young women who are steeped in the knowledge of the teachings of Rizal and make them as their guide in life, the future of this Republic is secure. There is no other time when the country needs young people willing to live the Rizal way than at present.

THE AGE OF AWAKENING *

Part One: 1830: MANILA BECOMES AN OPEN PORT

By Eduardo Lachica *

The paper examines the European and Philippine backgrounds of the slow economic growth of the archipelago up to 1830 when Manila became an open port.

Historians who have written about the Spanish regime in the Philippines seem to agree on one outstanding fact concerning the sluggish economic growth of the colony in its early years. The Spanish colonizers who first came to the archipelago were neither prepared for nor temperamentally disposed to the task of colony-building. They were either soldiers, missionaries or just plain adventurers, the Spaniards who extended the dominion of Philip II to these tropic shores, and after the sword and the cross had conquered, the native genius of these men seemed to have all but expended itself and the vitiating influence of climatic and geographic isolation took care of whatever initiative they had left.

Seen in one respect, it was unfortunate that in early Philippine history there was no economic activity outside of the galleon trade which came close to duplicating the achievements of the British East India Company nor a single leader as strong and far-seeing as Lord Clive who could successfully marshal all efforts behind a program of economic aggrandizement. But was this really an unfortunate thing for the Philippines? Conrado Benitez has noted that the absence of these circumstances spared the country many pains of economic exploitation such as those suffered by India and Indonesia in their comparative periods of development.

For two and a half centuries the Philippines subsisted on whatever proceeds accrued from the yearly galleon from Acapulco. In addition, a royal subsidy from Mexico was available to tide the country over if a disastrous shipwreck or a capture of a vessel by the marauding English impoverished the resources of the colony

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** Former Editor of *The Saturday Herald Magazine*.

which was, without exaggeration, almost totally dependent on the success of this peril-fraught overseas enterprise.

A more debilitating and frustrating state of affairs could not be imagined for the young colony. The government monopoly of this overseas trade gave rise to a system of patronage and corruption, the after-effects of which can still be felt in our body politic. Lulled by a false sense of security and taking it for granted that Mother Spain would forever look after the welfare of her prodigal off-spring, the colonists were unconcerned about the need for seeking the hidden gold in the fertile plains and forested mountainsides.

Unlike other Western territories in the Far East, the Philippines was not directly governed by her mother country. The islands were at least nominally under the jurisdiction of the viceroyalty of Mexico (New Spain), a good nine months away by galleon. This quixotic political set-up further compounded the confusion regarding the direction the colony's affairs should take.

Even if the desire was there to exploit the natural resources of the country, the needed capital was not available for the purpose. Fray Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, the Agustinian chronicler, sadly reported that there were not more than five persons in all Manila who had each as much as 100,000 pesos to his name. There were certainly not a hundred worth ₱40,000 each, and the majority lived in poverty and went begging. A merchant could be rich one year and rendered destitute the next by the fortunes of the galleon trade. The only substantially solvent entities were the obras pias, the funds built by the powerful religious orders out of royal grants and private donations. However, if we are to believe some contemporary accounts, the *cofradías* which administered these funds were too busy counting their profits from the galleon trade to think about other things.

For almost two centuries since the founding of Manila the city was virtually closed to all contact with the outside—or non-Spanish-world aside from an occasional visit by travelers like the Frenchman La Perouse. The English and the Dutch made many attempts to break into the isolation of this Spanish holding in the Far East but all such efforts were heroically beaten off by naval guns.

Perhaps no other conquered territory in modern history underwent as protracted a period of closed-door insularism as the Philippines did from the late 16th century to the late 18th century. There was little hope of the colony prospering under such conditions. A change in its political and economic outlook was definitely in order.

Fortunately, a number of developments had the effect of bringing about this desired change. The first in a strictly historical sequence was the British occupation of Manila in 1762. The conquering English brought with them their ideas of political and commercial liberalism and for the brief period of two years Manila had the privilege of relatively unhampered intercourse with world commerce. For the first time in the colony's history foreign merchants were allowed to do business in Manila and a new currency, the Indian rupee, was put into circulation.

With the return of the city to the Spanish authorities in 1764, the old regime was back in force but the liberal ideas of the English were not totally stamped out. New administrators took over the reins of government. As a further blessing, these men were singularly qualified to tackle the economic problems of the country.

But before we see how these enlightened governors-general brought about this revolutionary change, it is important to consider how the Philippines, a great distance as it was from Europe, was beginning to come under the influence of a new economic concept that was sweeping the continent.

The status quo in the Philippines—and by rough comparison in the other Western colonies throughout the world—was the direct result of the aggressive mercantile policies of the chief protagonists in the struggle for world trade. These included the countries of England, France, Holland and Spain. Without going too deeply into the theory of mercantilism, the empire-builders of this era sought the acquisition of power through foreign trading monopolies and government-imposed restrictions aimed at winning a favorable "balance of trade."

This theory was strongly challenged by a French physician named Francois Quesnay (1694-1774) who claimed that there existed a natural order of things with which human government should interfere as slightly as possible. The tenets of the "physiocrats," as Quesnay's followers came to be known, were only lightly regarded until a Scottish professor of moral philosophy named Adam Smith (1722-1793) took hold of Quesnay's ideas and expressed them forcefully in his "Wealth of Nations," a book which is said to have given rise to the entire school of classical economics.

From the slogan "*Laissez faire et laissez passer, le monde va de lui-meme*" (freely translated as "Let people do what they wish; the world will get along by itself") evolved a convenient name, *laissez faire*, for this theory of free trade and natural growth.

Needless to say, this kind of sound thinking took the wind out of the sails of those advocating strict monopoly and controls.

Among the monarchs of Europe who came under the influence of Quesnay and Smith was Carlos III who ruled Spain from 1759 to 1788. An "excellent example of the enlightened despot," he instituted new policies which resulted in increased public works and an administration tempered with justice (though it had a hand in the ill-advised measure of expelling the Jesuits from Spanish territory). His reign saw the founding of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country in the various colonies of Spain. It had the aim of promoting agriculture, industry and commerce in these areas.

The Philippines benefited considerably from this new regime. With the royal sanction of Carlos III the Philippines started its transition from its ancient status as a mere Spanish outpost in the Far East to that of a full participant in world trade. The Spanish king deserves a kind memory if only for the part he played in appointing successively three Philippine governors-general who were brilliantly cognizant of the economic problems of the colony and who did what they could to improve its lot.

These men were Simon de Anda who was governor-general from 1765-1776, Jose de Basco y Vargas, from 1778 to 1788, and Felix Berenguer de Marquina, from 1788 to 1793. Though none of them was eminently successful in the task before them, the seed of future growth were planted in the 28 years of their administrations.

In a sense, Simon de Anda's appointment was a reward for his courageous resistance against the British in the dark days of the occupation. It was perhaps the first instance of a governor-general chosen by the crown with the special mission of bringing about an economic reform in the Philippines. Anda pursued his task ably and rigorously, at the expense of his popularity and eventually his health.

One of Anda's best-known acts was the writing of a memorial to the Spanish government on April 12, 1768, in which he exposed Acapulco galleon. Among his forthright recommendations were the revision of commercial regulations, the recoinage of money and the need for more care in the selection of governors.

Anda's views were substantially backed up by Francisco Leandro de Viana, the royal fiscal of the Audiencia of Manila. The report was submitted to the king and the council of the Indies on May 1, 1767. The significance of the fact that Viana's report followed

Anda's by barely a year did not escape the astute Carlos III. Viana, a learned man who was once of the San Bartolome el Mayor college of the University of Salamanca and a member of the king's council, placed at the disposal of the throne nothing less than a detailed statement of the financial affairs of the islands.

Like Anda, Viana had few scruples about telling the truth even if it hurt. He denounced first of all the greed of the clergy which, he claimed, succeeded in obtaining "all profit in the islands." He pointed out how government revenues could be increased by the abolition of certain privileges and exemptions and the establishment of various monopolies. "Everything is in danger of total ruin unless suitable remedies are applied in time," he concluded ominously.

Anda's time saw the beginning of direct trade between Spain and the Philippines (previously Spanish produce reached Manila by a roundabout way through Acapulco). Fourteen voyages in all were made by Spanish royal frigates by way of the Cape of Good Hope. However, this venture had to be called off for Manila merchants did not see fit to support it. Governor Anda did not believe it was necessary to depend anymore on Chinese merchants in Manila so he recommended the sending of Spanish factors to Canton and Macao. The Spanish made a good start in establishing a commercial outpost in Canton but eventually the tough competition offered by the English and the French forced them to withdraw from the field.

The burden of his duties and the attacks of his enemies proved too much for Governor Anda and he died in office with very much left to be done. Anda's successor, Jose de Basco y Vargas, arrived in the Philippines in July, 1778. Those who thought the change in administration signified a return to the old colonial ways were sharply disappointed. When some high-born members of the Audiencia conspired against the new governor (they resented a mere naval officer being placed over them), Basco had them arrested and shipped forthwith to Spain.

Basco proved to be every bit as energetic and conscientious an administrator as his gallant predecessor. What Anda merely recommended, Basco put into effective action. In his 10-year-administration he not only put the government on a sound financial basis, reorganized the army and improved the schools but he also had enough time to put the fear of God in the hearts of the rapacious Moros and clean up the peace and order situation created by the tullisanes. The tenor of his regime was expressed by a document he grandly entitled a "General Economic Plan."

In no uncertain terms, Basco extolled the advantages of agriculture, commerce and industry. For the first time in the colony's history, the government gave incentive (in the form of cash prizes and awards) for those excelling in farming, mining, mechanical invention, sciences and the liberal arts.

A man who could match words with action, Basco sent an intrepid officer Col. Charles Conley to plant 4,485,782 mulberry trees in 30 districts in Camarines. The plantation prospered for the first years but, like the fate of many a well-meant project in the Philippines, it was abandoned after the governor's term of office.

The king's royal decree of August 27, 1780 ordered the governor to convene all "learned and competent" persons "capable of producing useful ideas." This was the local application of Carlos III's pet idea of the Economic Society. But even before the copy of the decree arrived, Governor Basco had with typical anticipation already organized the body. It was formally inaugurated on May 6, 1781, with Basco opening its deliberations with an eloquent speech.

The body had a distinguished membership recruited from government and commerce. Its first president was the Quartermaster-General Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal and its members included the Marquez de Villamediana, prior of the consulate of commerce. The society was endowed with a permanent fund of 960 pesos a year, "the value of two toneladas assigned to it in the lading of the galleon." For working purposes, the society divided itself into various sections including those for natural history, agriculture and rural economy, factories and manufactures, internal and foreign commerce and popular education.

One might wish the society could have been attended with more auspicious success. It was the first serious attempt to line up the best minds and most influential persons in the community behind a central program for the benefit of the colony. But it would be overly generous to say that the society accomplished as much as half of what it had set out to do. It went into a decline after the departure of its founder and the next governor, Aguilar, roughly opposed it. It suspended activity in 1809 and, though an order for its reactivation came two years later, it was not until 1819 that it once more came to life. In 1820 the society founded at its own expense a professorship of agriculture and an academy of design and in 1824 it was instrumental in introducing martins from China to fight the locusts plaguing the rice regions. Its

constitution was revised in 1828 and after his followed more than a half-century of dormancy. There was a "flash of vitality" in 1882 and then the organization apparently sank into permanent oblivion.

The second highlight of Basco's economic program was the institution of a government-backed trading company empowered not only to exploit all trade between the Philippines and Spain but also to go into actual agricultural and industrial ventures in the country.

The Royal Company of the Philippines, as the group was called, had unprecedented privileges. It had, first of all, a virtual monopoly of all Philippine-Spanish trade (except whatever produce came by way of Mexico). It could bring Asian produce to Spain duty-free and its ships could call on Chinese ports. On top of these, the company could buy foreign ships for operation under the Spanish flag without the normal fees.

When the company was chartered on March 10, 1785, it was capitalized at eight million pesos by the government, the *obras pias* and private entrepreneurs. With such ample backing, it was inconceivable that anything could go wrong. But once again a splendid plan failed of its purpose due to improper execution. Merchants left out of the monopoly placed numerous obstacles in the way of the company's progress. Large sums of money were advanced to irresponsible cultivators, many of whom defaulted payment due to crop failure or plain dishonesty. And most fatal of its weaknesses was the fact that the men running the company proved incompetent and unfit to handle the business. Smuggling was rampant; the "closed ports" of Manila was just a fiction. Favoritism, patronage and graft—the inevitable bugaboos of public office—spelled the eventual downfall of the royal company.

In an attempt to stave off failure, the government rechartered the company for another 15 years in 1820, with a new capital structure of ₱12,500,000. But as its inherent defects could not be corrected, its privileges were revoked in 1830 and the company abolished four years later.

While Spanish authorities were bending their efforts towards putting the colonial economy on its feet, the port of Manila began to yield to the irresistible pressure of Western commerce. As early as the 18th century British commercial interest, ever on the lookout for another rich Far Eastern market, were making representations with Spanish government in Madrid for permission to establish themselves in Manila.

At first the Spanish merely turned a deaf ear to these entreaties. But with the early success of the Philippine company, the directors were emboldened to allow foreign ships to carry Asian goods into Manila. There were in truth not enough Spanish bottoms to handle the increasing volume of Asian trade. This privilege was finally given in 1789, during the administration of the far-sighted Governor Marquina. This cautious concession — reflecting a “wait-and-see” attitude—was good for only three years. However, this crack in the door was enough opening to encourage the entry of commercial interest. During this period the Manila harbor was filled with brigs and schooners flying the flags of various nations—English, French, German and American. Its quays began to fill with unladen cargo and the waterside began to feel the bustle of commerce that was to be the prevailing temper of the city for decades to come.

As foreign ships were allowed to enter the port, it was only logical to allow the foreign merchants to come ashore so they could do business. This they were allowed to do, at first for only the peak trading periods in the year. But once given a foothold in the city, there was no stopping the European traders. A major victory was won when a number of them were given the right of permanent residence. In 1809, according to one account, an English firm was permitted to set up shop in the city and other companies followed in 1814 at the end of the War of Spanish Independence. By the end of the third decade of the 19th century the foreign companies that were to play an important part in the economic revolution of the country were already flourishing. These companies included Kerr, MacMicking & Co., Robert Wise & Co., and Russell, Sturgis & Co.

Only one obstacle remained in the way of the establishment of unrestricted commercial intercourse with the rest of the world and this was the venerable monopoly of the Royal Company of the Philippines over the European trade. The company, its financial resources all but exhausted and its economic prerogatives under severe criticism, was not in a position to challenge the new forces from without. The Spanish government saw that its demise was inevitable. On May 28, 1830 its constituted rights were revoked, finally making Manila in name as well as in fact an open port.

Perhaps no other date in the past several centuries could have had a greater economic significance for the Philippines. From this day on the Philippines experienced a steady climb in its economy. With the growth of shipping in the harbor came a corresponding

growth in trading activities on land. The foreign merchants, seeking raw materials to supply the increasing demand in Europe and America, encouraged the cultivation of cash crops like abaca and sugar. With the boom in the export business, the country was increasingly able to spend for its own welfare. Other economic fields like communications, manufacturing and merchandising found their own places in the new economic scheme of things. A bright new sun had risen on a long neglected tropical archipelago.

THE AGE OF AWAKENING

Part Two: THE EARLY ENGLISH

By Eduardo Lachica

The economic growth of the Philippines in the nineteenth century was shaped and directed by British traders who eventually wrested commercial supremacy in the country.

Though the Philippines remained a Spanish possession until 1898, the dominant influences shaping the country's economic growth in the 19th century were those of the British and the Americans. In both cases, these influences came about largely as a natural outgrowth of the so-called "China trade" which flourished from the late 18th century to the end of the 19th century.

The involvement of English trade interests in Asia dates back to 1600 when Queen Elizabeth I chartered the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading with the East Indies" to go into commercial activities in any territory "between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan," in the sweeping phrase of the mandate, except where possible conflict with the trading interests of other European countries might arise. The English East India Company, as this all-powerful monopoly came to be known, was chiefly instrumental in carving out the vast territory of India for the British Empire.

India was a logical springboard for the penetration of China, a profusely rich market barely touched by Western commerce since the days of Marco Polo. The company sent its first ship to Canton in 1689 and built its first factory there in 1889. The Manchu emperors, giving in at last to the undesired but apparently unappeasable aliens, permitted Western trade provided it was confined to the port of Canton. With other European nations sending in their traders for a share of the booty, an impressive China "boom" was on. Products from Cathay such as Ch'ing porcelain and Canton lacquer suddenly became in great demand in Europe. Other leading Chinese exports were cloissone, sedan chairs, cabinets, wall paper and embroidery. European artists were influenced by the "natural

art" of the Chinese and many a European palace prided itself with a "Chinese" pavilion or garden.

When the East India Company had served its purpose of economic penetration, its monopoly was abolished and independent British merchants took over the field. The time was auspicious for this renewed effort. Britain was that supplementing of her industrial resources. The cotton and silk brought over from India and China were processed into finished textiles in Britain's mills and these products in turn were exported back to the Far East for sizeable profits.

The fog-shrouded shipyards of Glasgow were prodigiously spawning ocean-going bottoms for Britain's great merchant fleet. Eventually it became the most famous ship-building center in the world. Liverpool became a port of global importance; in 1875 it handled 45 per cent of the British export trade. The Merseyside in the neighborhood of Liverpool grew rapidly as a manufacturing center. This double role was made possible by the narrow mouth of the Mersey river which made Liverpool such an ideal harbor and the proximity of coalfields and the Cheshire salt mines which had been worked on since the days of the Roman Empire. These two cities, one in England and the other in Scotland, were the fountainheads of English overseas commerce that reached the Philippines early in the 19th century.

There is some evidence that the English and other foreigners were active in Manila long before the prohibition against them was lifted. La Perouse mentions a Frenchman by the name of Sebir doing business in the city in 1787 and it is also a matter of record that about this time two supercargoes of the East India Company, Lance and Fitzhugh, were asked to go to Manila to operate an agency there. The Spanish writer Tomas de Comyn noted shortly after 1810 that an English merchant—he did not mention his name—left the country in 1798 "after spending twenty years in Manila during which he accumulated a fortune."

The only explanation for these circumstances—and this is verified by reputable historical sources elsewhere—is that there was considerable laxity in the observance of the law. The Spanish were great ones for making up rules and thinking up good justifications for breaking them. Even the ban against foreign shipping prior to 1789 had little validity in actual practice. To get around the difficulty, Western shippers had only to enter their ships under Asian registry and have Chinese, Indians or Arabs serve as their nominal captains.

There is the cumulative testimony of many contemporary historians that the first foreign firm licensed to operate in Manila was an English firm but the identity of this firm has never been specified in existing records. An American writer asserts without citing an unimpeachable authority that the English firm established in 1809 was Wise & Co. However, until stronger evidence can be found to support this belief, we would be inclined to go along with the company's official history which establishes its founding in 1826.

The much-quoted English historian John Foreman mentioned that in the very early days, presumably in the first few years of the 19th century, an English merchant, John Butler, besought the Spanish authorities for permission to live in the city and open trade with foreign countries. His petition, assailed a "monstruous and grievously dangerous" by the Spanish community, was flatly turned down. But when a similar request of the great American establishment, Russell & Sturgis — backed by the Governor General himself — was granted, Butler took heart again and appealed once more to the government. This time his request was approved.

In 1827, a year after the founding of Wise & Co., Strachan Murray & Co., the parent organization of the present Ker & Co., opened shop in Manila. By 1837, according to an English merchant's account, there were six British companies in Manila as compared to two American and one Spanish. (There were certainly more Spanish companies in Manila; the author might have been referring exclusively to import and export houses.)

The British companies were listed as Robert Wise & Co., Ker, Murray & Co., Paterson & Co., Strachan & Co., Zobel & Butcherts and Butler, Sykes & Co. They were all designated as "commission merchants" — that is, they dealt chiefly in import and export. Paterson & Co. had its principal business with Glasgow and its managing partner at this time was a Mr. Dyce. Butler, Sykes & Co. had affiliations with Liverpool and it had been in business for 17 months as of 1837.

Was there any connection between this company and that of John Butler? The record is not clear. Foreman merely mentions that Butler married a Filipino girl — the first recorded instance of an Anglo-Philippine marriage — and died at 55 on October 4, 1855. His widow had his remains shipped from London to Manila in 1860 and another interment took place at the historic San Agustin church in Intramuros.

The lone Spanish house mentioned in the account was Otadul & Co. The record, however, seems to show that the company was

actually acting as an agent for British interests in China. Its general manager and one of the partners was an American named I. Shillaber. He was mentioned to be "very enterprising and a great speculator (in hemp and rice)."

Ker & Co., the second oldest firm still in existence in the Philippines, is the modern successor of Strachan, Murray & Co. Strachan in turn was connected with the Glasgow firm of Ker, Murray & Co. (still in business today as Ker Bolton & Co., Ltd. of Fenchurch St., London). Sometime between 1834 and 1842 the Strachan company changed its business today as Ker, Bolton & Co., Ltd., of Fen named Strachan in all likelihood formed his own company, if this company was the Strachan & Co. mentioned by our English author in his 1837 listing. Ker, Murray & Co's new partner was another Scot named Robert Ker who left a position with Syme & Co. in Singapore to join the Manila company in 1834. Another early partner of Syme's, Thomas MacMicking, left Singapore to join Ker in Manila and together they reformed the company as Ker, MacMicking & Co.

When MacMicking left the islands sometime after 1850, he wrote for a London publisher an extremely readable account of his three years' stay in the Philippines. He is also regarded as one of the ancestors of J. R. McMicking, who is today president of Ayala & Co. and a leading figure in the business community.

Ker & Co. dealt principally with Liverpool and Glasgow. Its business at first was devoted to the importation of English manufactured goods but later the company branched out into the exportation of Philippine hemp, sugar and copra. It was also probably the first company to offer modern marine insurance in the Philippines. On March 4, 1829 the Company was appointed general agents for Lloyd's, the famed insurance house of London, on the recommendation of Small, Colquhoun & Co. and Capt. A. Campbell of *H.M.S. Cyrene*.

Wise & Co. is named after its founder, Robert Wise of Liverpool. Fortunately, some details concerning his family background and the circumstances leading to the formation of the Wise company are still known to us. In some instances, the facts of his colorful and adventurous life read like something right out of the wildest fiction.

Robert Wise descended from a family which has lived in the neighborhood of Silloth in Cumberland since the 15th century. His father, John Wise, and three of his six brothers migrated to the American colonies about 1760 and they finally settled in South Ca-

rolina. When the American Revolution broke out, the Wise boys responded to the cause of the colonies. They fought the British as commissioned officers under General Washington. In one swift and tragic engagement before Charleston, all three wise brothers were killed.

One of the Wise boys owned a considerable tract of land on the Little Pedee river, and his property he bequeathed in his will to his eldest brother Joseph who had remained in England. Joseph's son later spent a fair fortune trying to recover the property rightfully left his father. Robert Wise himself, when older and retired from his business, went over to Charleston for the same purpose. But this was to no avail. He found that the probate records had been destroyed in a fire at the City Hall many years before.

Robert Wise was born in 1788. Like many another English boy of his day, he spent his earliest years in the sea. At 16 he was berthed as a supercargo aboard a vessel bound for an East Indian port. His ship was blown off its course by a typhoon and he was shipwrecked on one of the Fiji islands. All the survivors except Wise were killed and eaten by the cannibals inhabiting the island. Tradition has it that Robert Wise was spared by a cannibal queen smitten by his youth and fair looks. He remained an unwilling captive of this amorous queen until a British called on the island and he was able to escape aboard it.

As if that hair-raising episode was not enough to quench Wise's love for adventure, the English lad took it upon himself to join His Majesty's navy and he had his fill of action with the fleet in the Dutch East Indies. For his part in the taking of Java in 1811, he was awarded a medal by the Admiralty.

Did Robert Wise come to Manila in 1809 to found his company as the American historian suggests? It might just be possible that he did so, offers Col. Frank Hodson in his enlightening history of English commercial interests in the Philippines. Wise might have visited Manila aboard a British warship and it is just possible that Wise had expressed a desire to open a company of his own in the city.

The conclusion of the Napoleonic war found Robert Wise back in Liverpool, bronzed by the tropic sun and somewhat skinnier but his love for exotic places still strong. He persuaded a shipowner, John Pattison of Whitehaven, to give him command of a small merchant ship. He was just in his middle twenties. The trading voyages he made aboard this vessel to the East Indies led to the organization of Wise & Co. in Manila. In 1818, he married Frances

Pattison, whose family background is not too clearly specified in available records but whom we may presume to be a relative of Robert Wise's shipping boss. If this was the case, the marriage certainly provided another boost to Wise's career. He was only 30 at the time of his marriage but already he was a resourceful skipper, a knowledgeable merchant and a traveler with an insight into the commercial potentialities of the Far East.

In 1826, a partnership was formed between Robert Wise and William Anderson. The company was called Anderson, Wise & Co. with head offices in Liverpool, a branch in the Cape of Good Hope as William Anderson & Co. and three others in Batavia, Singapore and Manila as Robert Wise & Co. Anderson, Wise & Co. was dissolved in 1834 and Robert Wise took in as his new partner, John Holliday, a bright lad just out of school. The new firm was called Wise, Holliday & Co. A few years later Wise handed over his principal to his son John and thereafter the firm was known as Holliday, Wise & Co. with head offices in Manchester, England, and branches in Manila, Canton, Hongkong, Shanghai and Foochow.

Holliday, Wise & Co. and Gibb, Livingston & Co. were the first English firms to enter Shanghai when it was opened to foreigners in 1842. John Wise and John Darby Gibb went from Shanghai to Canton together to set up facilities there for their respective companies.

John Wise was every bit the adventurous type his father was. At 18 he got his father's permission to go on a safari in Africa. He went there aboard one of the family ships and he left an interesting diary of his experiences in the dark continent. At his father's instructions, he boarded another Wise ship and arrived in Manila in 1837. Shortly afterwards, he took over his father's business when barely in his twenties. He was a full partner of the company for twenty years, from 1839 to 1859.

Wise & Co. in Manila did a considerable commission business for several decades, perhaps the biggest of the English companies here. The company opened its office in Binondo at the foot of the Puente Grande. In 1953 it transferred its location to Juan Luna where it remained until World War II.

Paul Miller, an American political scientist who was connected with the U.S. Embassy a few years ago, believes that the early English and Americans established their firms in Manila primarily to support their more extensive operations in China. There is great deal of truth to this point of view. Later, however, the volume of

Philippine trade became sufficiently large to justify greater attention on the part of foreign businessmen.

By the second decade of the 19th century, they must have been doing a considerable business in Manila. In 1890, \$200,000 worth of Spanish coin and quicksilver, a veritable fortune in those days, was sent by the Robert Stevenson company of Manila to Magnlac and Co., the leading independent British firm in Canton. However, the Spanish government banned further shipments of silver to prevent a serious drain of currency from the country.

In those days, the Philippines was actually a rice-exporting country. The annual shipment of rice from this country to China averaged 700,000 quintals to 800,000 quintals. Foreign vessels made several trips in a single season to carry cargoes of rice to Batavia and Canton. At the height of the famine in China, foreign ships were allowed to unload cargo in Canton free of duty provided only rice was carried. Many foreign shippers took somewhat undue advantage of this privilege by unloading their non-rice cargo in the outer anchorage of Lintin, an island near Hongkong, and disposing of their cereal at the mainland ports. Otadui & Co. was set up in Manila by Jardine Matheson & Co. (the successor of Magniac & Co.) precisely to serve as the Philippine terminal of the rice trade. Otadui supplied not only rice to Canton but also sugar, tobacco, hemp and later opium.

The Philippine was quite deeply involved in the unhappy opium trade which flourished in this part of the century. The narcotic was introduced into China by profit-hungry foreigners who cared little for the cost in human suffering such a trade would entail. This trade became such a burging issue that the Emperor promptly imposed a ban on its importation and on its cultivation in the mainland. The East India Company and the Co-Hong, the guild of Chinese merchants foreign companies were required to deal with exclusively, had to post bond in 1809 that no opium was aboard any of the foreign ships in Whampoa harbor.

But the illicit trade continued. Lintin became a dumping ground for the contraband. It would be brought there by foreign ships, transferred aboard fast armed boats and later spirited ashore. The import of opium actually increased from 4,494 chests in 1811-21 to 9,708 chests in 1821-28. Two Spanish writers, Rafael Diaz Arenas and Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro, went so far as to suggest the culture of opium in the Philippines to cash in on the rich contraband-running business in China.

Between 1821 and 1827 a partnership was formed between James Matheson and F. X. de Yrissari, a Spaniard with relatives in Manila, Mexico and Calcutta with apparently this end in mind. Yrissari and Co. had several shiploads of opium consigned to it from Calcutta. For a time Manila was considered as the site for the storage of opium for eventually smuggling into China. This idea was temporarily abandoned as a result of the tragic massacre of foreign nationals during the cholera epidemic in 1820.

The growing hostility between the Chinese government and the foreign traders led to the Opium War of 1840-42. During the conflict Manila bodegas were filled almost to the rafters with the contraband. The schooner *Hellas* brought a thousand chests to Manila for later transshipment to China aboard six other vessels. Jardine Matheson & Co., which practically had a corner on the opium trade via Manila, made a 200 percent profit for the season.

The war ended in 1842 with the British victorious and in possession of the port of Hongkong. Later, the Western nations won another sizeable concession in the opening of the ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, Shanghai and Hankow. These events eventually contributed to the commercial supremacy of the English in the Philippines.

THE AGE OF AWAKENING

Part Three: THE EARLY AMERICANS

By Eduardo Lachica

Merchant ships from New England ports inaugurated American trade in the Far East at the turn of the nineteenth century. Manila itself became involved as a theater of operation of the Yankee "invasion" in which two companies—Peele, Hubbell & Co. and Russell & Sturgis—emerged as the leading foreign firms in Manila.

In the 1780's Englishmen were a fairly common sight in the quays and streets of Canton, the city port in China where foreigners were allowed to provision and trade. They were usually burly sea-going types with curly red hair and a remarkable ability to quaff mug after mug of grog over their festive boards. But these big hearty foreigners were soon joined by an even stranger coterie of seamen who came to the Canton roads in stout black brigs whose rigging showed evidence of an arduous journey across the Pacific.

These new strangers were quite different from the English. They were tall, gaunt and piercing-eyed and they hardly uttered a word while the English caroused at the other tables. They were natives of New England, the former colony of the crown, and they were bent on giving the ruddy British a run for their money in the ginseng trade just as their compatriots had given the redcoats a lesson they would long remember on the fields of Concord.

How had this new Western invasion of the China coast come about? The years following the War of the American Independence saw a vigorous industrial revolution take place in the coastal cities and hamlets of New England. Beside the purling streams of Massachusetts and Connecticut hummed thousands of looms spinning out the cotton of the south. The ports in Massachusetts became shipping centers of global importance—the proud city of Boston, which had only a few years before had dumped a cargo of Chinese tea into its harbor in defiance of the British, and Salem, its smaller but just as enterprising neighbor 15 miles to the northeast. The

latter city, founded by Roger Conant in 1626, outlived its notoreity as a witch-hunting community to become the fastest-growing harbor on the East Coast. At one time there were as many as 34 ships of Salem registry engaged in the China trade. Like their English counterparts, Liverpool and Glasgow, Boston and Salem nurtured men who wanted to find their fortunes beyond the horizon.

The need for wider market for the manufacturers of New England combined with the inbred maritime tradition of the region drove these American entrepreneurs westward in search of their fortunes. It was no easy journey these sea-farers from New England had to make. They had to sail due south bucking one Atlantic gale after another, but this was hardly anything to prepare them for the ordeal of rounding the Horn and crossing the Straits of Magellan—the dreaded stretch of turbulent, tossing water which was the most perilous any seaman could ever plunge his brig into. Then would follow the calmer but agonizingly dull and prolonged westering across the biggest ocean in the world and this would last for many months until the yellow hills of China would at long last rise up on the bowsprit.

On August 28, 1784, the *Empress of China*, her top sails tattered and her rigging gray with brine, ghosted into Whampoa harbor and hundreds of pig-tailed Chinamen crowded the quays to stare at the strange ensign she was flying—the ring of thirteen stars in a field of blue. She was the first American ship to reach the mainland of China. She unloaded a cargo of ginseng, a medicinal herb highly prized by the Cantonese and after a short stay in which the New England sailors soaked up a lifetime of sights and sounds in the Chinese city the *Empress* raised her anchor for the trip back to New York. The entire trip lasted 15 months. She brought back a cargo of tea which returned to her owners a modest profit of twenty five per cent.

This was not quite a killing as most shipping profits go but there was no doubt in the minds of the shrewd Yankees that it was only the beginning of a long and profitable relationship with the entrepots of the Orient. Many other ships followed, not only from Boston and Salem but also from Providence, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Towards the close of the 18th century the New Englanders were solidly entrenched in Canton. American trading firms like the famous Oilphant & Co. were now challenging the long-standing monopoly of the British East India Company.

The Yankees showed they meant business by taking away the carrying trade from the Dutch and the Swedes. They eventually broke the long-standing monopoly of the East India Company—Antonio Ma. Regidor puckishly noted that this was the same company which had shipped the ill-fated cargo of tea to Boston at the outbreak of the revolution.

Several factors were responsible for the rousing American success in Canton. With command over specie in the form of Spanish dollars, the Yankees were able to undercut the English freight rates by as much as 50 per cent. While the English concentrated on importing bullion, woolens, textiles, lead and copper—all European products—the Americans traded a wider line including ginseng, raw cotton, beche de mer (trepan) and sandalwood, that aromatic heartwood from Hawaii which the Chinese loved to make into ornamental chests and boxes. All these products had ready market in China and other ports in the Far East.

In a way, the English could be said to have defaulted much of the ground they had earlier gained; this was largely attributable to the Napoleonic war which was draining all Europe of her manpower and wealth. On the other hand, American shipping was enjoying its most prosperous era from 1816 to 1828. U.S. ships were everywhere, "in every port, competing on an equal footing with vessels of European fleets." Filling the void left by the English merchantmen tied up in the blockade of the Emperor of France, they soon captured the bulk of the carrying trade in the Far East.

It was no mere accident that the Americans chose to develop Manila as one of their most important trading posts in the region. Benito Legarda, Jr. noted three compelling reasons why the Yankees could not ignore the potentialities of the Spanish colony. It lay smack on the sailing route of the New England merchant-men and it was there where they could pick up Spanish dollars for their trading activities on the mainland. And then there was the fact that the English were exploiting the strategic position of the Spanish port for their lucrative trafficking in opium. Finally, Manila was the source of other exports to China as well as to other markets in the world.

In 1792, the *Astrea* under the command of Henry Prince, dropped anchor off Manila. She was, according to the best available records, the first ship carrying the American flag to call on the port. The ship visited again in 1796 to take a cargo of indigo, hemp, pepper and sugar to the United States and from that time on American vessels were frequent callers in Manila harbor.

The history of American trade in the Philippines in this period is centered on the activities of two New England companies, Peete, Hubbell & Co. and Russell & Sturgis. Their rise as a position of great power and influence on these islands and their eventual decline constitute one of the most vital developments in the economic growth of this country in the 18th century. It is one part of Philippine history that is practically untold outside of scant references in the standard works.

Until recently, the only source of information on these early Americans was the short treatise written in the 1900's by the Filipino lawyer Antonio Ma. Regidor in collaboration with the English writer Warren T. H. Mason while the former was in London following his sensational escape from exile in the Carolines. He was, however, not in a position to write objectively about the era, nor could he have had sufficient command of the facts, and later scholars have found cause to doubt the authenticity of portions of his work.

More detailed findings have come to light in the past decade. The informal history written by Col. Frank Hodsoll, formerly a top executive of Warner Barnes & Co., has proven of invaluable help to contemporary scholars. Five years ago, Benito Legarda, Jr. wrote the first comprehensive history of these American entrepreneurs as his doctorate thesis in Harvard University. He was fortunate to have been able to work with original documents left by the same families who had dealings with the Philippines in this period and other historical collections in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and from all this emerged a history in its fullest scope — the rousing, inspiring, poignant and finally tragic story of the Hubbells, the Russells and the Sturgises.

The first of these great American entrepreneurs to reach these shores was a tough, well-weathered Connecticut Yankee named Ezekiel Hubbell. He was a descendant of Richard Hubbell who migrated from England to New Haven in 1746. Four years after his arrival Richard Hubbell married a fellow-immigrant from England, thus starting the famous Hubbell line from Connecticut.

The Hubbells threw in their lot with the shipping trade after the Revolution. Ezekiel, one of the footloose second-generation Hubbells, went out to sea when barely in his teens. In no time, he became a merchant-navigator," one of a new breed of man born of the aggressively commercial times, equally versed in Bowditch as in the double-entry ledger, combining the duties of ship captain and supercargo of the vessel he owned. But quite unlike the old-time

Spanish navigators who took to the high seas in the sheer spirit of adventure, the merchant-navigators of New England cared for little else than making a sound profit at the end of the voyage.

In 1729, when only 29, he was already a managing owner of two vessels and a tycoon in his own right. In June, 1802, he completed a historic voyage aboard one of his own ships, the *Enterprise*; she was the first ship out of New York to carry the American flag around the world.

In 1817 Capt. Ezekiel Hubbell broke a retirement of nine years to bring the *Citizen* to Manila to pick up a cargo of sugar and indigo for the firm of Hoyt & Tom. He sent part of this cargo back with him to New York and another part on a French ship to Hamburg, making a moderate profit out of the exchange. He sent the *Citizen* to Manila again in 1819, this time with his son George William as supercargo. The Hubbell scion loaded the *Citizen* for Hamburg and sent it back to Manila, going on from the German city to Connecticut where he got married in March, 1821.

The following month the Connecticut ship *Ajax* brought back to Manila Ezekiel, George William and his younger brother Henry Wilson. The Hubbells were now definitely interested in the prospects of doing business in Manila. Towards the end of the year, after the *Ajax's* third trip to Manila, Hubbell & Co. was a going enterprise with George W. Hubbell as the head and Henry W. Hubbell as a junior assistant. Ezekiel, confident that his sons could carry on without him, left soon afterwards.

Hubbell & Co., the existence of which was first recorded in its initial commercial circular dated January 1, 1822, could be actually the first authenticated establishment of a foreign company in the Philippines if earlier claims such as that of Wise & Co. are to be found without basis. From all available information, it was set up to handle the Philippine end of a global trading operation in which the Hubbell family was a participant.

George Hubbell apparently did well by himself in Manila: He sent some sugar to South America in 1823 and increased his business with New York and Salem. In 1825 he personally conducted a cargo of sugar to Cadiz, returning to the United States for a two-year home leave. He came back to Manila, leaving part of his cargo there and the balance in China where it loaded up for New York. Hubbell & Co. continued to increase the volume of its China business.

Then a double tragedy struck the Hubbell family. In April, 1830 Ezekiel sent his third son Anson to join his brothers in Manila

and the boy died of an unnamed cause while at sea. On May 3 the following year, George W. Hubbell unexpectedly passed away at 35. The records do not tell us whether he succumbed to the pressures of business or to the many virulent fevers which were the constant hazard of a prolonged stay in Manila. But we do know that Hubbell's death was mourned by the business community, for the man was greatly admired and respected.

The foreign community, with no doubt the blessings of the Spanish, erected several years later a monument in Hubbell's honor in Plaza Cervantes. This statue was transferred in 1954 to the grounds of the U.S. Embassy at the request of the American Association of the Philippines. It ascribes to Hubbell's memory the fact that he was "United States Consul to this Island." This is actually the earliest reliable record of the existence of such a consular position in Manila. Does this make Hubbell the first American diplomatic official in the Philippines? There is no conclusive evidence on this score. (The log of the *Astrca* records that a John Stuart Kerr acted as "American consul of sorts" in 1796.)

With George's death, the business was largely left in the hands of his younger brother Henry. The latter's interest in trading with England and China led to the establishment of a partnership with J. W. Peele of Salem, who arrived in Manila in May, 1832 aboard the *Sapphire*. The new identity of the firm as Peele, Hubbell & Co. was announced in its commercial circular of July 1, 1832. Two years later Henry retired from the company and was succeeded by Henry Lawrence of New York. Both Peele and Lawrence retired in 1843, after which the partners of the firm were predominantly of Salem derivation.

In the meantime, another American company had established itself in Manila and it was evidently an economic force to reckon with. Like its English counterparts in Manila, Russell & Sturgis was an offshoot of the China trade. The central figure in this operation, according to Legarda, was John Perkins Cushing, an astute Bostonian who was running Perkins & Co. in Canton. Cushing, when only a clerk of 16, took over the affairs of this company upon the sudden death of its head. He managed so well that his uncle in Boston Thomas Handasyd Perkins, found it unnecessary to send a replacement for the deceased member of the firm.

In the mid-1820's Perkins & Co. was already doing business with Manila through the agency of B. A. Barretto & Co. It felt, however, the great disadvantage of having to put itself "into the

hands of an agent in Manila in whom we do not confide as intimately as we must."

Both Cushing and Thomas Handasyd Perkins, who exercised from Boston a paternal influence on the affairs of the firm, agreed in the rich possibilities of trading with the Philippines. Perkins also seemed to have the notion that the colony was just ripe for a revolution as was the case in many Spanish possessions in South America, and he was quite ready to supply the rebels—as well as the Spaniards—with all the powder and arms they might need. Thomas T. Forbes was sent to Manila in 1825 to explore this interesting possibility. Nothing came of it, of course, but Forbes saw enough of business conditions here to convince the Boston and Canton people that the time was ripe for a full-fledged agency in Manila.

The man who was chosen to open the Perkins agency in Manila was a Providence-born lawyer named George Robert Russell. He was born on May 5, 1800, graduated from Brown University in 1821, studied law at Philadelphia, and began his practice there. Some kind of domestic crisis must have come up in his life for he decided to quit it all—the "Ivy League" background, the promising Philadelphia career—for some vague adventure in South America. He floundered for some time in the quagmires of the Equator before he had enough sense to return and accept a respectable position with his uncle's firm in Canton. His uncle, of course, was no other than John Perkins Cushing.

On February 23, 1827 he wrote a relative that he had been commissioned to serve as a supercargo of a Perkins ship bound for Manila and Batavia. Russell must have given a good impression to his employers because shortly afterwards, on July 19, 1827, Perkins revealed his intention of putting "the settlement of our affairs in Manila in the hands of Geo R. Russell, a young man of excellent character, who will implicitly obey our instructions."

Not three months later Russell was in Manila. "I have plenty of employment and find no idle hours," he reported to his sister. "Prospects are very good and I have sanguine hopes that I shall one day be able to offer you a home." In much of Russell's correspondence there is a strong impression of gentility placed in straitened circumstances. Russell's one great ambition was to acquire enough wealth to restore his family to its former graces.

In Christmas of 1827 Russell was joined by Henry P. Sturgis "who arrived lately from Canton and at the strong recommendation of our friends in Canton we have decided to establish a house at

this place." The partnership of Russell & Sturgis was quite likely inaugurated the following year.

Both partners held each other in high esteem; they each named their first-born after the other. In another letter to his sister, Russell described his colleague as an "excellent, gay man, very industrious, very capable, with an inexhaustible fund of good nature, a most enviable disposition and of first-rate principles."

Their business prospered from the start; they were the "envy of their fellows." From Canton poured a steady stream of encouragement from Russell's erstwhile employer John Perkins Cushing. He cautioned the young entrepreneurs when business conditions were on the sticky side praised them whenever they had done well.

Russell's legal background came in quite handy in the "litigious environment" he found himself in. When faced with three law suits at one time, he remarked wryly that all this tedious business reminded him of the little law office he had in 4th street.

In 1846, nine years after George Russell's retirement, another Russell, a half-brother named Jonathan, joined the firm to look after the family interests. Jonathan Russell stayed on long enough to become the firm's last senior partner. Contemporary accounts describe Russell as one of Manila's leading social lights. The incorrigibly anti-foreign community had never seen the likes of him. The English kept discreetly to their clubs, the Chinese were inseparable from their family associations, and the Frenchmen and Germans socialized only with their own countrymen. But Russell, anticipating the age of Rotarianism and corporate public relations, extended his hospitality to Spaniards and natives alike.

Regidor, noticeably impressed, reported that sumptuous parties were held "almost every night" in the big town house maintained by the great American merchant. Even in those days of no income taxes, this was pretty high living.

The history of the American firm is not without an element of romance. Russell Sturgis, the son of the original R & S partner, fell in love with Josefina Borrás, orphan of a Spanish minor official who had settled in the Bicol region. But because Sturgis was a Protestant, the church would not permit the solemnization or the union, and so the wedding ceremony had to be held aboard a British warship anchored in the bay. Regidor described it as the first recorded instance of a marriage between an American and a Filipino on the islands. A fuller and somewhat more authentic account of this episode is recorded by the famous American philosopher George Santayana in his biography "Persons and Places." Santayana was

no less than the son of the former Josefina Borrás and her second husband who married after the former's earlier union with Sturgis ended bitterly in divorce.

In these days before commercial specialization, Russell & Sturgis was a widespread trading operation that had its hands in almost everything. It was basically a commission house importing and exporting goods on a consignment basis, but it also traded on its own account. It represented world-wide shipping interests, but was a shipowner on its own right. It owned shares in industrial concerns, slipways and in banks. It held title to real property and plantations, but derived much more profit from giving advances on the crops of other plantation owners.

Among the various concerns which the company represented in 1875 were the Colonial Compañía de Seguros Marítimos with head office in Batavia, the China Fire Insurance Co., Lloyd's, China Traders Insurance, London Assurance Co., Compañía de la Mensajerías Marítimas, and the North British and Mercantile Insurance Co.

At the height of their power, Russell & Sturgis and Peele, Hubbell & Co. were practically in control of the country's foreign trade. They handled three-fifths of the sugar business and an even greater proportion of the hemp trade. While they held sway, the English had to play a decidedly secondary role. As "merchant-bankers" they liberally extended credit to plantation owners throughout the islands. The logic of this operation was simple but effective. By putting planters in their debt, the Americans would be assured of the right to sell the former's crops at a profit big enough to compensate for any losses they might incur.

The two American houses are largely credited with having played the key role in the development of the Philippine hemp industry. Abaca (*musa textilis*) is a fibrous plant native only to the Philippines though the generic name of "hemp" is applied to several other varieties grown in the warmer regions of Asia, continental Europe and America. The plant grew in a wild state in the Bicol region and in Mindanao.

At first the fibers of the plant were used only for the making of native cloth. But in 1820 U.S. Navy officers who had visited the Philippines brought samples of this new fiber to the East Coast. The New England manufacturers immediately saw bright commercial prospects in abaca. It could be used to make rope that was 25 per cent stronger than that made out of native American hemp or fiber imported from India and other parts of Asia. (In later

tests, Manila hemp was found to be able to stand a stress of 4,669 pounds as against 3,885 pounds for an equivalent size and length of ordinary hemp.)

The abaca trade was foremost in the mind of John Perkins Cushing's mind when he sent George Russell off to Manila to found his agency. "Purchase all that can be got," he boldly advised, "and even go half a dollar higher than the old price." An indication of just how important the Philippine fiber loomed in the firm's scheme of things was the fact that part of the design of Russell Sturgis' family crest was a knot of rope.

In 1824, the first large shipments of abaca were consigned to Boston and Salem and the volume of trade grew through the years. In 1846 the U.S. imported 8,000 tons of abaca, a figure that increased almost four times over with 30,000 tons in 1860. By 1880 the U.S. was the world's largest buyer of abaca with an annual importation of 80,000 tons.

This was the heyday of abaca. Later years were to see the product gradually lose its commercial importance due to a host of troubles including lack of mechanization, the mosaic disease and modern substitutes for hemp.

To keep up with the rising world demand in cordage, Russell and Hubbell advanced large amounts of cash to cultivator and established abaca-stripping stations in various parts of the country. The entire trading system built by these two concerns—supported by a rough guess close to 100,000 Filipinos. The two companies alone handled two-fifths of the country's export trade. And it was chiefly their pioneering work which made Manila hemp a commodity name known all over the world. The cordage factories of Massachusetts turned the hanks of fiber into various types of products ranging from the standard binder twine to stout marine hawsers and cables. A Norwegian sailor on Baltic sea knew the dependability of Manila rope in the rigging of his brig even if he didn't have the foggiest notion where Manila was.

The two companies which rose to positions of primary importance in the Philippine economy were not destined to last the 19th century. In 1875, shortly after the death of Jonathan Russell in San Francisco, the business community was rudely shocked to hear that the great establishment of Russell and Sturgis had suspended payment. It just couldn't have happened, but it did. The effect of this sudden failure of a highly-reputed concern was to paralyze business activity in Manila for almost a year.

The practice of wide credit extension which had formed the basis of its near-monopoly in abaca and sugar was the very cause of its downfall. John Foreman was brutally frank in revealing how the generous loans given out by the company were abused "in a most abominable manner" by Filipino hacenderos of Panay and Negros. They would first approach the company with exaggerated claims about the extent and capacities of their landed properties. The Russell company was apparently guilty of haphazard banking in their failure to investigate these credit risks thoroughly. "Russell was deceived in every direction by the natives," Foreman reported. Instead of investing the funds in cultivation, the hacenderos "sent their sons to college, built fine houses, bought pianos and jewelry and otherwise satisfied their pride and love for artificial show." Having made the initial mistake of advancing a loan, the company found it necessary to continue lending funds to save the original loan.

The financial position of the company at the time of its collapse was unbelievably bad it is a wonder its plight did not become a matter of public knowledge earlier. Its balance sheet itemized the folly of its investments — P300,000 in sugar advances in Iloilo and Negros, P269,000 in abaca in Albay and Leyte, P154,000 in shipping. The statement of condition listed its total assets at P2,749,489.

The company had P300,000 in cash. The directors hoped to stave off the final disintegration of the company by using this fund to pay off the 8 percent interest on its deposits. Thus were the wolves held off for a while but eventually the directors fully realized the hopelessness of their position. The company suspended payments for the second and last time on November 6, 1876.

At this point Casa Russell practically vanished from the scene. Ramon Reyes Lala, who in all likelihood was the first Filipino to write a book in English (published in New York in 1898), recalled that his family converted the big Russell company office fronting Plaza Cervantes into a hotel.

If the Russell company had to fall, it did so in an honorable manner. It paid back all its liabilities upon its dissolution and two or three other companies were even built out of its ruins. While many suffered, principally depositors, fifty times as many benefited from the failure of the company, if Foreman's postmortem on the great institution is to be believed. "There are many families today who owe their financial position to the generosity of the firm," he wrote in 1890. He supported this contention with a scathing reference to half a dozen real estate owners in Iloilo who, though pen-

niless at the start, made their fortunes at the expense of the Russel Company.

The same financial jinx which bounded the house of Russell to an untimely end brought about the collapse of Peele, Hubbell & Co. Frederick Sawyer, an English writer who was employed as a consulting engineer at the company's slipways in Cañacao (Cavite), attributed the company's downfall to "rash speculations in sugar" and not to the persecutions of the Spaniards. The Hubbell company struggled on for several years after the liquidation of Russell. But too deeply in the red, it finally ceased to be a business entity in 1887.

Peele, Hubbell & Co.'s remaining assets were absorbed by the Anglo-American partnership of Warner, Blodgett & Co. This company became the parent of the well-known trading firm of Warner Barnes & Co.

It was generally a bad time for American commerce in the Far East. The American Civil War seemed to have an adverse effect on the overseas trade of New England. Due to the confused state at home, there was little support coming from the American government. During this period four big American houses in the Far East failed, the two companies in Manila as well as Oliphant & Co., the great China agents for the American Board of Missions, and Russell & Co. of Hongkong.

On the other hand, the conditions in Asia favored the English. While the Americans had no commercial base in the Far East, the English had both Singapore (founded in 1821) and Hongkong and they had as a consequence vastly more government backing. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, shortening the supply line with Europe by several hundred miles, was another factor which aided the English interests.

It was a costly fight the English waged against their American rivals but the acquisition of the assets of Peele, Hubbell & Co. by an English concern was positive proof of their regained supremacy in the Far East. However, American trade with the Philippines continued to grow. In 1875, the year of the Russell's closure, the combined volume of U.S.-Philippine trade was \$26,000,000. In 1880 the volume rose spectacularly to \$50,000,000. Though most of the trade was carried in British bottoms, the U.S. still got most of the hemp imports and a considerable share of the sugar shipments.

Thus ended the first American "era." It would not be until two decades later when a second and a more fruitful one would bring its blessings to the Philippines.

THE AGE OF AWAKENING

Part Four: THE SPANISH HOUSES

By Eduardo Lachica

The story of the Roxases, the Ayalas and the Zobels portrays the pioneering enterprises that built their venerable institutions in the industrial and commercial world of the Philippines today. It is a fascinating, inspiring family romance full of courage and faith, acumen and vision, industry and fortitude, and heroic struggles that richly deserve a conspicuous place in Philippine economic history.

The oldest commercial house of Spanish origin in the Philippines came into being when Domingo Roxas, a far-sighted Spanish landowner and comerciante, and his 29-year-old son-in-law, Antonio de Ayala, signed the articles of partnership of Casa Roxas in 1834.

The latter, a young Basque aristocrat, was only an industrial partner—in the legal sense, one who contributes his services instead of capital to the partnership—but as fortune would have it, it is by his name that this venerable institution is known today.

The company has the distinction of having started the oldest industry in the Philippines. At a time when all the other commercial houses were engaged in the lucrative foreign commission business, Casa Roxas invested the bulk of its assets in a crude but effective distillery. Spanish-time prints show an impressive spread of chimneyed buildings on both sides of Echague street from the bank of the Pasig river to where the Magnolia plant now stands. This was the "Destileria y Licoreria de Ayala y Cia," at the height of its fame. But when it began its business, it depended wholly on a primitive still manufactured from a hollow log and bamboo tubing and operated by fire.

It was not until 1876 that a French steam-operated "Savalle" machine was put into operation. Another mechanical triumph followed with the installation of a "Savalle" rectifier and an "Egrot" type of distiller which made it possible for the distillery to produce

a fairly good quality of rum, whiskey, cognac, chartreuse, anis and anisette, not to mention its top money-maker Ginebra San Miguel.

The commercial distillation of spirits entailed a large, practically nation-wide operation. Margarita Roxas de Ayala bought 5,000 hectares of nipa swamp in Hacienda San Esteban, Pampanga, to provide a source of raw material for alcohol distillation. She also established nipa palm colonies in Capiz, Cauayan and Capinajan in Capiz with refining stations in each of these places.

The distillery nurtured the first seeds of the country's chemical industry. In 1878 its technical director, Anacleto del Rosario, discovered a way of neutralizing acidity and the light color of alcohol obtained from tuba. He is remembered today as one of the great Filipino pioneers in the field of chemistry.

The Quiapo plant continued to be one of the mainstays of the Ayala fortune until it was sold to the elder Carlos Palanca on June 21, 1924.

While the development of the country's natural resources was only a subject for tiresome speeches at the meetings of the Economic Society of Friends, Ayala y Cia, with little fanfare placed its venture capital in several extractive industries. The company started the first coal-mining operation in Pandan creek, Naga, Cebu, and shortly afterwards opened a plant to obtain commercial dyes from indigo.

In some of these ventures, which were naturally riskier than the usual run of export-and-import business because of the large investments involved and the exploratory nature of the operation, profits did not materialize to any large extent. But in its almost Quixotic desire to see the country derive wealth from its own resources, Ayala y Cia, continued to plow its funds into its nipa swamps and its mines against the most difficult odds.

An eventful family history, characterized by genius, courage and defiant heroism

Some Ayala partners went into other ventures on their own. Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz played a leading role in the planning and operation of Manila's first tramcar service. This is an interesting phase of city history which has been all but forgotten. On April 22, 1878, Leon Monssour petitioned the government for permission to operate a street-car service. The following year, on March 21, a royal order granted the concession to Luciano M. Bremen y Cabello. This right was shortly afterwards transferred to the Compañia de los Tranvias de Filipinas, a public utility organized by

Zangroniz and Adolfo Bayo. Zangroniz was already a full-time partner of Ayala (in behalf of his wife Trinidad Ayala de Zobel) but he had some energy left over to undertake this absorbing project.

Manila's earliest streetcars were modest-sized carriages of steel and wood, each drawn by a single pony. A maximum of 12 passengers could be carried on each car, and they had to be evenly distributed at both ends to prevent the car from toppling over. Eight centavos was charged for first-class fare and four for second-class.

On November 21, 1889 the Civil Government issued its official rules and regulations concerning the proper conduct of both streetcar operators and passengers. Those who placed stones and other obstacles on the streetcar rails were subject to a fine of from one to five pesos. A tramcar operator could not interrupt his authorized schedule unless stopped by "an act of God or a public procession." The ordinance enjoined all conductors to display due gallantry by helping down all "women, infants and old people."

The tramway system had five city routes, all centering on Plaza San Gabriel, the hub of the city's business and financial district. The Intramuros line, like the other southbound lines, crossed the Puente de España, Manila's busiest bridge, where Calle Nueva is now. Entering the walled city through the gate of Isabella II, it passed Muralla, Beaterio and Hospital streets up to the Plaza de la Maestranza. It continued through Palacio, Victoria, Solana and San Francisco and left Intramuros through the Parian gate back towards the bridge.

The second line went south to Malate. Turning left after the bridge, it passed the Fortin cigarette factory, the street behind the Teatro, and successively on Arroceros street the tobacco factory, the slaughterhouse and the Military Hospital. Then it turned right again to Concepcion and proceeded towards the bay close to the old south moat. Turning south again, it crossed Bagumbayan field and went down the old Hermita street ending in the Malate church plaza.

The third line went eastward to Malacañang, passing General Echague, General Crespo, Calle Real de San Miguel and General Solano. The Sampaloc line had Echague, San Roque, Crespo, San Sebastian and Real de Sampaloc streets along its route. The Binondo line, the only one going north, went up Rosario, passed the Plaza de Binondo and the Binondo bridge, and wound its way through San Fernando, Madrid, Lavezares, Sto. Cristo, Paseo de

Azcarraga, and Bilbao before reaching its terminal at the church plaza in Tondo.

This unique tramcar service was Manila's major means of transportation until 1903 when the tramcar company was absorbed by the American-owned Manila Electric Railway and Light Company. The Spanish company had to weather one or two minor crises along the way. Early in 1890 the chief of the *guardia civil* lodged a strong protest with the office of the Governor General regarding the use of whistles to give warning of the approach of the streetcars. Apparently, this form of signals was often confused with the whistles of the police itself with the usual imaginable results.

An exchange of correspondence ensued between the Governor General and Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz, stuffily punctilious on the former's part and patiently accommodating on the latter's part. His Excellency wanted small trumpets substituted for the whistles but Zangroniz, after giving the new horns imported from Europe a working trial, expressed his objection to the innovation on the ground that the trumpets could not be heard above the usual bedlam of Manila traffic. This went on for four months. One cannot help but speculate on the political machinations that must have motivated this apparent attempt to harass the Zobel family.

The American regime saw a major investment of Ayala capital in the insurance field. In 1910 Antonio Mellan, the son-in-law of Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz, founded El Hogar Filipino and in 1912 the Filipinas Compañia de Seguros. This was followed three years later by the establishment of the Philippine Guarantee Company. Insular Life Assurance Co. Ltd. was formed in the same decade with the backing of Ayala shares.

When the Jesuits were dispossessed of their property late in the 18th century, one of their large tracts of land which passed on the private ownership was the Hacienda de San Pedro Makati. The land was ultimately acquired by Jose Bonifacio Roxas, an early partner. In postwar years the Makati property became the site of the country's most ambitious private real estate developments. This Ayala project has already produced three of the finest residential areas in Forbes Park, San Lorenzo village and Bel Air subdivision. Modern business offices and industrial plants are fast rising on what were once fallow rice field.

Family fortunes have a way of waning with the passage of years; if the year not broke up by probate courts they are usually dissipated by heirs who have succeeded to all the possessions of

their predecessors except their business acumen, their competitive spirit, their finely calculated boldness, and other personal traits that enabled these older men and women to build their fortunes. But through the many generations separating the original founders and the present stewards of the Ayala fortune there has been no evidence of weakening or diminution. It has been preserved and enhanced as though it were a legacy worthy of all the talents and toil of each generation that has come to manage it.

Indeed, the Roxas-Ayala clan—and it is quite a sizeable one—can be regarded with little exaggeration as the noblest and most remarkable family that has ever lived on Philippine soil.

They were primarily business pioneers—they walked where the timid and the hide-bound feared to tread. They were not merely super-efficient tycoons indifferent to the finer aspects of life, like many of their contemporaries who had chanced upon wealth such as their. In the manner of true aristocrats, they have patronized the arts and lent their support to civic activities. In 1843 Mariano Roxas was instrumental in establishing a school of arts and painting. Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz undertook a one-man campaign to make the city culture-conscious. In his brief term as mayor of Manila, he opened the country's first public library and planted the flame trees that were to lend their dazzling beauty to the waterfront for many decades. In more recent time, Enrique Zobel offered the Premio Zobel as an annual award to writers showing proficiency in the Spanish language.

But the most extraordinary quality of the Ayala family was a stubborn streak of libertarianism which blazed like a brave beacon for all their contemporaries to see in the dark days of bigotry and colonial authoritarianism. And on this ground they stood at the peril of their good names, their fortunes and even their lives. Domingo Roxas went to jail three times for suspected complicity in certain uprisings in the provinces. Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz, for all the influence and prestige he commanded, had to seek the aid of the German Emperor to save himself from the threat of execution placed over him by political reactionaries. Felix Roxas, a close relative of his, was shot the day after Jose Rizal's execution on Bagumbayan field. He was believed to have given aid and comfort to the revolution. Pedro P. Roxas escaped a possible similar fate by departing for Europe but so maliciously was his reputation attacked that he died before he could set foot on this country again.

Fernando Zobel, (an early namesake of the present painter) was a fervent patriot and Filipinist who tried to persuade his brother

Enrique, Ramon Fernandez and other relatives then in Europe to return to the Philippines to help Aguinaldo fight the American occupation forces.

They did not have to suffer for their beliefs, for wealth brings with it certain degree of protection. But history has shown that the Spanish can be as defiant in their demand for freedom as they can be remorselessly brutal in suppressing it. The Ayalas were, so to speak, stamped on the other side of the coin.

A strong religious character also runs in the family. Margarita Roxas, despite her manifold activities, is better known today as the founder of the first Catholic girls' school in the country. Carmen Ayala de Roxas helped build the San Miguel pro-Cathedral even while her husband was languishing in exile. The Ayalas have lived scrupulously pious lives; not a breath of scandal can be found in the entire family history. Some of them have left a goodly portion of their estates to seminaries, schools and other religious institutions. The Chapel of the Assumption in the historic San Agustin church is maintained by a prominent descendant of the Roxas family; there the mortal remains of their departed members slumber under a bank of votive candles lit in their memory.

The story of this irrepressible clan goes many centuries back, even long before Domingo Roxas and Antonio de Ayala signed the papers of Casa Roxas. The original Ayala family sprung out of the mountainous soil of Alava, Spain. Its lineage has been faithfully traced back to Juan Larrazabal Ayala, circa 1475, one of the influential landowner in the tiny Basque province.

Alava is a beautiful hilly region transversed by branches of the Pyrenees in northern Spain. Its mountainsides grow great stands of oak and chestnut and its valleys are lushly planted to grain, vegetables and fruit trees. Alava had three political subdivision called "La Rioja," "Los Valles" and Antiplanicia. "Los Valles" were chiefly made up of the feudal estates of three families, the Velascos, the Marquezes and the Ayalas.

Alfredo Mellan, a latter-day member of the family, has recorded an apocryphal anecdote concerning the origin of the Ayala name. There was a certain knight in the service of a medieval Spanish king who had repeatedly shown unusual valor in the field of combat. One day the king asked him what he wanted as a reward for his loyal and faithful service. Without hesitation, the soldier pointed to a large tract of land. The king, knowing the great value of the property his knight had pointed at, balked at fulfilling his promise.

But another opportunity soon came for the knight to prove his worth on the battlefield and again the king was compelled to ask his warrior how he wished to be rewarded. And, as you might have guessed, the knight again indicated the property he had taken a liking to. The king fumed inwardly but said nothing.

Then the third time came for the king to acknowledge his indebtedness to the knight and got the answer he had by now come to expect. So the king sighed and said, "¡Haya la!" ("Go ahead!"). The other knights, over-hearing this, thought the king had bestowed another name on their colleague and thenceforth began calling him Halaya. The name was eventually reshaped into Ayala.

Whatever the merits of this story, the Ayalas were not ones to be content with a life of rustic gentility. Like many of their fellow Basques, they were independent-minded, talented and adventurous. Juan de Ayala, who migrated to Toledo, was the official printer of Philip II. Fernando Ayala was an officer envoy to Japan and garrison commander of Fort Santiago.

One of the most daring members of the family was Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, a lieutenant of the Spanish royal navy, whom history credits for being the first ship captain to explore the fabulous San Francisco bay on the California coast. On July 27, 1775 he sailed from Monterey on the packet *San Carlos* with the mission of finding a navigable channel to this potential harbor which Gaspar de Portola had first reached by land six years before.

Attempting an entry into the bay, Ayala was swept back by the strong ebb tide. Finally, in the evening of August 5, he was able to breast his way in, feeling his way in the darkness and taking soundings almost by the minute to avoid the treacherous shoals. Before this event, he wrote, "nothing but the tule rafts of the Indians had graced the waters of San Francisco bay."

It was common for Spanish men to seek their fortunes abroad in commerce or in war. Antonio de Ayala was one of those who left their homeland with apparently nothing but the shirts on their backs and their native wit to bank on.

By one of those twists of fortune that alter the entire course of a man's life, Ayala got himself a job with the business house of Domingo Roxas. And here was where the Ayala family joined forces with another great family which traces its ancestry to the early days of the Spanish colonial government.

The early history of the Roxas family is rather sketchy but old documents identify the first Roxases as having come "from Aca-

pulco." The earliest Roxas on record is Juan Pablo de Roxas who settled in this country with a considerable estate. He had two sons, Ralmundo and Mariano Bis Romero (1758-1807).

Mariano Roxas was born on one of his father's farms, an undermined place in Laguna referred to as "Taqui." He enrolled as a student at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran on September 30, 1769. He graduated with a bachelor of philosophy degree in 1777. Despite the possibility of a profitable career built around the family wealth, Mariano Roxas seemed to have chosen the academic life instead. He was a distinguished member of the faculty of the University of Santo Tomas. In fact, the records show that he was one of the original signers of the statutes of the university which date back to 1785.

Domingo Roxas was one of the three sons of Mariano Roxas and Ana Maria de Ureta. In many respects he was the prototype of all the tough-minded, courageous Ayalas and Roxases that were to come after him. Lack of proper documentation makes it difficult for one to commit himself on this point, but the records seem to indicate that Domingo Roxas was the country's earliest industrialist in spirit if not in actual achievement, for he was far ahead of his time.

At a time when farming was considered too demeaning an occupation for the Spanish upper class, he was elbow deep in the cultivation of sugar and cotton on his Batangas and Laguna properties. He introduced the use of machinery for the processing of sugar, cotton and lumber. He started what seemed to his friends to be a bizzare scheme involving the smelting and refining of iron ore. This venture had to be abandoned due to lack of capital but anyone can see what this might have meant to the country's mining industry had it been successful. At another time, Roxas showed interest in the potentialities of the gold mines in Paracale; they turned out to be one of the richest in the history of Philippine gold mining.

He was not one to remain complacent when his interests were threatened. In 1830 he wrote a firm letter of protest against a royal order limiting the sale of rum in certain government monopoly stores. A sugar man himself, he knew that this measure would have adverse effects on the budding sugar industry.

Early in his career he made what may be regarded as the key move in the chain of events that led to the accumulation of the Roxas fortune. He acquired a narrow strip of land jutting out into Batangas bay and named the property Hacienda Calatagan

after the nearby township. The sugar press (trapiches) he built on that property led to the conception of a distillery to manufacture spirits on a commercial basis.

One of his rare pictures shows a lean faced, rather saturnine-looking man with grim set of lips and a cowlick over the left forehead. Like many a later Ayala or Roxas, he came upon much suffering and tragedy, in his life.

His first recorded brush with the colonial government occurred on February 18, 1825. A royal order ordered his deportation to Spain for reasons of political expediency. Mexico had just won its independence from Spain and several of the "Creoles" in the Philippines were suspected of harboring similar separatist sentiments, particularly those who were distinguished for their "culture, intelligence and liberal ideas." Roxas fitted easily into that category so off to Spain he went along with a few other luckless native Spaniards.

In 1841 he was again in trouble. He was again an unfortunate victim of circumstances. The immediate cause of the furor was the uprising in Tayabas of the Cofradia de San Jose, a supposedly religious organization but actually a seditious movement. Roxas was implicated on two counts—his friendship with one of the ring-leaders Apolinario de la Cruz and the fact that one of the clerics connected with the movement, Father Ciriaco de los Santos, was not only his friend but his personal chaplain. Apolinario de la Cruz was tried for treason and shot; Roxas was thrown into jail. The intercession of his family was necessary to secure his release.

But hardly had he won his freedom than it was snatched away for the third time by the brusque arm of the law. Soldiers of the 3rd Infantry of the provincial militia had turned their guns against their officers and another rebellion scare panicked the civil government in Manila. Roxas, an officer of the military, was charged with incitement revolt and shipped off to the Carolines.

His daughter, Margarita Roxas de Ayala, went to Spain to plead his case before Queen Isabella II. She finally obtained orders for his release but before she could put them into effect Domingo Roxas, his health broken by frequent incarceration, died in jail. Three years later his brothers, Jose Bonifacio and Mariano Roxas, appealed to the Queen to have his name cleared. A royal order was promulgated to this effect on January 4, 1864.

Upon the death of Domingo Roxas, Casa Roxas was dissolved and a new partnership was organized under the name of Roxas Hijos. Mariano Roxas, Jose Bonifacio Roxas and their sister Mar-

garita Roxas de Ayala served as capitalist partners while Antonio de Ayala continued to be an industrial partner. In this new family union, the firmest hand proved to be that of the only woman partner.

By most standards, Margarita Roxas de Ayala was an exceptional woman. Most well-born ladies of her time were innocent of the hard realities of life. Not so the only daughter of Domingo Roxas. Her father was an astute businessman with liberal politics leanings and his sala often rang loud with lively discussions. In this household Margarita quickly learned what was going on outside the wall of the Roxas manor. She grew up to be every bit as resourceful and perspicacious as her father.

She was 22 when she married Antonio de Ayala. After a brief tour of Europe, the couple returned and the husband devoted himself to the Roxas business. But the carefree life of a rich matron was not to be hers. Her father's frequent scrapes with the government called for her increasing participation in the business. The death of Don Domingo broke her heart but not her spirit. She poured herself into her job with a vitality surprising for one of her sex. Many of the company's crucial decisions—the purchase of the San Esteban nipa swamps and the opening of the coal mine venture, for instance—were hers. She went to the southern provinces by carriage and boat to directly supervise the company's work.

In spite of her busy life, Doña Margarita did not neglect her home. According to a biographer, Fr. Jose Ma. Clotet, S.J., "the duties and pleasures of the home, the various matters which occupied her attention and the acts of Christian charity to which she had pledged herself absorbed much of her time and all of her ingenuity and inventiveness."

She displayed interest in charity work as few women of her time did. When the Conferences de San Vicente de Paul was organized in 1861, Fr. Jose Fernandez Cuevas, the Jesuit superior, proposed her name for the presidency in recognition of her social work. "She entered the houses of the poor and visited the slums to see the sick and the invalid," reported Fr. Clotet. "And this did not exhaust her charitable spirit; she took under her charge and sustenance many families who had been in one way or another victims of calamity."

When San Juan de Dios hospital was destroyed by the earthquake of 1863, she was appointed president of a commission to raise money for its reconstruction. She opened a *bazar de caridad*

on Arroceros street and held a *gran rifa* which netted several thousand pesos for this project. She later supported a ward in the hospital for destitute patients.

Doña Margarita herself had received no formal schooling, but she knew the value of education. As early as 1855 she made arrangements for the establishment of a school for girls. The Spanish king was receptive to her idea but she had to wait until 1862 before royal orders came authorizing the departure from Spain of 15 Hermanas de Caridad. She practically underwrote the entire project.

Her great residence at San Fernando de Bilbao near Santa Ana was converted into a school which was named the Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepcion Concordia. On May 3, 1868, the country's first school for girls opened with an enrolment of 40. When increased enrolment made expansion necessary, she built a new wing for a dormitory and a chapel with funds obtained through a public subscription.

She died prematurely at 43, as though exhausted by her early grief and her tireless work for her family and community.

In the meantime, the family company had undergone several changes. In 1864 Jose Bonifacio Roxas, wanting to go into business for himself, pulled out of the partnership. The remaining partners, Mariano, Margarita and Antonio de Ayala, organized themselves into the Roxas Hermanos. Four years later Mariano Roxas died, leaving only Margarita and her husband. The company now changed its name to Casa Ayala.

When Doña Margarita went on to her reward, the company was deprived of one of its ablest managers. Antonio and Margarita de Ayala were not blessed with a single son who could take up the reins. But fortune continued to favor the house of Ayala. A year after her death, her daughter Carmen obtained a special dispensation from the church to marry her first cousin Pedro P. Roxas, the son of Jose Bonifacio Roxas.

The marriage had the effect of bringing the interest broken up by the withdrawal of Jose Bonifacio Roxas from the partnership back under one roof.

Six years later Doña Margarita's eldest daughter Trinidad took for her husband brilliant German-Spanish scientist name Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz. When the company was reformed in 1876 as Ayala y Cia., Roxas and Zobel were named capitalist partners in behalf of their respective wives. Two more able managers could not be found, as we shall soon see.

Jacobo Zobel Zangroniz was one of the most exciting personalities, indeed one of the truly great men who lived in the Philippines in the latter half of the 19th century. He was many things at once—businessman, numismatist, writer, politician and administrator. He was one of the few genuine friends the lesser-endowed Filipinos ever had in that troubled period.

Don Jacobo was already a third-generation Philippine resident when he married the Ayala heiress. Many decades ago his grandfather, a German apothecary, arrived in Manila with Jacobo's father, then a young boy. The first Zobel founded the famed *Botica Zobel* on Real street in Intramuros. When the second Zobel grew up, he married Ana Maria Zangroniz y Arrieta, the daughter of a judge of the Audiencia, who himself came from an old family in Navarra. They had two daughters and a son who was named after his father.

When young Jacobo was six years old, his mother suddenly passed away. Grief-stricken, the senior Zobel left his business to his associates and took the children with him to Hamburg. He left them there to study and returned within a year to the Philippines.

In Hamburg young Jacobo studied first in the private school of a Dr. Brandman and finished his *segunda enseñanza* in a public school. He proved to be a brilliant student in Greek and Latin.

In 1858 the elder Zobel came back to Hamburg so that he could accompany his 16-year-old son to Madrid. Jacobo spent six study-crammed years in the Spanish capital. His scholastic records at the Universidad Central de Madrid included pharmacy and "bachillerato" degrees as well as courses in medicine, natural sciences, chemistry, archeology in its branches of ancient history, and liberal arts.

While in Madrid he stayed at the house of a well-known numismatist, a German professor who had begun work on the government museum in Madrid. The boy's interest was aroused by the professor's work on rare ancient coins. This started him off on an exacting lifetime hobby. During his spare time he poked around old Carthaginian and Roman ruins on the Iberian peninsula.

Zobel wrote several minor books and treatises on archeology and related subjects but his scientific reputation rests on four bulky volumes on Iberian numismatics published over a period of 20 years. This monumental work, written in scholarly French, is still regarded as one of the basic works of European archeology.

Back in Manila after 1864, he helped his father run the pharmacy. Shortly, his father handed over the entire business to him and an old *dependiente* named Don Julio Nohr. At 23 Zobel was a business executive in full control of his time and one of the city's European-educated intellectuals and social lions.

Zobel's home became a center of culture such as Manila had never known. He exhausted all his means to help talented young artists and musicians. He had a hand in the founding of the Casino Español.

Many of the Ayala clan members had a pet educational project at one time or another. Even the crusty Domingo Roxas was once enthused about the idea of a nautical school for Filipino mariners. Zobel's "baby" was a School of Arts and Trades. But this well-meant project never had a chance. The Spanish authorities closed it the day it opened.

Zobel liked to work in the background, letting his colleagues get all the credit. At 22, one of his inspired ideas was the publication of a five-centavo periodical containing historical writings, travel and natural science, short stories, poems, agriculture and cattle-raising articles. "With great pleasure would I employ my time and money for such a task could I have the assurance of finding funds for the enterprise and co-workers," he wrote wistfully in a letter to a friend.

As though his drugstore-keeping and his culture bug was not taking up enough of his time, he decided to go in for government work, too. He became a city councilor at 27. He accepted memberships in various *juntas* along such lines as sanitation, agriculture, industry and commerce. At 24 he was a member of the governing body of the Banco Español Filipino de Isabel II.

When he was hardly 30 he assumed the position of "regidor" of Manila. His brief term was noted for its emphasis on civic welfare and educational reform. He had already helped secure the application in the Philippines of the Spanish educational law of 1863, a product of the liberalistic movement that was sweeping the mother country. He encouraged his uncle-in-law Jose Bonifacio Roxas to translate into Tagalog instructional pamphlets on agriculture and household industries. Austin Craig summed up Zobel's administration by calling him "the most notable mayor of Spanish times."

Zobel made no secret of his liberal sympathies. In Madrid he contributed to *El Eco Filipino*, a semi-monthly publication ran by a Spanish brother-in-law of Jose M. Basa. Among the familiar

by-lines appearing in *El Eco* were those of Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Angel Garchitorea, Andres Nieto, Jacinto Zamora and Toribio H. del Pilar. Its sentiments regarding the Spanish administration in the Philippines were expressed with forceful candor. The review was promptly banned by the Archbishop of Manila.

As a leading civic figure, Zobel agitated for Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes, limitations to the absolute power of the Governor General and the reorganization of the civil and religious administrations. His stand on these issues made him highly suspect during the 1872 rebellion which led to the tragic execution of the three Filipino martyr priests. However, the authorities had not a scrap of evidence against him.

But an incident occurred which placed Zobel in very grave danger. Many Filipino and foreign liberals found in Masonry an outlet for the expression of their radical views. Zobel was one of the first Manilans to join the foreign lodges. As an aftermath of the Cavite revolt, Governor Jose Malcampo, a Mason himself, ordered the dissolution of the foreign lodges to get rid of Filipinos suspected of seditious leanings. He caused the integration of all Masonic elements into one lodge, the Gran Oriente de España, which he believed to be loyal to his regime.

Under these forced measures, the lodges were in a state of seething rebellion. Moscuso, chief of police of Manila, found some incriminating papers purportedly belonging to Zobel. He passed them on to General Blanco Valderrama, Malcampo's second-in-command, who was in fact another Masonic sympathizer. As both were friends of Zobel, they kept the matter to themselves. But Malcampo soon learned about this and in the ensuing shake-up Valderrama was sent back to Spain in disgrace and Moscuso and Zobel were both ordered arrested.

"Zobel was a victim of a reactionary trap," wrote Teodoro M. Kalaw. His political record was not one to recommend him to the administration. The customs police had seized Masonic works of Cassard addressed to him and in the witless estimate of the authorities these were nothing but coded messages sent by "a German agent in Hongkong." In their eyes, Zobel was nothing less than a German spy.

Zobel spent six months in jail, staving off the threat of execution by heavy bribes from day to day. Actually, the question of Zobel's could also claim being a German through the dual-nationality law. His trial lengthened and was subsequently dropped over

the question of jurisdiction. He was finally exonerated completely by the Spanish government.

Zobel's overactive life was chiefly responsible for his marrying at the rather late age of 34. As soon as he was out of jail, he lost no time in getting married and taking his bride on a fabulous honeymoon trip around the world.

While visiting the 1876 world's fair in Philadelphia, he took a fancy to a new gadget on display. The attendants called it a "typewriting machine." He brought the Remington typewriter and wrote a friend in Hamburg about it. When the friend expressed his desire to see the remarkable invention, Zobel had another model sent to Hamburg. He is thus credited with having introduced the typewriter to Germany.

After their travels, the Zobel's settled in Spain. They lived happily there until Don Jacobo suffered a great disappointment over the failure of his neighbors to cooperate in a new irrigation project. He studied land transportation in Europe and returned with Doña Trinidad with exciting plans to establish a tramcar service in his native city.

Apart from the tramway system, Zobel's engineering achievements included the construction of the first structural steel bridges across the Pasig. Though the records are unclear on this point, it is likely that the Ayala bridge took its name from the great industrial works at its northern approach. A nominal toll was charged for vehicles and pedestrians crossing a second steel bridge nearer downtown. When the cost of the bridge was fully amortized, the bridge was donated to the city of Manila.

Despite what he had gone through in his early years, Zobel managed to preserve an amiable disposition. He was very well liked by his employees, from the doorman to the top executives. In his later years he was not too fond of socializing like Doña Trinidad who had to drag him to the few fiestas he attended. The number of his friends narrowed considerably. He spent his evenings with his family and with his book and coin cases.

In the 1890's the Zobel's lived on General Solano. Don Jacobo's daily regimen was a simple one. He left home between 9 and 9:30 to visit the tramways at the Rotunda de Sampaloc, visited friends like the Vizcano family in Quiapo, then looked in at the tramway terminal in Tondo. After lunch and siesta it was more or less the same routine.

During the hectic days of the revolution, the shadow of his past came to haunt him once again. Though he escaped direct

attack, the open hostility and suspicion of the Spanish loyalists undoubtedly contributed to his anxieties. He died of a stroke the day before his scheduled departure from Spain in 1896.

Though Pedro P. Roxas served as a capitalist partner of Ayala y Cia for 15 years, his greatest achievements were made as an independent businessman. Unlike his brother-in-law Don Jacobo, he had few things to distract him from his business activities. Aside from running the Destileria Ayala, he managed his own company, Pedro P. Roxas y Cia.

He had a real genius for putting business concern on their feet. He founded an oil factory and a deep-sea fishing company many years before other businessmen even thought the idea feasible. He had a hand in the organization of Compañia Maritima.

A year after the founding of San Miguel Brewery in 1890, the company was reformed as a partnership corporation and the original founder, Enrique Ma. Barretto named Roxas as his manager. In July, 1896 Roxas bought from Barretto shares in the company worth ₱42,000.00. The value of these shares is worth quite a lot more than that now; the holdings of the heirs of Pedro P. Roxas in this giant corporation are estimated at several millions of pesos.

During the Revolution, the furies that seemed to have always pursued members of the Ayala family, caught up with Pedro P. Roxas. He was among a number of rich and influential Spaniards who were suspected of lending moral and even material support to the separatist movement. His departure from the islands in 1896 was seen as a damning admission of his complicity.

Actually, Roxas did not "escape." The intrigues of his enemies had told on his health and he had been advised to go to Europe for an indefinite rest. His passport was duly signed by Francisco de la Peña, the *auditor de guerra*, and Governor General Ramon Blanco. By an odd coincidence, he took the same ship, the *Isla de Panay*, which Jose Rizal took to Barcelona. The same forces which were conspiring against Roxas were to bring the life of this Filipino genius to an untimely end.

Even while on board ship, Roxas did not escape personal suffering and humiliation. He was the object of abuse and ridicule among some loyalist Spaniards who were also bound for Europe. As a result of a nervous breakdown, he had to spend three months in Singapore before continuing on to the continent.

After undergoing a rest cure in Switzerland, he went straight to Paris so that he would be nearer the Spanish frontier in case

he was needed by the Spanish authorities. The summons was not long in coming. He was charged before the king for high treason.

What had the effect of unwittingly aiding Roxas' cause was the very preposterousness of the charges brought against him. He was accused of being the secret leader of the Katipunan. It was further claimed that he had planned to set himself up as "Emperor of Manila" with the title of Pedro I.

Roxas' defense in the Spanish court was conducted by a brilliant and eloquent lawyer and one of his closest friends, Romero Robledo. This learned barrister appealed to the court's sense of justice in a three-hour speech and he ended by suggesting that the generals who had tried to besmirch Roxas' name "should be forced to wear their waist bands higher so that they may reach their necks." The Manila businessman was duly acquitted.

But the damage had already been done. His good name in Manila had been all but ruined by his detractors. His manager and employes had been molested and his best friends had deserted him. Properties worth close to half a million pesos had been confiscated and put under the administration of two citizens. Although the titles to his properties were returned to him after his acquittal, he suffered terrible losses.

Perhaps due to the bitter experiences he had just gone through, Roxas seemed to have lost all interest in returning to the Philippines. He lived well in Paris. He had a stable of eight horses and at one time won the Grand Concour, the Parisian version of the Derby. He developed a fondness for the new-fangled automobiles which were now the rage among European sportsmen. In what was then a daring feat, he made a circuit of the provincial roads of France in one of the early smoke-belching models. He had always been a great one for sports. Back in Calatagan, he had once bagged two deer with two shots—and on the fly at that.

He was preparing to go back to the Philippines when he suddenly passed away on February 14, 1812. He was at the wheel of a brand-new Hotchkiss with his French driver Marcel beside him when without warning he slumped over the steering column, as victim of heart attack.

His tearful widow shipped his remains to Manila. As though to make up for the grief that had caused the late businessman's departure from Manila, the city's great and near-great turned out to see his body brought to its final resting place in the North Cemetery. Newspapers of the period observed that it was one

of the grandest funerals ever held in the city within memory. That might have been fitting for Roxas was the last great tycoon of the 18th century and with him passed away a whole era.

The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance given him in the preparation of this article by Fernando Zobel and by Johnny Enriquez and Juvenal Catajoy of the Ayala y Cia. library and archives.

NECROLOGICAL SERVICES FOR PAUL PATRICK JUDGE — JANUARY 2, 1964

By Lewis E. Glecek, Jr.

Consul General

American Embassy, Manila

One of the great Filipino statesmen lamented on his deathbed that it was bitter to be condemned to die away from home. This is a sentiment which all of us can understand and share. Yet there are many of us who *do* die on foreign ground, and about each of these deaths there hovers a bittersweet quality perhaps conveyed most memorably in Rupert Brook's lines, as I remember them: "If I should die, think only this of me: /That there's some corner of a foreign field/ That is for ever England. There shall be/ In that rich earth a richer dust concealed"

That Paul Patrick Judge is dead in Manila, however, has a meaning that greatly transcends the poignancy of death away from home. He died an honored member of an interesting, and for this part of the world significant, American fraternity. This fraternity, or fellowship, is not identical with, but is symbolized by, that fine organization, the Asia Foundation, which Mr. Judge represented. One of the moving consequences of the war-time service of many young, intelligent and gifted Americans has been their profound internal reaction to first-hand experiences with those of Asian cultures, races and religions. Those who belong to this fellowship, I think, were shocked by their war experiences into a new sensitivity and awareness of the basic human bonds. If there is anything good to be said about the brutalities of war, it may be just this—that in those whom it does not destroy physically or spiritually, it often awakens an appreciation for persons, cultures and qualities which they may have only dimly perceived or sensed before.

Paul Patrick Judge, then, it seems to me, was one of those whom the tides of war cast up, seemingly by accident, on Oriental shores. He survived, he awakened, he thought, and he felt. As he brought to bear his resources as a human being on the problems of Asian societies, he sensed that this was what he had been meant for. It had apparently been ordained that this American from the Irish Catholic tradition should travel halfway around the world,

like many of you present this afternoon, to fall in love with the Orient. Not that his experiences were not at times frustrating—in the effort to be helpful in the ways he thought to be helpful, and to give the best of what he believed was good from American cultures, skills and traditions, he experienced, I know, many bafflements and some disappointments. But—and this was ample recompense—he found himself creatively involved in the most absorbing of man's preoccupations—the struggle to understand.

I was not privileged personally to know Mr. Judge beyond a mere passing acquaintanceship, but I recognize in him a member of not one but two significant fellowships: the one which I have mentioned—the idealistic American, and the Orientalist. In many instances, and specifically in the case of Mr. Judge, these two fellowships are closely intertwined. I think we can afford to tarry a moment to reflect on Mr. Judge's membership in the Orientalist fraternity. It is to such people that we, both Asians and Americans, owe massive debts. These are the people who have enriched us, the Americans, with the literature, the arts, the past history of the mighty Asian nations from which we have often been estranged in both time and space. They have interpreted, often as a labor of love and always with devotion and sincerity, these Asian cultures to the Americans, and, in interpreting, they have themselves unwittingly interpreted much of the best of their day's America to their Asian associates. They have illustrated, as have such larger and later organizations as the Peace Corps, the truth of the eternal axiom that to teach is to learn and to learn is to teach.

This, then, is my way of honoring Paul Patrick Judge. I mourn him, and I share the grief of those, particularly Mrs. Judge, to whom he was intimately attached. Nonetheless, I am consoled by the feeling that he died a great deal more content than most of us. I have the feeling that he had achieved much of what he was seeking. He was working with kindred spirits in a work which he knew to be of incalculable value both to himself and to the to cultures which he was assisting to live in some form of increasingly creative symbiosis.

Mr. Judge's work and spiritual odyssey took him a long way—from the South Pacific to the Philippines, to Japan, to Malaya, to Singapore, to Borneo, to Hong Kong, to Taiwan and again to the Philippines. Very likely, he could have died in any of those countries and felt at home in the spiritual kinship which he had so assiduously cultivated and tried to understand. Were he to be

buried here, we could say of him, paraphrasing Rupert Brook, that there would be some corner of a foreign land that would forever remain a part of the United States. However, as Mrs. Judge takes him home for burial in San Francisco, his Filipino and other Asian friends may be equally certain that he will bring to that rich American earth a further enrichment compounded out of the deep cultural and spiritual experience that were his as a student and servant of mankind.

Paul Patrick Judge is dead. He is a man to be mourned but, perhaps, also a man to be envied.

REMARKS AT THE NECROLOGICAL SERVICES FOR THE LATE MR. PAUL PATRICK JUDGE

By **Hon. Alejandro R. Roces**
Secretary of Education

Life's silent clock has stopped for Mr. Paul Patrick Judge—a fellow teacher, an army officer, and above all, one of the few men who seem to have adequately found the compelling reason for their being in their realization of their moral obligation of service to youth and to fellowmen in general.

He has proved himself to be a true representative of the Asia Foundation—an agency which has unselfishly taken upon itself as a moral obligation the task of helping the cause of democracy by widening the field of knowledge for other people. He has worked quietly in the true sense of the dedicated worker to fulfill the Foundation of promoting the welfare and progress of peoples in Asia and we in the Philippines, particularly in the field of education remember him for his various projects implemented during his tenure of office. Foremost among these are the Institute of Student Affairs which has assisted the student organizations and educational associations, the Philippine Cooperative Credit League, a nationwide visitation education program serving 300 credit unions in the Philippines, its support to the National Museum social science and research—and its aid in education—specifically in upgrading teacher competence, providing educational aids, and increasing the appreciation of learning especially in the science and technology category.

Mr. Judge had been in the Philippines during the Second World War and must have realized wherein the greater need of our people lies. Having been with the Foundation for the past eleven years, he has not only contributed considerably in the attainment of the objectives of the Foundation but also—in his own quiet, dedicated way contributed to the cause of education in general in Asia.

With his death, the Asia Foundation has lost a dedicated worker; countries in Asia have lost a friend; and education—a staunch supporter.

January 2, 1964

William J. Pomeroy, *The Forest; A Personal Record of the Huk Guerrilla in the Philippines*

(New York: International Publishers, 1963). 219 pp.
Glossary and Notes. Maps.

By F. Delor Angeles *

This book on the Huks by William Pomeroy is not a serious study, but it is important to the work of the historian as a piece is to the solution of a jigsaw puzzle. A diary-like narrative on the author's experiences and observations in the Huk organization from 1950 to 1952, it has been prepared more for popular consumption than as a scholarly project. It is valuable, however, to the researcher for purposes of corroboration of what is already known on the HMB movement, but it does offer something new, as for example, intimate glimpses of the personality of certain Huk leaders like Jesus Lava, Casto Alejandrino, and Luis Taruc which are not available in documentary materials.

Pomeroy also discusses, when he is not busy with the beauty of the mountains, the Huk organization; battles with government forces; guerrilla tactics; hardships of the struggle; and other problems of the movement. Of much interest are observations on HMB relations with mountaineers and with lowland peasants; the practice of self-criticism in mass assemblies; and "revolutionary law" on desertion, treason, corruption, abuse of barrio people, etc., which reminds the student of history of similar policies and practices in the Communist movement in China. The information, however, on the Huks' "revolutionary solution" of the sex problem in the jungle has a peculiar Filipino flavor.

The author, who used to be a historian attached to the United States Air Force in pre-Huk days, likewise provides some space to his "philosophy of history."

(1) "There are some things that cannot be left to God."

(2) "So many waves of conquest and oppression have passed over this land that they have been numbed by it. I think how people learn to live with tragedy."

(3) "There I saw American military forces acting in the interests of the big landlords to suppress the peasant movement that had grown out of the fight against fascism."

(4) "It is not the democratic American that looks down at the dead and deprived. It is the naked face of imperialism that holds on to colonies

* Instructor in History and Rizal, University of the East.

and investment areas with military force and that slaughters the people who oppose it."

(5) "The case of our Manila comrades (called the 'Politburo Case' by the press) is a typical example of imperialist justice."

(6) "I dream of a time when there will be no boundaries, when no lines will be drawn upon the earth to say, 'There is your home, and all else is foreign soil.'"

(7) "The HMB...has the historic role of completing the colonial revolution in the Philippines that was begun over 50 years ago with the great revolt against Spain and that was crushed by American arms in 1902."

There is much in the author's ideology that appears "Russian" or "Marxist," but he defends himself by tracing his outlook to the ideals he imbibed from his American environment and from his study of American history. Moreover, "freedom" is neither Russian nor American, but "an issue that belongs to the world."

The papers once reported that Pomcroy, after being released with his wife, Celia Mariano, from prison, expressed regret over his Huk activities, and revealed his plans to live the quiet life of a writer in America. Yet, he ends his book with, "I am here, and I am not here, for I have two countries, now and forever. Ten thousand miles away there are still Huks in the forest (I am with them)...Whenever a man falls in that struggle it strikes upon my heart."

On the whole, *The Forest* is an absorbing book. The narrative glides swiftly from event to event, pushed by a style markedly beautiful in its simplicity; by skillfully chosen figures of speech; and by vivid projection of images. The reader shares painful hunger with the Huks as when they smack their lips on a rare meal of "great red juicy half-raw liver, trickling sweetly" in the throat. He shares moments of loneliness and of despair and, at times, the delirious taste of victory. It is as if a grim struggle had become an exciting adventure.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII

No. 1, March 1963

Mother Ignacia del Espiritu Santo, RVM Founder Remembered	1
Jose Maria Panganiban <i>Leopoldo R. Serrano</i>	5
The Residencia in the Colonial Administrative System in the Philippines <i>Nicolas Zafra</i>	14
Was the Philippine Encomienda a Land Grant? <i>Bonifacio Salamanca</i>	34
History of Barrio Kaligayahan <i>Gabriel Cruz</i>	52
Graduate Education in the Philippines Mostly a Matter of Title and Degree <i>Dalmacio Martin</i>	63
The First Seven Years <i>Gabriel F. Fabella</i>	73

BOOK REVIEWS:

- Visayan Fighters for Freedom — *Demy Sonza*
Reviewed by *C. O. Resurrection*
- Little Broth Brother — *Leon Wolff*
- Day of Infamy — *Walter Lord*
Reviewed by *Maximo P. Fabella*

No. 2, June 1963

The Filipino Historian's Burden <i>Carlos P. Romulo</i>	93
The Study of History and Moral Regeneration: Pre-Spanish and Spanish Periods <i>Domingo L. Jhocson</i>	100
The Mission and Duty of Historians <i>Alejandro R. Roces</i>	106
The Regeneration of Philippine Society <i>Encarnacion Alzona</i>	110
The Diocese and Cathedral of Manila <i>Manuel P. Alonzo, Jr.</i>	116
Noli and Fili: Their Historical Authenticity <i>Carlos Quirino</i>	132

CONTENTS OF VOL. VII

The Mindanao Phase of the Philippine Revolution <i>F. Delor Angeles</i>	138
Analogous Customs, Beliefs and Traditions in India and the Philippines <i>Juan R. Francisco</i>	143

No. 3 September 1963: Special Bonifacio Number

Andres Bonifacio <i>Epifanio delos Santos</i>	179
Bibliography on Andres Bonifacio <i>Esteban A. de Ocampo</i>	231
Andres Bonifacio, The Great Plebeian <i>Manuel L. Quezon</i>	245
The Legacy of Andres Bonifacio to Our Age <i>Antonio J. Villegas</i>	249
Bonifacio, The Father of the Katipunan <i>Jose T. Nueno</i>	255
The Greatest Figure of Our Democracy <i>Teodoro Kalaw</i>	254
Rizal and Bonifacio <i>Gabriel F. Fabella</i>	256
Bonifacio, Katipunan, Kalayaan <i>Rolando O. Fadul</i>	262
To the Great Plebeian <i>Mauro Mendez</i>	266
Andres Bonifacio <i>Procopio Solidum</i>	268
Pahimakas ni Rizal <i>Andres Bonifacio</i>	268
Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Anak ng Bayan <i>Andres Bonifacio</i>	270
Decalogue <i>Andres Bonifacio</i>	271
BOOK REVIEWS:	
Philippine Government and Politics — <i>V. A. Pacis</i>	272
The Writings and Trial of Andres Bonifacio <i>Teodoro A. Agoncillo</i>	
The Trial of Andres Bonifacio <i>Virginia Palma-Bonifacio</i> — <i>John Toland</i> Reviewed by <i>C. O. Resurreccion</i>	
But Not in Shame: The Six Months After Pearl Harbor	277
Japan and the Philippines, 1868-1898 — <i>Josefa M. Saniel</i>	
Jose Rizal on His Centenary — <i>Leopoldo Y. Yabes</i> Reviewed by <i>Maximo P. Fabella</i>	

No. 4, December 1963

The Philippines: A Capsule History <i>Horacio de la Costa, S.J.</i>	285
The Philippines in Transition <i>Thomas R. McHale</i>	292
The Religion of Dr. Jose Rizal <i>Pedro Gagelonia</i>	300
Making Rizal's Teachings Effective <i>Leopoldo R. Serrano</i>	323
The Age of Awakening <i>Eduardo Lachica</i>	334
Part One — 1830: Manila Becomes an Open Port	
Part Two — The Early English	
Part Three — The Early Americans	
Part Four — The Spanish Houses	
Necrological Service for Paul Patrick Judge <i>Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr.</i>	382
Remarks at the Necrological Service for the Late Paul Patrick Judge <i>Hon. Alejandro R. Roces</i>	385
BOOK REVIEWS:	
The Forest — <i>William Pomeroy</i>	386
Reviewed by <i>F. Delor Angeles</i>	
Index for 1963	388