

PHILIPPINE CARTOONS

POLITICAL CARICATURE OF THE AMERICAN ERA 1900-1941

ALFRED McCOY

ALFREDO ROCES



VERA-REYES, INC.
Philippines

©Copyright 1985 Vera-Reyes Inc.
Alfred W. McCoy and Alfredo R. Roces

All rights reserved. No part of this book
may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval
system or transmitted in any form or by
any means without prior permission of the
authors and publisher.

Book Design: Alfredo Roces
Filmset and Printed: Vera-Reyes, Inc.
40 Valencia St., New Manila
Quezon City 3008 Philippines

ISBN-971-151-002-2

CONTENTS

Part One: TWO ESSAYS

Mang Juan and Uncle Sam:

The Filipino Caricaturist as Historian *by Alfredo Roces* 7

Images of a Changing Nation *by Alfred W. McCoy* 13

Part Two: THE CARTOONS *Text and Captions by*
Alfred W. McCoy 19

Manila: The Corruption of a City 20

The Distant Provinces 89

The Colonial Condition 109

Uncle Sam and Little Juan 164

The Aliens in Our Midst 223

The Political Pageant 255

An Emerging Nation 312

Part Three: NOTES

Identification of Cartoons 360/Notes on Sources 363

Catalogue of Cartoons 366/Acknowledgements 371/About the Authors 371

1900-1941

IMAGES OF A CHANGING NATION

By Alfred W. McCoy

VIEWED FROM THE VANTAGE point of a half century and more, these prewar political cartoons are an evocative record of a half-forgotten history. The scandals, struggles and social changes of the American colonial period gain an immediacy in these graphic images that eludes even the most eloquent historical prose. For those who drew and published them, these cartoons were simultaneously a mirror of their society's colonial condition, an act of protest, and a weapon in the struggle for social reform.

The four decades of American colonial rule were a formative period in Philippine history. Under a U.S. colonialism that was simultaneously brutal and beneficent, grasping and generous, the Philippines moved forward from an authoritarian Spanish regime to autonomy and independence. In the process, Filipinos shaped many of the institutions and cultural characteristics which are still central to life in the modern republic. Under U.S. colonial tutelage, the Philippines experienced a process of Americanization and modernization that has left a lasting legacy.

It is, of course, easy to overstate the importance of the American period and forget that turn-of-the-century Philippine society was already highly developed. Even at first contact in the 16th century, the Spanish *conquistadores* found the Filipinos possessed a sophisticated material culture and a complex society. Instead of eradicating indigenous society as they had done in Mexico, the Spaniards launched a cultural conquest through a subtle colonial statecraft and Catholic Christianity. At the close of the Spanish era in 1898, the Philippines already had substantial cities, a thriving export agriculture, and strong church and state structures. The revolution's defeat of the Spanish empire in 1898 is ample testimony to the sophistication of Filipino society.

Indeed, it is often difficult to determine whether American influence was really a catalyst for social change or merely a coincidence. Clearly, mass public education, the secular state university system and the widespread use of English were products of official colonial policy. The rise of Americanized popular culture — beauty contests, mass circulation newspapers, movies, and jazz — were unintended spin-offs from the American presence. Less directly still, by removing the rigid Spanish censorship and police controls the Americans were often unwitting and unwilling sponsors of a sudden burst of Filipino creativity in journalism, drama, fiction, law, politics and social reform. There was, of course, a darker side to American influence. Rural poverty

grew, Manila's urban problems worsened, and the dependence upon America — economic, strategic and political — became a fixture of Philippine life. All of these changes, positive and negative, are mirrored in the cartoons.



LIKE THE NATIONALIST movement of which it was a part, the Philippine press established itself during the decade following the American invasion of 1898. It was a time of remarkable ferment and cultural creativity. The brutal American conquest of their

Republic stoked the outrage of Filipino nationalists, but the relatively liberal U.S. censorship laws after the end of military rule in 1901 provided an outlet for their protest. Unlike the Spanish *Comision Permanente de Censura* which simply banned all Filipino creativity, American press controls were much more flexible.¹ After U.S. military rule ended with the establishment of the Philippine Commission in 1901, there was in fact no prior constraint upon publication. When Americans found a Filipino publication offensive, they could use the strong libel or sedition laws to imprison editors, actors and authors. Although the court sentences of the early American period seem, in retrospect, harsh, the general climate was still sufficiently liberal to allow a flowering of the Philippine press.

Spanish censorship simply banned any non-religious Filipino publications and made it impossible to even consider opening a newspaper in late 19th century Manila. Filipino journalistic experience under Spain was limited to the employment, usually of Spanish mestizos, as artists and writers in the city's Spanish press. Manila's first Spanish daily newspaper began publishing in 1846 and by 1896 there were five, in addition to several satiric and illustrated weeklies that employed the first Filipino illustrators.²

The Filipinos gained their earliest editorial experience as propagandists in Madrid or as newspaper publishers for the revolution in 1898-99. On 3 September 1898, only weeks after the American occupation of Manila, the first Filipino daily newspaper, *La Independencia*, appeared. Published clandestinely in Manila, the paper was directed by Antonio Luna and edited by men who later became leading journalists, Fernando Ma. Guerrero and Rafael Palma. As the Philippine Republic collapsed into guerilla warfare in the face of the U.S. Army's advance across the Central

Luzon plain in 1899, *La Independencia* was reduced from four pages to two and finally closed altogether.³

The Republic's journalists returned to the cities before the revolution's final defeat to continue the nationalist struggle under American rule. To combat the influence of *La Democracia*, a newspaper published by the pro-American *Partido Federal*, nationalist Pablo Ocampo brought out *La Patria* which employed Rafael Palma and Aurelio Tolentino as journalists. After U.S. Army commander Arthur MacArthur closed *La Patria* in 1899, nationalists started *El Liberal*. But it too was soon banned and Ocampo was exiled to Guam for two years. In early 1900, Palma moved to Cebu City where he founded the city's first Filipino daily newspaper, *El Nuevo Dia*, with Jaime de Vera and Sergio Osmeña. The paper earned a formidable reputation as an opponent of U.S. censorship and was often forced to appear with large areas blacked out or blank.⁴



ALTHOUGH THESE EARLY achievements were an impressive expression of nationalist spirit, a functioning Filipino press could not begin until July 1901 when U.S. Army censorship ended with the establishment of civil government. Only two months later,

Rafael Palma launched *El Renacimiento* (Rebirth), the most influential of the early nationalist newspapers. *El Renacimiento* was an integral part of a remarkable decade of Filipino cultural and political creativity. Angered at the brutality of the U.S. Army's conquest but freed from the Spanish censors, Manila's *ilustrados* used their literary and legal skills to carry on the nationalist campaigns under a comparatively liberal American colonialism. In effect, Filipinos could now publish without prior censorship, but faced criminal charges for libel if they offended American sensibilities. Nationalists were thus forced to wage a sustained political battle against the American regime to win the right to a free press. That campaign continued for almost a decade and produced some major victories for the early nationalist movement.⁵

The colony's first civil governor, William H. Taft, used the libel and sedition laws to mute hostility between two deeply antagonistic communities — the Manila Americans and the Filipino nationalists. By 1902 there were four English language newspapers published in Manila for an American community of 5,000 — *American*, *Freedom*, *Cablenews*, and *The Manila Times*. Reflecting the views of their readership, many of whom were U.S. Army veterans, the American newspapers were jingoistic and virulently anti-Filipino. Taft and other liberal colonial officials considered the American press needlessly inflammatory. In 1904 *Freedom's* editors, Eddie O'Brien and Fred L. Dorr, were sentenced to six month's imprisonment for articles charging that Benito Legarda, a member of the Philippine Commis-

sion, was guilty of corruption and concubinage.⁶

The U.S. colonial courts applied the same laws far more strictly when Filipino writers were charged. While the early nationalist newspapers were quite cautious and initially avoided prosecution, the Filipino theater felt the full force of colonial laws. When Juan Mta. Cruz staged *Hindi Aco Patay* at Malabon in May 1903, drunken U.S. soldiers stormed the stage and wrecked the scenery when the *Katipunan* flag was raised. The courts sentenced Cruz to two year's imprisonment. That same month, Aurelio Tolentino staged *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* at Manila's *Teatro Libertad*. When one character, played by Tolentino himself, trampled the U.S. flag, Americans in the audience rioted and police charged Tolentino with subversion. Although ably represented by Rafael Palma and W.A. Kincaid, a former American judge, Tolentino was convicted and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Simultaneously, the U.S. regime arrested Dr. Dominador Gomez, president of the radical *Union Obrera* and publisher of *Los Obreros*, and charged him with being head of a secret society of all rebels and bandits in the islands. Convinced that Gomez was the real author of the subversive dramas, the prosecution tried to prove that Tolentino's *Kahapon* was a master plan for an attack on Manila and submitted textual analysis of the plays and Gomez's editorials to show that they were written by the same author. Although the charges were little more than a colonizer's paranoid fantasy of brown hordes rising to slaughter whites in their beds, the trial dragged on for months before Gomez was finally acquitted. However, he was soon convicted on other charges of contempt and sedition, and served a long sentence at hard labor in Old Bilibid Prison. Rafael Palma later wrote that in all these cases the U.S. colonial government was "interested in having the accused condemned."⁷

As Governor-General (1901-04), Taft successfully mediated conflicts between the nationalist press and offended American colonials. Responding to Taft's diplomacy, *El Renacimiento*, in Palma's words, "handled political affairs with rubber gloves to avoid antagonizing the American government."⁸ Under Taft's successor, Governor-General Luke Wright, a southern racist, cordiality gave way to confrontation and *El Renacimiento* had to struggle for survival.



WRIGHT'S ADMINISTRATION coincided with a sudden revival of guerrilla activity in Cavite and Batangas provinces led by Macario Sakay. With the Governor's approval, Constabulary officers applied harsh tactics of mass arrest and concentration camp imprisonment in those towns near areas of guerrilla activity. Based on investigations by T. M. Kalaw and editor Fernando Ma. Guerrero, *El Renacimiento* reported that the



(Lipag Kalabaw, 18 January 1908)

Constabulary had confined 1,000 residents of Bacoor, Cavite into a compound only 400 meters square — on a regimen of forced labor and poor food that sickened many. Supported by Governor Wright, the Constabulary charged publisher Martin Ocampo and editor Guerrero with criminal libel. In seven months of continuous hearings, *El Renacimiento's* lawyers, Palma and Juan Sumulong, indicted the Constabulary's system of pacification and law enforcement. The case became a major test of wills between the colonial administration and the nationalist movement. In February 1906 Judge Manuel Araullo, to almost everyone's surprise, ruled that *El Renacimiento* was innocent. In the aftermath Governor Wright was recalled, the Constabulary was reformed and many of its officers, Filipino and American, were disciplined. With 260 guests prominent in politics and journalism, the paper's victory banquet became a celebration of the new power and independence of the Philippine press.⁹

The second great libel suit of the decade was both a victory and a defeat for the Philippine press. In October 1908, *El Renacimiento* ran an editorial titled *Aves de Rapina* (Birds of Prey), criticizing an anonymous American official for possessing "the characteristics of the vulture, the owl and the vampire." It was a transparent attack upon a man who had become the very personification of American exploitation, Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of Interior (1901-13). Worcester filed a civil libel suit claiming ₱100,000 damages, and the colonial government indicted the paper's publisher Martin Ocampo and its editor T.M. Kalaw for criminal libel. Although the case dragged on for years, Worcester, a very vindictive man, attended every session and pursued the case relentlessly. When the American judge found *El Renacimiento* guilty, the entire Manila press responded with outrage. The American-owned *Philippines*

Free Press called for Worcester's immediate resignation. In January 1910, the other American judge hearing the civil suit ruled in favor of Worcester and ordered the sale of *El Renacimiento's* entire assets to pay damages of ₱60,000. Within months, however, Guerrero and Ocampo established another Spanish daily, *La Vanguardia*, in the same offices and it survived until World War II as one of Manila's leading newspapers. The Philippine press was now well enough established to survive even the worst of colonial repression.¹⁰



MANILA'S ILLUSTRATED weekly newspapers were the most important outlets for quality cartoons. Weekly publication was frequent enough for immediacy but relaxed enough to allow time for writer to reflect and artist to refine. Launched during the first decade of American rule, the new weeklies were inspired in part by the illustrated Manila magazines published by the Spanish colony in the 1890s. The older Spanish publications used graphics for illustration and individual caricature, while the new weeklies adopted the style of the Anglo-American political cartoon. Although the cartoon format was probably a product of American influence, Filipino artists were inclined to a moralism and social commentary in the Spanish graphic tradition, evident, for example, in Francisco Goya's series of etchings titled *Los Caprichos*.

Featured on page one of *Lipag Kalabaw*, *The Independent* or *The Philippines Free Press*, the lead cartoon was carefully crafted and set the tone for the entire issue. Below the cartoon was a lead editorial devoted to the same theme, albeit usually in a manner more temperate than the sharp,

often angry graphic imagery. Although the U.S. colonial courts were quite harsh in dealing with the written word, they never challenged even the most slanderous of cartoons, a factor which no doubt added to their appeal for angry nationalist editors.

Unlike American or British cartoonists who were usually commercial illustrators, their Filipino counterparts were often among the leading artists of their generation seeking survival in a colonial society with little use for their talents. Although Fernando Amorsolo is today remembered as a National Artist whose canvasses portray a timeless, idyllic Philippine countryside, he began his career as the angriest of Manila's political cartoonists. For over two years, between graduation from the College of Fine Arts at the University of the Philippines in 1914 and his departure for Spain in 1919, he worked as chief cartoonist for Vicente Sotto's militant weekly, *The Independent*. There he produced some of the most racist and angry cartoons ever to appear in the prewar press.



PUBLISHED IN TAGALOG and Spanish, *Lipag Kalabaw* featured a series of satiric cartoons in each issue supplemented by short articles commenting on the week's events. The paper was launched in 1906 when libel suits were still a serious threat and so it maintained an absolute anonymity. There was no masthead and both artists and writers published

under pen names. Judging from the tenor of its cartoons and articles, *Lipag Kalabaw* was a voice for independent radicals affiliated with the Nacionalista Party. While it damned the Federalista Party as craven collaborators, it also accused individual Nacionalistas of a grasping political opportunism. All of its cartoons on the 1907 Assembly elections, for example, show the winning Nacionalista candidates reaching greedily for a bag of money labelled "P20.00 Per Diem," the lavish daily payment for legislators. Although it only lasted a few years, *Lipag Kalabaw* set a high standard of satire and artistry that was never really equalled.

Among all the American newspapers launched after the U.S. occupation in 1898, only the *Philippines Free Press* had sufficient sensitivity to the Filipino point of view to survive. It was founded in 1906 by W.A. Kincaid, a former member of the colonial judiciary who had used his fluency in Spanish to set up a private practice in Manila. Unlike the jingos who dominated the Manila American community, Kincaid's command of Spanish gave him access to the *ilustrados* and he served, for example, as Aurelio Tolentino's lawyer in the famous seditious drama case. After it went bankrupt, McCullough Dick, a Scot who had served in the U.S. Navy, purchased the *Free Press* and hired an American school teacher, Theo S. Rogers, as his managing editor.

Together they directed the *Free Press* until the war and created the paper's uniquely successful journalistic formula.

Published in both Spanish and English, the *Free Press* had a distinctive mix of investigative reporting, moralistic editorial cartoons and literary features that made it an institution for the emerging Filipino middle class. Although always identified as an American-owned paper, its editorial viewpoint was sufficiently leavened to avoid the jingoism that characterized the other American papers through the 1920s. Dick was a Scot whose reclusive nature made judgments that appear more personal than national. Rogers was a garrulous man-about-town who cultivated a wide range of contacts with the Spanish and American communities. Through his friendship with Manuel Quezon and his closeness to the Catholic hierarchy, Rogers gave the *Free Press* a point of view that was sympathetic to both Filipino Catholics and moderate nationalists. While the American press was essentially anti-Filipino and the Filipino newspapers were tied to a particular party or faction, the *Free Press* escaped both kinds of bias. Advocating only integrity and democracy, the *Free Press* was a colonial newspaper that somehow became a convincing advocate of Philippine national progress.¹¹



FOUNDED IN 1915 by the radical Vicente Sotto, *The Independent* was a forum for its publisher's political crusades. Born in Cebu in 1878, Sotto is generally considered the "father of Cebuano letters." He began his career in 1899 as publisher of a string of short-lived nationalist newspapers that were suppressed as seditious by the U.S. Army censor. Unlike the city's other nationalist publisher, Sergio Osmeña, Sotto was unwilling to compromise with American authority. Simultaneously, he wrote the first Cebuano short story, operetta and drama. Convicted on charges of abduction in 1907, Sotto fled to Hong Kong where he remained until the liberal Governor-General Harrison pardoned him in 1915. Upon return to Manila, he launched *The Independent* to advocate reform of the Nacionalista Party. Although a strong nationalist, Sotto was also a radical who despised the corruption and compromise of the Nacionalista leadership. In particular, he was a personal enemy of the party's leader Sergio Osmeña, a rival from their days in the Cebu City press. Osmeña often appeared in *The Independent's* cartoons wearing a dress, a cutting reference to the rumor that Osmeña had sided with Spain in 1897-98 and had been forced to flee Cebu City disguised as a woman to escape the revolutionary forces.

Whether from personal or political motives, *The Independent* remained the most militant of the nationalist papers during its publishing life from 1915 to 1931. Alone among the major publishers, Sotto remained aloof from faction or

party. It devoted much of its editorial space to questions of tenancy, urban poverty and the internal integrity of the nationalist movement. Sotto's nationalism was not far removed from racism on occasion, and his newspaper's cartoons showed Spanish friars as satanic monsters and Chinese merchants as crafty Orientals. A relentless champion of national unity, he had little sympathy for the cultural autonomy of the Muslims and mountain peoples. Guided by his personal vision of national destiny, Sotto's newspaper attacked anything that stood in the way of a free, just and prosperous Philippines.¹²

The American public school system and rise of mass literacy obviously played a role in the growth of the Philippine press. According to successive census reports, literacy in any language grew from a national average of 45 percent in 1903 to 49 percent in 1938, with a high of 80 percent for Manila. From the perspective of a newspaper publisher, literacy in a single language is of far greater importance than literacy in a variety of languages. Hence the rise of English literacy was a key factor in the growth of mass circulation newspapers. Although some 15 percent of the Philippine population could understand some Spanish in 1903, by 1938 Spanish fluency had dropped to only 2.5 percent while English had climbed to 25 percent. The percentage of civil service applicants taking the exam in Spanish dropped from 80 percent in 1905 to only one percent 20 years later.¹³

The rise of English was reflected in newspaper circulation statistics. In 1905 almost the entire Filipino audience read Spanish or Tagalog newspapers, and Manila's four English language newspapers were read only by Americans. By 1939 the total circulation of all Philippine publications had grown enormously to 1.4 million, of which 722,000 were in English, some 358,000 in the vernacular, and only 81,000 in Spanish.¹⁴ The 1935 circulation statistics for individual publications reveals the enormous size and diversity of the Philippine press. The illustrated weeklies were the giants of Philippine publishing — *Liwayway* (Tagalog) 70,550; *The Monday Mail* (English) 42,621; *The Philippines Free Press* (English/Spanish) 19,600; and *Graphic* (English) 18,000. Daily newspaper circulation was smaller but still impressive — *Herald* (English) 23,741; *Mabuhay* (Tagalog) 21,492; *El Debate* (Spanish) 18,129; and *La Vanguardia* (Spanish) 13,606.¹⁵



the maiden Filipinas and the little peasant lad Juan de la Cruz. At the outset of U.S. colonial rule, the satiric nation-

alist paper *Lipag Kalabaw* portrayed Uncle Sam as a troll-like old man using his cunning to pay court to the virginal figure of Filipinas. The Philippine-American relationship is thus portrayed as a courtship in which the brash, mercenary suitor imagines he is doing well, but the sensible young lady is wisely withholding her affections. Although powerless before the might of Uncle Sam, Filipinas is still coy and clever enough to manipulate him. The image is an ironic reversal of the usual American colonial symbolism of Filipinas as a fecund maiden waiting to be impregnated with the seminal gift of American civilization.

Within a decade Filipinas had given way to Juan de la Cruz, a simple peasant lad in slippers and *salakot* hat, as the symbol of the Philippines. In the early *Lipag Kalabaw* cartoons of 1907-08, Juan makes a few appearances as a dignified young adult challenging a crafty Uncle Sam. As Filipino politicians learned to accept and manipulate the American relationship, Uncle Sam was transformed into a wise paternal figure almost beyond reproach. Young Juan might challenge an American official or a Filipino politician, but beside Uncle Sam he appears a trusting youth.

The transformation of Uncle Sam from evil predator to kindly patron reflects, in part, the success of the American public school system as an agency of colonial indoctrination. In basic readers and advanced civics texts, the colonial curriculum worked to instill a bi-national loyalty in the Filipino child — loyalty to an emerging Philippine nation and loyalty to its protector America. The Americans did not ignore the indigenous national identity and leave it to be discovered and defined by later nationalists as did the Dutch in Indonesia or the French in Vietnam. Instead, the American colonial schools defined the Filipino national identity for the Filipinos in a way that made it seem compatible with a long-term dependence upon America.



SCANNING 40 YEARS of cartoons between the space of two covers allows a reader to see, as in time-lapse photography, the otherwise invisible evolution of graphic symbols and Filipino political consciousness. For example, these cartoons tell the story of Uncle Sam,

UNLIKE THE OTHER European powers which demanded, above all else, political passivity from the colonized, American required that the Filipino elite play an active role in the colonization of their own country. After crushing the first Philippine Republic, the Americans then hinted at a promise of eventual independence if and when the Filipinos proved themselves capable of self-government. Although the standards of such judgement were left vague, it was generally understood that the Filipinos could prove themselves ready by suppressing all resistance, cooperating with American colonials, raising the educational standards and learning the administration of their affairs.

In keeping with their program of tutelary democracy, the Americans gradually transferred government agencies

and political control to the Filipinos. Over a period of 35 years, there was a progressive extension of political power to Filipinos — municipal elections in 1901, provincial in 1902, lower-house Assembly in 1907, Senate in 1916, and Commonwealth presidency in 1935. Similarly, Filipinos comprised 49 percent of the civil service in 1903, 71 percent in 1913, and nearly 100 percent by 1928.

The progress was, in fact, far less smooth than these statistics would seem to indicate. Filipino nationalists had to prove their capabilities and battle American conservatives for every step forward. Generally, Filipino nationalists encountered greater resistance from conservative U.S. Republicans and made their advances towards independence in alliance with liberal Democrats. The Philippines moved forward towards independence, starting and stalling, in cycles usually lasting about a decade each. Under the administration of the Republicans, more and less conservative, from 1901 to 1912, the Filipinos won few concessions and had to struggle for every advance. The election of Democratic President Woodrow Wilson in 1912 brought the appointment of the liberal Governor-General Francis B. Harrison and a rapid surge of Filipinization. By the close of the Harrison administration in 1921, Filipino leaders had gained a *de facto* autonomy over most of government and much of the economy. However, using the mismanagement of the Philippine National Bank and near collapse of the economy as pretext, a series of conservative Republican governors blocked new Filipino initiatives from 1921 until 1932. With the election of Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, the Democratic-controlled Congress passed legislation providing for establishment of a Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 as first step in a 10-year transition to full independence.

The American system of colonial democracy thus required that Filipinos form political parties to contest elections and negotiate with the U.S. government in Manila and Washington. Filipino politics during the colonial era is dominated by two political parties — the Federalista Party, which initially advocated U.S. statehood for the Philippines, and the Nacionalista Party, which initially favored immediate and complete independence. Over time, however, they blurred into near identical contenders for power identifiable by their leaders and not their policies.

In power from 1900 to 1906, the Federalistas advocated a lasting American relationship and were rewarded with substantial U.S. patronage. In permanent opposition after their crushing defeat in the 1907 Assembly elections, the Federalista Party and its successors, the Progresista and later Democrata parties, attacked the ruling Nacionalistas for their collaboration with America. Similarly, out of power until 1907, the Nacionalistas demanded independence and excoriated the Federalistas for their collaboration. Once in power after 1907, Nacionalista leaders grew comfortable with American patronage and favored a long, 15-or-25-year delay until independence.

UNDER THIS SYSTEM of collaborative colonialism, American and Filipino leaders practised a politics of mutual manipulation. Senior U.S. officials were, for the most part, careerists more interested in advancement in America than progress for the Philippines. After Taft's brilliant rise from judicial obscurity to the U.S. presidency via Malacañang Palace, the Philippines became a recognized stepping stone to higher office for ambitious Americans. Success in the Philippines required Filipino cooperation. The governors who returned home in glory were those that had won Filipino confidence.

Similarly, Filipino leaders had to deal with Americans to win patronage appointments in Manila for their followers and political concessions in Washington to placate their mass following. Initially, American colonials played a key role in selecting which Filipinos would become the leaders of their parties. The patrician Governor Taft (1901-04) found greatest rapport with Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera and thus strengthened his leadership within the Federalista Party.¹⁶ Unable to work with Pardo de Tavera, Cameron Forbes, then Secretary of Commerce (1904-09) and later Governor-General (1909-13), found his allies, ironically, in the ranks of the anti-American Nacionalista Party. Impressed with the administration of two young provincial governors, Forbes began his courtship of Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon in 1906. He played a key role in their rise from provincial obscurity to national prominence and was political matchmaker in their early alliance during the months preceding the 1907 Assembly elections. After Osmeña was elected Speaker and Quezon Majority Leader in the new Assembly, they were influential in winning Forbes' elevation to the governorship.¹⁷

Over the next 35 years both men proved masters at manipulation of powerful Americans. Quezon was instrumental in the selection of the liberal Francis Harrison as governor-general and Osmeña won unprecedented concessions from him by a complex courtship. When President Hoover nominated Nicholas Roosevelt, the former president's nephew, as vice-governor in 1930, the Nacionalistas raised such a storm of protest that the U.S. Senate rejected the nomination. No American governor could administer the islands without their support.

In the end, however, it becomes impossible to sort out the winners and losers from this chronicle of colonial intrigues. The Filipinos won most major battles, but at the cost of sacrificing their original goal — immediate and complete independence. By postponing independence for so long and mastering the art of colonial compromise so well, the Philippines had become bound to America by ties that could not be easily severed — economic, political, military and cultural. Indeed, the relationship between Uncle Sam and Juan de la Cruz has now survived nearly four decades of Philippine independence.

THE CARTOONS

text and captions by Alfred W. McCoy

COSAS DE LA VIDA

LARAWAN NG BUHAY



—Usted que es ducho en la materia; ¿puede decirme si es verdad que en algunas carnicerías se dá la carne con menos peso?

—Así lo dicen los reports.

—Bueno. Ahora dígame, buen policía, donde dan la carne, aunque pesando menos.

ANG "PAISANO".—Pulis, totoo nga ba ang balitang nagbibigay silá ríyan ng carneng kulang sa timbang?

PULIS.—Gayon nga ang sabi

ANG PAISANO.—¿Ay saán naman nagbibigay ng carneng walang bayad?

MANILA: THE CORRUPTION OF A CITY

IF NATIONALISM WAS THE IDEOLOGY of the Manila press, then the city was its reality. The editors, artists and writers all lived and worked in Manila, and so expressed their frustrations with its discomforts and decadence in some of the angriest cartoons of the American period (1899-1941). Costumes and characters have changed in the half century since their publication, but Manila's constant urban problems — poverty, corruption and prostitution — give these cartoons an almost timeless quality.

The American period was a time of major physical and cultural change for Manila. During its first 20 years, the U.S. colonial regime transformed Manila from a fortified 17th century enclave into a modern colonial metropolis. In 1899 Manila was a grand city from another era fallen upon hard times. Writing in 1637, little more than a half century after the Spanish had begun building in earnest, a Crown officer, Juan Grau y Monfalcon, reported that Manila was already a modern metropolis worthy of "equal rank with the greatest and most celebrated cities in the world." He suggested that Manila be maintained as the symbol of Spain's might in Asia, the "daughter of its power." Influenced by the grandeur of Mexico City's then unique grid of ceremonial boulevards and plazas, Miguel de Legazpi, Manila's founder, had selected a defensible site at the mouth of the Pasig River in 1571 and laid out a similar grid crowned by a single grand plaza for Cathedral and government buildings. With the great profits from the trans-Pacific galleon trade, subsequent builders, secular and religious, added the encircling battlements and impressive stone buildings that made Intramuros a 17th century marvel.¹

The initial plan and execution were impressive, but the city's unhealthy site would always remain a problem. Located at the Pasig River's swampy mouth, most of Manila was just above sea level and thus interlaced with swamps and streams. Flooding and poor water supply made the city prone to tropical disease. While Spanish Intramuros itself was on relatively higher ground, the Asian suburbs that grew up as jumbles of thatch and bamboo outside its walls suffered poor health, periodic flooding and destructive fires.²

When Manila grew from a large town into a small city in the 19th century, the Spanish seemed incapable of coping with its modern urban problems. After taking over two centuries to grow from 42,000 people in 1650 to 86,000 in 1780³, Manila's population suddenly doubled to 150,000 in 1818 and doubled again to 300,000 in 1887.⁴ Despite the

enormous strain of congestion, the Spanish regime did little to modernize the city's 17th century infrastructure. The city's first sanitary water supply was not opened until 1882 and there were still only 390 public faucets for 300,000 people at the end of the Spanish regime in 1898.⁵ Moreover, there was still no sewage system, no sanitation, no public health controls and no modern hospital.⁶ Householders simply threw their trash and excrement into the street where pigs fed upon choice morsels.⁷

When the U.S. Army landed in 1898, its command was appalled by Manila's poor health and sanitation. Drawing upon lessons learned about tropical disease from their Caribbean conquests, U.S. Army doctors introduced a comprehensive public health program. By 1910 Manila had a sewage system, a new water supply with 125 times the capacity of the Spanish reservoir, and a modern public hospital that treated 80,000 outpatients annually in its free clinic.

The advances in disease control were impressive. From 1902 to 1904 Manila suffered one of its periodic cholera epidemics which left 4,386 dead. But by 1911 sanitation and public education had virtually eliminated the disease. In 1902 Filipinos met the threat of cholera with nightly religious processions; in 1910 they boiled the water. Smallpox, which was killing 6,000 people every year in the greater Manila area, was eradicated through compulsory vaccination, and malaria was reduced by mosquito control. The sum of these measures cut Manila's death rate by almost half — from 43 per 1,000 population in 1899 to only 23 in 1914.⁸

The American occupation of Manila coincided with a resurgence of urban planning in the United States. Inspired by the glistening grandeur of "The White City" at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, American reformers became convinced that urban planning could revive the country's grimy industrial cities. The "City Beautiful Movement" gained momentum in 1901-02 when the U.S. government celebrated Washington's centenary as the nation's capital by completing L'Enfant's original master plan for a grand mall running from the Potomac River to the Capitol Building.⁹

Manila was to become the City Beautiful Movement's greatest triumph. Freed from political constraints that frustrated their plans for American cities, these reformers used colonial power to find fulfillment in Manila. In April 1904 Secretary of War W.H. Taft awarded the commission for the planning of Manila's urban renewal and the construction of its summer capital at Baguio to Daniel Burnham, a

leading figure in the City Beautiful Movement who had been senior architect for both the Chicago World's Fair and the Washington Mall.¹⁰

After a brief six-week visit to the Philippines in 1904-05, Burnham completed sweeping plans for the renovation of Manila which met an enthusiastic response from the colonial government. While the 16th century Spanish *conquistador* Legazpi had built Manila as the symbol of Spain's power, this 20th-century architect wanted to rebuild it as testimony to American technology.¹¹

Just as his mall had opened Washington to the Potomac River, so he now turned Manila towards its magnificent bay. The centerpiece of Burnham's plan was a grand concourse that arced about the inland walls of Intramuros, which he preserved, from the Pasig River to Luneta's end at Manila Bay. An elongated plaza of government buildings along the inland sector starting near the Pasig would yield to a widened Luneta Park that he planned to extend further into the sea on land fill from the ongoing deep harbor dredging. To the park's north side would lie a projected Manila Hotel and to its south a row of grand structures to celebrate colonial dominion — the Army-Navy Club, the fleet admiral's residence and quarters for the U.S. Army commander. Luneta's junction with the sea was the "natural starting point" for a wide boulevard that was to sweep south along the bay all the way to Cavite, the future Dewey now Roxas Boulevard. To resolve the city's growing transport problems, Burnham proposed a series of diagonal arteries overlaid across Manila's old square grid.¹²

As soon as his plans were complete, Burnham personally selected the young Yale architect, William E. Parsons, as their interpreter and executor. Appointed as chief architect for all Philippine government construction, Parsons worked closely with the Philippine Commission's Secretary of Commerce Cameron Forbes, another Burnham protege, from 1905 to 1913. Adopting the "vocabulary of indigenous Philippine-Spanish architecture" for his distinctive style, Parsons designed almost all of Manila's major new buildings — the Manila Hotel, Philippine General Hospital, the YMCA, and the Army-Navy Club. By the time Parsons resigned in 1913 when Filipino assertiveness began to constrain his autonomy, he had completed Burnham's monumental new Manila.¹³

The American achievement in its new imperial capital was not without its failings. Like Forbes and Taft, Burnham was a patrician Republican with superficial views about social reform. As in the Washington Mall and the Chicago World's Fair, Burnham and his executors built a grand parkland that in no way addressed Manila's fundamental problems — public housing, public transport and public parks for the city's working class.¹⁴ Instead, American colonials and prominent Filipinos lavished resources upon a glittering facade. Set in the heart of Burnham's grand concourse, the annual Manila Carnival, first held in

1908, became the ultimate colonial circus diverting energy into two weeks of lavish processions, balls and beauty contests (pages 44-47).

As Manila grew from a city of 220,000 in 1903 to 623,000 in 1938, the cracks began to appear in the city's imperial facade. The failed promise of America's "Pearl of the Orient" inevitably drew the cartoonists' most savage satire. The city simply did not have the transportation infrastructure or the social services to cope with such a large impoverished population. By the 1920s hospitals were forced to turn away charity cases for want of space (page 87) and the government had to periodically freeze rents during recession, a palliative that could not resolve the working class housing problem (page 34). As early as 1908 a *Lipag Kalabaw* cartoon portrayed the city's growing poverty as a wry street encounter (page 19). The tattered poor man asks: "Officer, is the news true that there are places selling meat underweight?" Police officer: "That is what the reports say." The poor man: "And can you tell me, good officer, if there are places that give meat away free, even if it is underweight?"

Moreover, the Americans had failed to provide Manila with a form of local government that could solve its own problems. Manila's city administration was crippled by constant national interference, incessant warfare between council and mayor, endemic corruption, and the political imperatives of an election every three years. Manila police reflected the city's maladministration and soon gained a reputation for laziness and systematic corruption.

Nor were city council or police capable of mediating Manila's worsening transport. Since Meralco's electric trams, opened in 1905, charged prohibitive fares and serviced only the lucrative boulevards, Manila's narrow streets became an urban jungle in the Darwinian struggle between transport species — cars, *calesas*, trams, and taxis.

The hollow monumental grandeur combined with an Americanized urban culture to give Manila a rather tawdry air when viewed through the cartoonist's angry eye. Suppressed under Spanish rule, prostitution boomed under the liberal American regime and city officials and their police soon learned to profit from a selective tolerance. Similarly, as shown in the January 1908 cartoon on page 15, gambling boomed and spawned systematic police and political corruption. Regular visits by the U.S. Navy fostered a campfollower culture of prostitutes, bar girls and *bailarinas* (pages 22, 78-79).

American influence brought some subtle social changes as well. The annual influx of legislators and their cronies gave Manila a political high life of high-roller gambling and gossip. The sudden increase in schools and colleges made youth a distinct social class. Their elders suddenly became concerned about the morality and political wisdom of the young.

By 1941 Manila was a changed city.



RECUERDOS DE LA VISITA

Pequeño negocio para los pequeños negociantes.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 5 December 1908)

— Ano ang natubo natin sa mahigit na sang daang libong ginasta sa mga marinong umalis na?
— Pues ayán naiwan dito ang dumi ng kanilang mga sapatos.

AT FIRST CONTACT, Manileños found the sudden American presence disruptive. It was the small things that often outraged ordinary Filipinos. With the arrogance of the conqueror, for example, American soldiers and sailors strutted about Manila's streets. From these slices of street life the cartoonists could often make a sharp political point masquerading as innocent social commentary.

Memories of the Visit (left): Grotesque figures with great noses, the American sailors poured into Manila off the U.S. Asiatic Fleet in November 1908, crowding into bars and brothels, a stream of shoeshine boys and *calesa* drivers following in their wake. The cartoonist here shows one shoeshine boy asking another: "What did we profit from the ₱100,000 which the sailors visiting here are supposed to have spent?" The other answers: "Nothing. They left us the dirt from their shoes."

The cartoon's satire operates on at least three levels. The criticism of the sailors' spending expresses a growing Filipino objection to the jarring economic and social consequences of the American military presence. Reacting to Filipino complaints about the many disreputables among the American veterans who had remained in the provinces, usually living off a Filipina wife and engaging in drunken brawls, the Philippine Commission passed a law aimed at weeding out the vagrant veterans.

The cartoon also hints at a more subtle criticism of American colonialism. If U.S. rule were like the sailors' visit,

would the Filipinos not end their decades of submission with little more than dirt from America's "shoes"?

Unlike these Caucasian monstrosities of 1908, the friendly, cherubic Sailor Jack of the 1930s (pages 78-79) is welcome in a city that learned to profit from his presence.

Municipal Hygiene (below): Determined to transform Manila from a tawdry Asiatic port into a model metropolis, the Americans imposed strict sanitation regulations that angered the Manileños. While this cartoon shows public reaction to the noxious odors from the excrement pail wagon that serviced outside toilets, the chemical spraying of streets and houses to prevent disease was even more distasteful.

Such measures were absolutely necessary, however. The Spaniards had given Manila neither sewers nor secure water supply so night soil collection was an imperative disease control measure. During the cholera epidemics of 1902-04, for example, 4,386 Manila residents died.

Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, a member of the executive Philippine Commission, was a leading critic of U.S. sanitation procedures. Opposing Interior Secretary Dean C. Worcester's plans for the appointment of District Sanitary Inspectors in 1905, Pardo de Tavera wrote to Secretary of War W.H. Taft: "If in Manila, the Government has not been able to protect residents from truly outrageous abuse of authority on the part of agents of the Board of Health, . . . the new organization . . . will bring about greater abuses in the provinces than those we suffer in Manila."¹⁵

HIGIENE MUNICIPAL — KALINISAN NG MAYNILA



(Lipag Kalabaw, 26 October 1907)

Sanidad reparte sus perfumados dones, para desinfectar la poblacion

ISANG TUMATAKBO — Galit daw sa *microbia* ang Sanidad! Aya't peste araw araw ang regalo sa atin ng Municipio a . . .
 ISANG BABAYI — Eto na nga pala ang *empacto*. Sus kay baho!
 ANG INSIK — Machi! hachiii! juapelo, salinyasay.

The Noisiest City in the World



THE DISTANT PROVINCES

THE PROVINCES BEGAN at Manila's door-step, but for the city's press they were a world apart. The editors, writers and cartoonists all lived in Manila and made the press a chronicle of urban life. The cartoons are then a remarkably detailed and precise record of the city's changing face — fashion, morality, politics, transport, and commerce.

If Manila was reality, then the provinces became fantasy. Coverage of provincial developments was infrequent and uneven. Even this limited coverage was biased towards the fantastic, the catastrophic and absurd. Excepting the candidacies of Manila *ilustrados* in Cavite and Batangas in the 1907 Assembly elections, the Manila press ignored the routine of provincial politics and portrayed only the ridiculous. The cartoons expressed mock horror at the intensity of faction fighting in Lipa, Batangas in 1930; mustered a condescending approval for Governor Juan Cailles' tax collection efforts in Laguna; and delighted in a Kawit, Cavite ordinance banning pigs from the street. Provincial politics were little more than light relief from the affairs of state in Manila.

While Manila's changing mores were a serious matter, provincial pretensions became the object of ridicule. A 1907 cartoon on gambling shows an entire town so obsessed with card playing that everyone's eyes have glazed over with peso signs. Two *Free Press* cartoons of the 1920s show students returning from Manila to their barrios, puffed with pride in smart new clothes that garb dismal academic records (pages 98-99).

The only provincial topic exempt from this general attitude of scorn and neglect was the plight of the peasantry. Among the major Manila weeklies, Vicente Sotto's radical newspaper, *The Independent*, was the only one consistently concerned about rural social conditions. In 1922, long before advocacy of the poor was fashionable, Sotto's newspaper condemned wholesale landgrabbing in Nueva Ecija and reported the money lenders' abuse of the *pacto de retroventa* lending system to confiscate peasant lands (pages 92-93). Using the titling process as pretext to claim pioneer holdings, wealthy *caciques* were filing false declarations and winning title to land which had been cleared and worked by poor peasants for many years. Breaking the ranks of class solidarity, Sotto damned ex-Secretary of Justice Quintin Paredes for selling his services to the landgrabbers. And he pleaded with the American executive branch to "take proper precautions to protect the rights of the poor against the greed and cunning of the *caciques*, and thus forestall dark days for this country."

Reflecting the views of its conservative American ownership, the *Free Press* took a far more moderate position on peasant issues. The paper generally ignored rural condi-

tions until the 1930s when radical peasant unions challenged the landlords in Central Luzon with strikes and political protest. A 1938 cartoon titled **Brothers Under the Skin** (page 106) shows landlord and tenant battling each other whip and scythe, while the figure of Filipinas counsels a corporatist unity and Jose Rizal hovers in a saint-like nimbus behind. Similarly, the *Free Press* was strongly biased in its coverage of the Socialist and Communist parties which drew most of their support from the peasants of Central Luzon. A 1940 cartoon (page 107) drew Socialist leader Pedro Abad Santos as a rabid, Moscow-line fanatic, something that he was not. A year later a cartoon captioned **Law and Order—Democracy's Greatest Bulwark** (page 108) showed Pampanga peasants waving a communist flag while assaulting that bulwark with torch and machine gun.

There were, moreover, subtle but significant differences in the way the two newspapers handled their advocacy of agricultural progress. Striking a characteristically strident note, a 1915 cartoon in Sotto's *Independent* hailed the president of the Agricultural Assembly, Esperidion Guanco, as a hero of economic nationalism and showed him leading legions of Filipino farmers into battle against their enemies — the American sugar trust, Chinese rice traders, and the Spaniard-owned Bank of the Philippine Islands (page 94). By contrast, a 1928 *Free Press* cartoon blamed Filipino politics for the parlous state of agriculture and showed a kindly Governor-General Stimson counselling Juan in the wisdom of moderation (page 102).

The clearest ideological division came over the capitalization of the Philippine sugar industry. Adopting an apparently nationalistic line, the *Free Press* ran a series of cartoons in the early 1920s demanding that the Philippine National Bank increase its financing for the sugar industry. In fact, the *Free Press* was taking a very conservative position. Increased PNB investment in the sugar industry would strengthen Philippine dependence on the American market and deny capital to Filipino merchants in competition with American businessmen (pages 96-97). By contrast, a 1924 cartoon in *The Independent* showed the export sugar industry bloated at a groaning banquet table as a retinue of waiters — legislator, banker, treasurer, and executive — fatten him with even more credit. Meanwhile, domestic rice production slumbers as a swarm of locusts clouds the horizon (page 93).

Regardless of their ideological differences, both papers shared a common urban bias. Whether they saw the countryside's problem as communist agitation or cacique exploitation, the Manila press seemed to agree that the provinces were, above all else, distant.

FOR THE SOPHISTICATES of the Manila press corps, the provinces were noteworthy for their vice, poverty and factional politics. The occasional commentary in the satirical nationalist weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* was, like these cartoons, usually restricted to vice and politics.

Convenient Blindness (below) is the translation of a satirical comment on the provincial's preoccupation with gambling. Outside the municipal hall provincial officials, their eyes glazed over with visions of Conant pesos, gamble at cards. The caption says that in a province near Manila gambling is so widespread that everyone — the municipal president, provincial board and governor — do nothing but gamble.

Regattas in Batangas (lower right) celebrates the sweeping victory of the nationalist candidates in the 1907 Assembly elections in Batangas Province. The winning candidates are (left to right) Eusebio Orense (Nacionalista, Second District), Gregorio Katigbak (Nacionalista, Third District), and Felipe Agoncillo (Independent, First District).

The election of nationalists in this strife-torn province was of considerable significance in colonial politics. Determined to suppress the last burst of revolutionary resistance in the archipelago, Governor-General Luke Wright suspended *habeas corpus* for Cavite and Batangas provinces in

January 1905. Initial operations against Macario Sakay's guerillas failed, and the U.S. military resorted to ruthless repression — mass incarceration of population, arbitrary arrest and torture. Sakay finally surrendered in July 1906, a year before the first Assembly elections, and the victory of these radicals was seen as a vindication of the nationalist cause.

All three candidates had been prominent in the Philippine revolution. Katigbak was a colonel in the army, Orense a judge for the Republic, and Agoncillo ambassador in Europe and America. A notable nationalist die-hard, Agoncillo had remained in exile in Hong Kong until 1905, thus becoming among the very last to accept the American conquest.¹

Sack Race in Cavite (upper right) is satirical commentary on the victory of Nacionalista Party candidate Rafael Palma over the Progresista (formerly Federalista) Party candidate by 1,893 votes to 446. Editor of the revolutionary newspaper *La Independencia*, Palma was later founding editor of the nationalist weekly *El Renacimiento* in 1901 and lawyer for nationalist writers and labor leaders persecuted by the U.S. regime. Running with the support of General Emilio Aguinaldo, Palma easily won the seat and its ironic reward of a lavish ₱20.00 per day salary.²



CIEGOS DE CONVENIENCIA

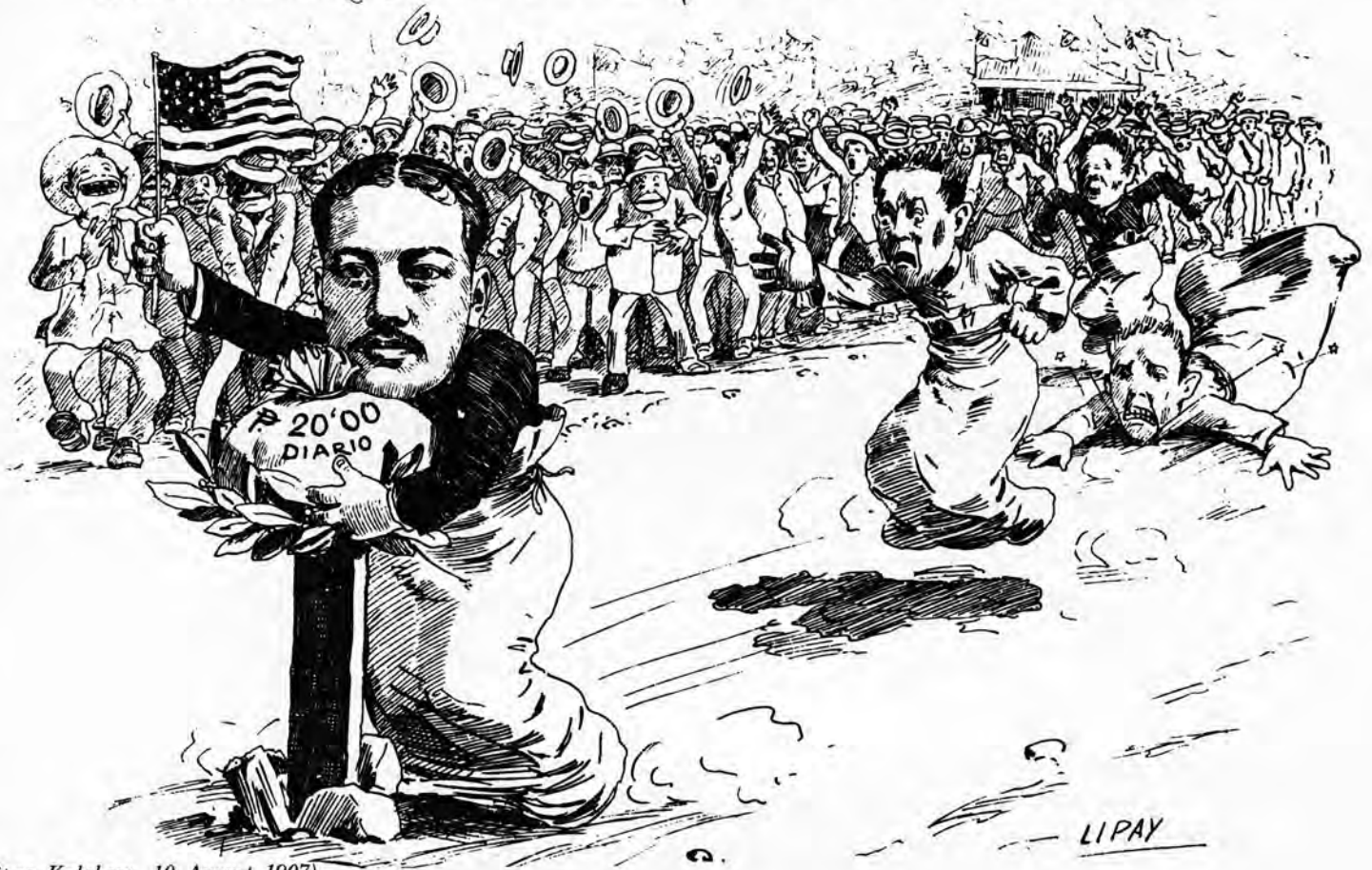
En provincia muy cerca
sin que á nadie cause horror
mucha gente se dedica
al juego con gran fervor.

Presidentes, concejales
y el mismo gobernador
padecen una ceguera
de las de marca mayor.

Marami ang nagtatakang
kung bakit sa lalawigan
di malayo sa "Capital"
ay malaya ang SUGALAN.
Paano'y di nila alam
na doo'y si Haring konan
ang naghahari sa tanan.
Kaya, ang sino't alin man,
imaging puno man sa bayan!
ay di..... MAKAPAGGALAW.

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 6 June 1908)

CARRERA DE SACOS EN KAVITE | 'CARRERA DE SACOS' SA KABITE.



(Lipag Kalabaw, 10 August 1907)

REGATAS EN BATANGAS
(Karera ng bangka sa Batangas)



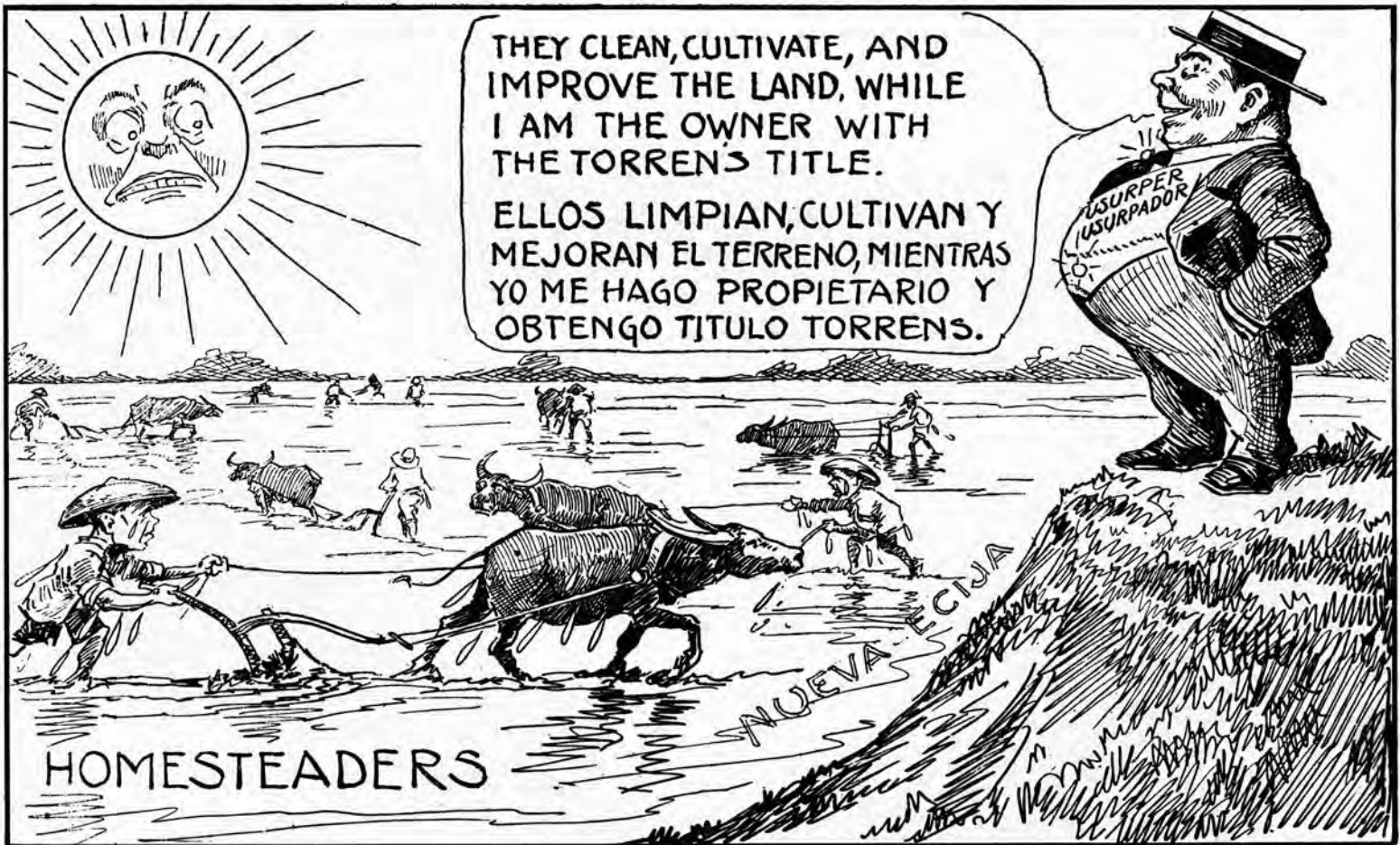
(Lipag Kalabaw, 24 August 1907)

(The Independent, 18 May 1918)

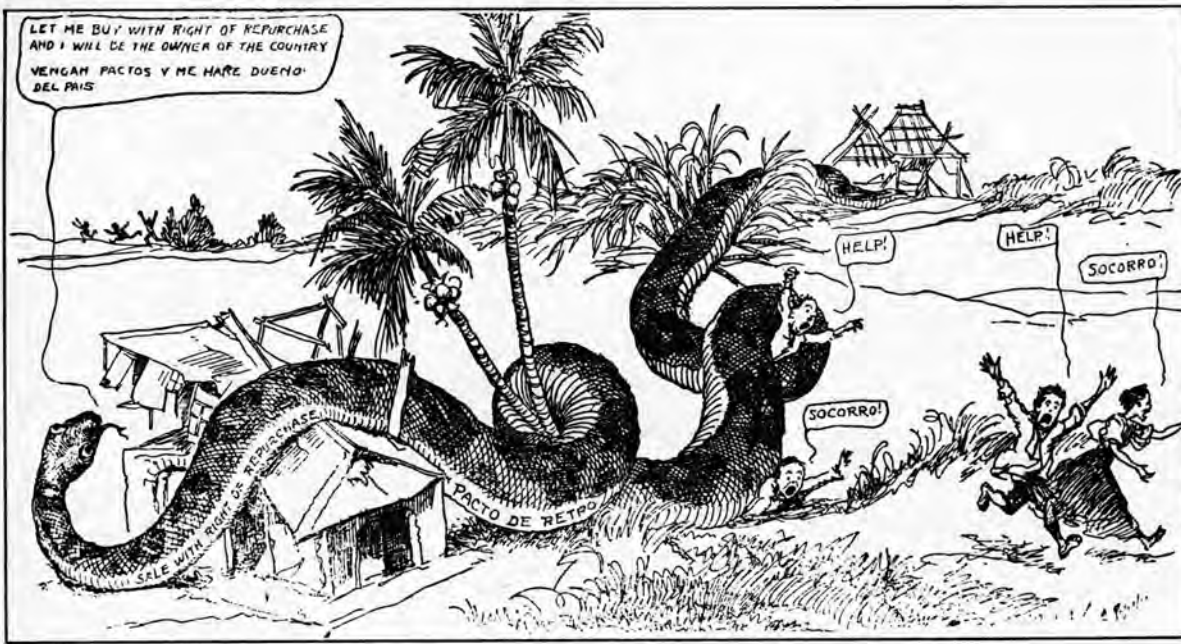


Why the "Aparcero" Rebels

(The Independent, 14 January 1922)



A New Wrinkle in the Art of Thieving



(The Independent, 8 September 1917)

The Calamity of the Moment



(Bag-ong Kusog, 24 October 1924)

Ang dato, datoon; ang kabus, kabuson

THE AGRICULTURAL ASSEMBLY of 1915 was the first effort by Filipino farmers to lobby for government support on a collective, national basis. Meeting in Manila, the Assembly called for a number of concessions, most importantly creation of a national bank to serve agriculture. Since existing banks would not lend to farmers unless they had land titles, which most did not, they were forced to borrow from Chinese brokers or users who charged high interest and paid low prices. Thus, the farmer's enemies shown here include a Chinese merchant, a userer, and the "Banco de los Frailes," the Friar Bank. This latter figure refers to the Bank of the Philippine Islands, which was established in 1851 with half of its stock subscribed by Spanish religious organizations.³ Responding in part to the demands of the Assembly, the Philippine National Bank was organized by the insular government in February 1916 with a liberal crop loan program for Filipino farmers.

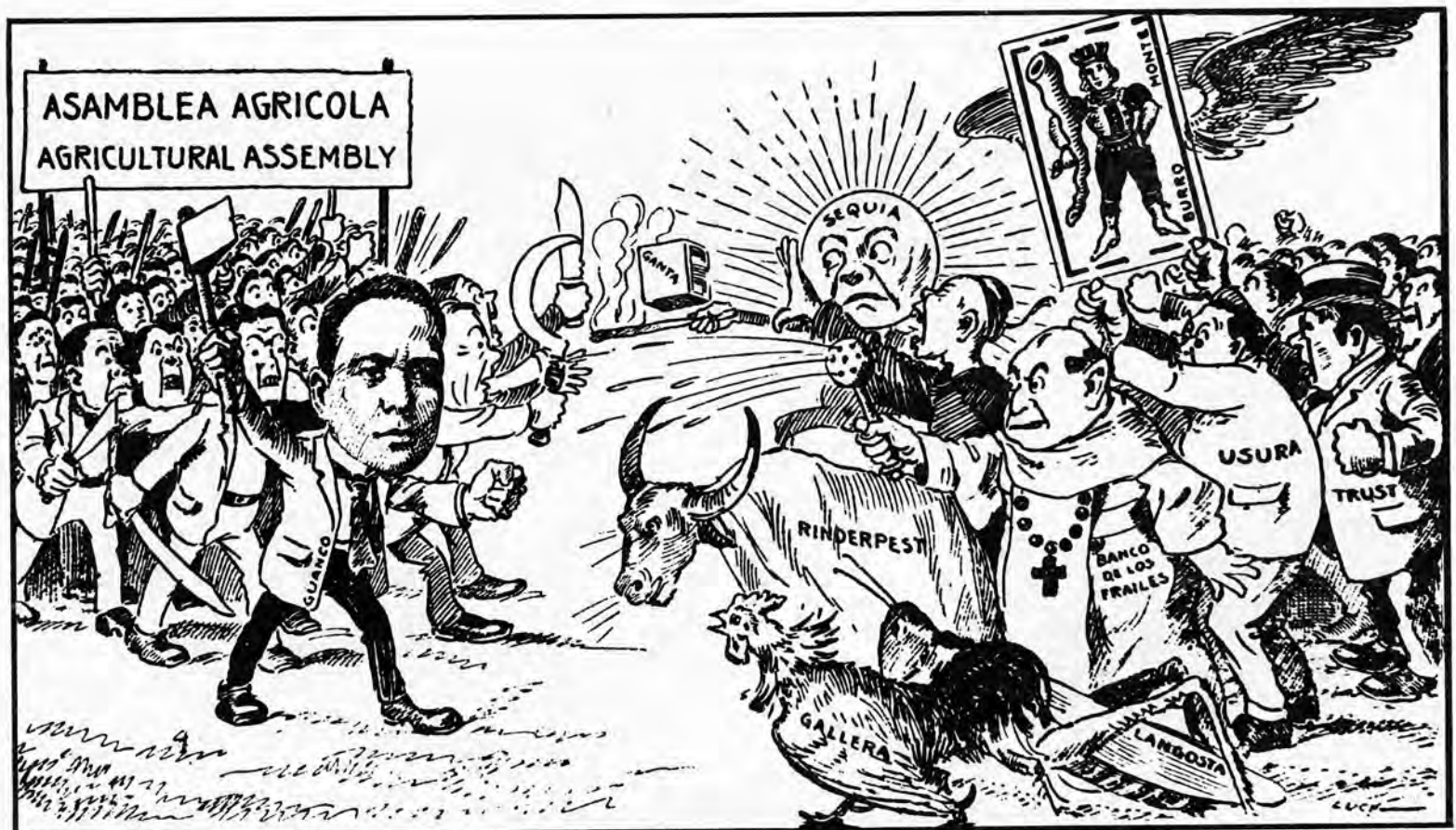
The cartoon also attacks the farmer's other enemies. Beginning in 1888, rinderpest, a fatal cattle disease, spread until draft animals were in critically short supply by the century's turn.⁴ While drought and locust plagues were often severe, the American sugar trust had blocked Philippine sugar exports to the United States for many years. Symbolized by the fighting cock and *monte* card, gambling

was a vice which often brought Filipino farmers to ruin. In this battle the Chinese merchant hurls a *ganta* measure at Filipino farmers, bitter commentary on the reputation of Chinese buyers for using false measures to cheat producers.

The leader of the farmers' forces is Espiridion Guanaco, a Negros planter elected to the Philippine Senate in 1916. Through Guanaco's efforts, the Assembly generated considerable momentum which culminated in formation of the national Confederation of Sugar Cane Planters in 1928.⁵

The four cartoons on the previous two pages show other aspects of agriculture's plight. **The Calamity of the Moment** depicts the serpent-like *pacto de retroventa*, a form of farm mortgage common in Central Luzon, depriving peasant farmers of their lands. Similarly, **A New Wrinkle in the Art of Thieving** shows city capitalists using the Torrens title process, which required relinquishment of customary claims to issue clear titles, to grab lands in Nueva Ecija and other Central Luzon provinces. **Why the Tenant Farmer Rebels** shows the forms of landlord usury used to strip tenant farmers of their rightful share of the harvest, while **Ang Dato, Datoon; Ang Kabus, Kabuson** (The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Poorer) shows the sugar industry feasting upon lavish credit while the rice industry languishes.

The great struggle has begun: who will win?



(The Independent, 28 August 1915)

La gran lucha ha comenzado: ¿quien vencera?

IN ONE OF THE MOST insensitive outbursts in its colonial publishing history, the *Free Press*, then American-owned, mocked Senator Lope K. Santos for introducing a bill requiring all mountain people to wear lowland dress and change their names or be imprisoned for 30 days to five years.

Although clearly insensitive to mountain cultures, the bill must be understood in its historical context. As the Philippines advanced rapidly towards independence during the 1920s, American imperial interests used the minority issue to attack Filipino nationalists. Arguing variously that all Filipinos were primitive like the half-naked Igorots or that lowland Christians could not control the minorities, imperialists argued for either postponing independence or, in its event, extending an American protectorate over Muslim Mindanao and pagan Mountain Province.

For over a half century, imperialists had used the mountain minorities to denigrate the capacities of the lowland majority. In 1903-04 at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, the U.S. colonial government had

exhibited an Igorot mountain village complete with a small contingent of half-naked head hunters. As an American colonial judge noted, the Igorot show was the hit of the Exposition: "It was the recollection of them that lingered longest with the visitor to the exposition and there was always in his mind thereafter an association... between Igorrotes and Filipino capacities for self-government..."⁶ So popular was the show that one entrepreneur toured Europe and America with an Igorot sideshow for several years until the insular government, responding to Filipino pressure, was forced to ban the practice.⁷

In 1887 Spanish colonials, notably the friars, had used the same tactic at the *Exposicion de Las Islas Filipinas* in Madrid. Seeking to blunt the campaign for reforms being waged by Filipino propagandists in Spain, the colonial administration dispatched an "Igorot village." The Madrid newspaper *El Resumen* said of these "Filipinos": "In the majority of them one sees the stamp of stupidity and imbecility; the feeble ray of intelligence which may be glimpsed through their slanted eyes..."⁸

10
CENTAVOS

Philippines
Free Press

10
CENTAVOS

Vol. XIV

Philippines Free Press, Manila, P. I., Saturday, December 11, 1920.

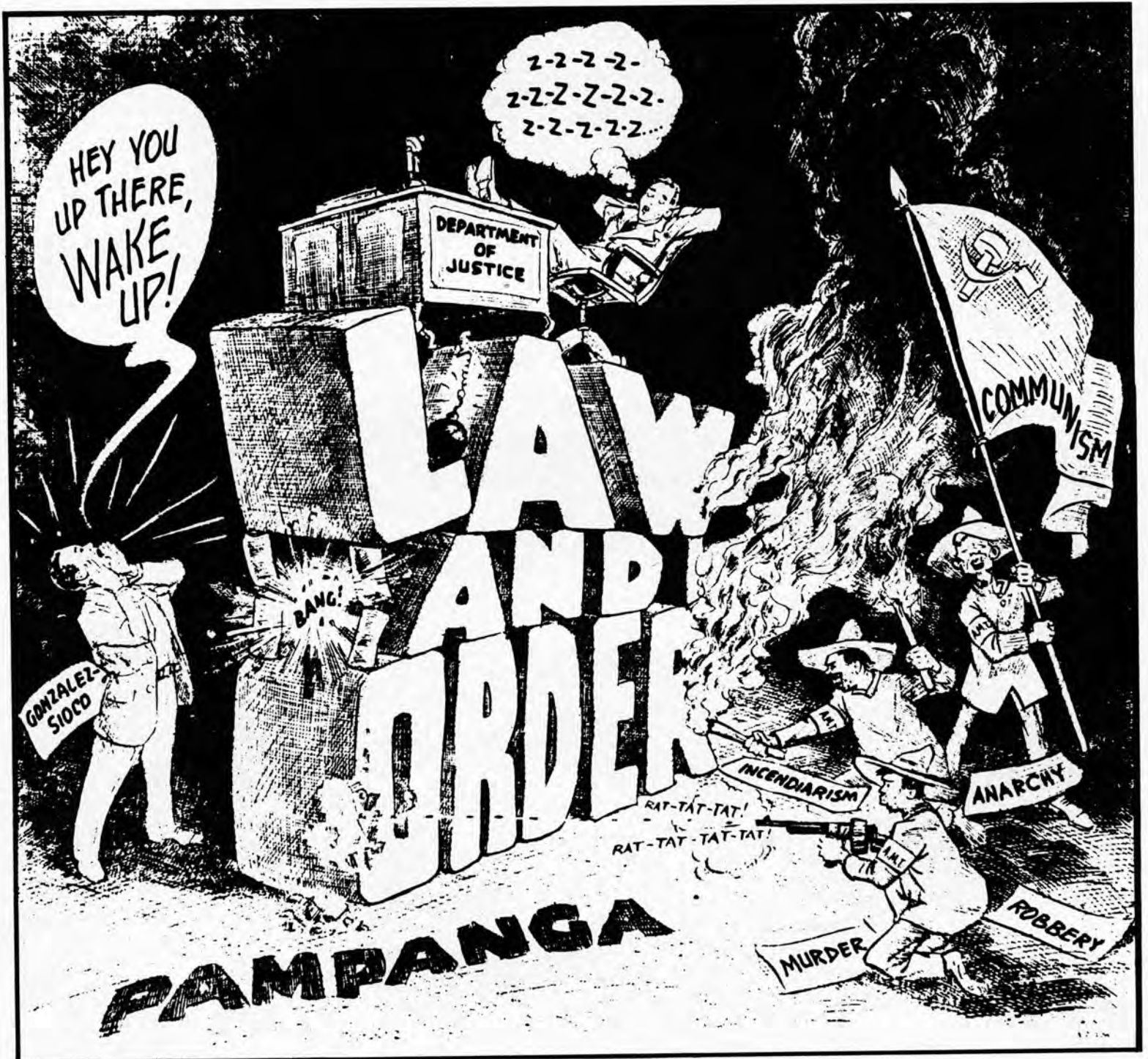
No. 50

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

LA NUEVA DEMOCRACIA



Law and Order—Democracy's Greatest Bulwark



THE COLONIAL CONDITION

FOR SOPHISTICATED FILIPINO nationalists, colonialism was not a simple matter of who occupied the executive offices in Malacañang Palace. They saw colonialism as a pervasive condition that had penetrated the whole of their social fabric — influencing their culture, politics, economy, and class relations. These nationalists, radical and conservative, felt that anti-colonialism had to move beyond mere agitation for independence and seek the revitalization of Filipino society. Breaking this subtle system of colonial social controls would require reforms of religion, language and social relations.

Unlike revolutionaries who could postpone difficult social reforms until after seizure of power, Filipino nationalists were forced, by principle and political circumstance, to change their society before independence. After a brutal conquest of the infant Philippine Republic, the new colonial regime promised Filipinos independence as soon as they were, in America's judgement, capable of self-government. The U.S. colonial regime defined the standards of such capabilities very broadly and offered a comprehensive program of social engineering to assist in the "uplift of the Filipinos." Filipino nationalists were thus compelled to collaborate with American reforms in an effort to steer the might of the colonial state towards their own aims. What policies moderates could not change from within the colonial state, radical nationalists attacked from without, mobilizing press and popular protest to battle American decisions deemed inimical to Filipino interests.

At the outset of U.S. colonial rule in 1899, Filipino leaders were very much on the defensive and won few concessions. American opportunists had crowded into Manila seeking well paid government jobs or lucrative contracts at the expense of Filipino taxpayers. Faced with an avaricious horde who filled the civil service and seemed ready to plunder the economy, Filipino leaders forged an alliance with the comparatively liberal Governor-General W.H. Taft (1901-04) and bartered their collaboration for Filipino appointments. Thus, much of the early nationalist effort was concentrated on simply taking control of the colonial government through either election or appointment of qualified Filipinos. By 1916 a Philippine Legislature framed the colony's laws and a largely Filipino bureaucracy executed them.

The battle for "Filipinization" was not won easily and required a sustained struggle against would-be American colonials. Reacting to a burst of anti-Filipino meetings and petitions among Manila Americans in 1907, the satirical nationalist weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* shows Juan the peasant holding back a pack of yapping dogs, who represent American jingos, with a club (page 119). For radical nationalists anything involving the dignity of Filipinos, even prison

conditions (page 125), was a political issue of importance.

As *ilustrados*, educated literati, the early nationalists were acutely aware of the cultural dimension of imperialism. The combined influence of Spain and America had created an urban culture whose inconsistencies and implied subjugation were an unfailing target for attack. The artists' main weapon was satire and they used it to fight every manifestation of the invidious colonial culture — the subservience of the Filipina before Spanish priests, the Filipino preference for foreign products, and the growing popularity of English over Spanish.

During the first decade of U.S. colonial rule, nationalists fought a determined rear-guard action against a revival of Spanish friar influence. Early cartoonists directed some stinging satire at the Spanish priests and their continuing influence over pious Filipinas. A cartoon published in a 1907 edition of *Lipag Kalabaw* accused the friars of stealing the gifts that Filipinas gave to saints' images (page 111). The Spanish caption at the left begins with the pious women presenting *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* (Our Lady of the Rosary, a Dominican image) with two jewelled crowns: "Oh, Our Lady of the Rosary, fortunate rival of Our Lady of Peace and Good Voyage, receive these crowns as proof of our piety and our very comfortable circumstances . . ." The Virgin (interrupting): "It is better that you sell that jewellery to gain money to help the poor like myself and my son. By the way, I remember there was another crown. What have the little friars done with it?" One friar: "I remember, it was junk. We sold it . . ."

The Tagalog caption for the same cartoon is even more biting. The Virgin says: "My poor children, why don't you pawn those jewels with the Monte de Piedad [a friar-owned institution] and use them for feeding the poor. We in heaven are not fond of jewellery." Friar: "What's wrong with the Virgin? She is meddling with our livelihood". Other friar: "Not too loud. They may find our secret."

The nationalists' anti-friar campaign under U.S. rule was a continuation of a struggle that had started in the 1870s. Reacting to the friars' enormous influence with the Spanish state in Manila and their vast estates ringing the city, the propagandists of the 1880s and 1890s had mounted a sustained protest. The revolutionary Republic of 1898-99 had arrested most friars and confiscated their lands. The start of U.S. colonial rule in 1899 brought an end to the friar's formal influence, but the Spanish monastic orders evidently decided to use their vast wealth to rebuild their control over Philippine society on a less formal basis. They founded pro-clerical Spanish language newspapers, revived the Church schools and colleges, and financed political candidates when elections began in 1906-08. Through the *Centro Catolico* in Manila and the major provincial cities, the

friars mounted demonstrations and processions in opposition to the nationalists' anti-clerical agitation (page 114). The *Centro Catolico*, in turn, sponsored the *Liga Anti-Pornografica* which attempted to restore the friars' censorship powers on at least an informal basis.

In their campaigns against the revival of friar influence, Filipino nationalists found an uncertain ally in the most powerful American of the period, Governor-General W.H. Taft. Although he was a strong advocate of separation of Church and State, a liberal position in the Philippine context, he was also convinced that Catholicism was a "civilizing influence" upon the Filipinos. In short, Taft opposed the Spanish friars, but supported the Philippine Catholic Church. Taft thought the vast friar estates were the genesis of Filipino antagonism to the friars, and in December 1903 he authorized payment of \$7.23 million for 410,000 acres of religious lands. As a part of his understanding with the Vatican, the Spanish friars retired from active missionary work to Spain or their Manila convents and were replaced with American priests and bishops. Simultaneously, Taft was strongly opposed to the schismatic Philippine Independent Church, established in 1902 by Fr. Gregorio Aglipay and the nationalist leader Isabelo de los Reyes. As the Aglipayans moved to occupy Catholic churches across the archipelago, Taft was deeply disturbed but incapable of action. The conflict was resolved in 1906 when the Philippine Supreme Court ordered that all disputed parishes be returned to the Catholic Church, a major blow to the Aglipayans. Purged of friar influence by the close of the Taft era, the Church accepted its loss of secular power and the nationalists turned to other targets.

Although opposed to Spanish colonialism, the *ilustrado* nationalists were Spanish educated and had an abiding affection for their adopted culture. As America began its program of cultural colonization with English-medium instruction, Hispanophile loyalties prompted the *ilustrado* nationalists to oppose the Americanization of their society. Published by Hispanophile nationalist Vicente Sotto, *The Independent* was the most constant opponent of American cultural imperialism. Sotto felt America was propagating a degraded culture of baseball, boxing, booze and jazz. One of his paper's earliest cartoons on the subject warned that **When Filipinos Speak English Only** (page 123) Uncle Sam will be able to lead them about like beasts with rings through their noses. The nationalist old guard had strong reservations about the American style of co-education, feeling it would promote sexual license (page 134). As colonial rule drew to an end during the 1930s, the pro-American *Free Press* published several cartoons asking whether American cultural influence would survive as the country merged with its Asian neighbors (page 159-60).

Systematic political corruption was another innovation of the American period that attracted concern. By the end of Governor-General Harrison's administration in 1921, the entire bureaucracy, legislature and executive, was

almost completely Filipinized. Initially heroes of their race when appointments were few and advancement slow before 1913, Filipino public servants gradually evolved into a privileged class more concerned with personal than national advancement. With an absolute monopoly on political power after 1907, the Nacionalista Party became a venal machine that operated a system of spoils, pork barrel and patronage to maintain its hold on power. The *Free Press* published a series of cartoons during the 1920s and 1930s (pages 150-3) on political corruption, most notably a 1931 cartoon showing a bloated King Corruption chomping a cigar labelled "Majority Party" while his feet rest upon a pet pig named "Graft" (page 152).

The cartoons also trace the twisted path of economic nationalism in the four decades of American rule. During the Taft era until 1913, nationalists simply tried to slow the colonial concessions to American firms and criticized favoritism shown firms such as Meralco (page 117). Under Governor-General Harrison (1913-21), Filipino leaders used the new Philippine National Bank to promote Filipino business. After the near collapse of the PNB in 1921-22, however, conservative U.S. Republican governors spent a decade trying to restrain Filipino initiatives and advance American capital. Nationalistic cartoonists protested the weakness of Filipino business, the preference of talented Filipinos for law, and the hold of Chinese merchants (pages 120-1, 149). Again on the defensive, Filipino leaders fought American investment and rebuffed, for example, Harvey Firestone's proposal to turn Mindanao into a vast rubber plantation (pages 143, 148). Once the Commonwealth was established in 1935, President Manuel Quezon advanced the Filipino interest while soliciting investment from U.S. multinationals like Pan American World Airways and Socony-Vacuum Oil Company (pages 156-7).

Although generally ignored by the moderate press until the upsurge of peasant protest in the 1930s, radical nationalists were painfully aware of the progressive impoverishment of the Filipino lower class under American rule. Population growth combined with periodic recessions to depress wages and working conditions after the great export boom of World War I (page 127). As wages dropped, many Filipino workers sought their fortunes in the cane fields of Hawaii despite the graphic warnings of the nationalist press (pages 121, 128-9). Instead of intervening on the side of the poor, public servants had become a whole new class of elite who rode poor Juan like a beast of burden (pages 144-5). The few social services provided the poor, free schools and hospitals, were by the 1920s failing to keep pace with demand (pages 141, 154). Aside from suggestions such as eliminating cock fighting or introducing birth control, even the nationalist press failed to offer solutions (pages 140, 162). Showing ragged children dreaming of toys, Pereira's Christmas cartoon of 1936 (page 163) is perhaps the most moving indictment of colonialism's failure to provide a decent standard of living for all.



LAS DONANTES—¡Oh, Virgen del Rosario, rival afortunada de Ntra. Sra. de la Paz y Buenviaje!... Recibid estas coronas en prueba de nuestro amor filial y nuestra posición desahogadísima...

LA VIRGEN (interrumpiéndoles)—Más vale que vendáis esas joyas para socorrer a los pobres como lo fuimos mi Hijo y yo. Recuerda que tenía otra corona: ¿qué han hecho de ella mis frailecitos?

UN FRAILE—¡Recontra! ¡cascajo! Nos han reventao.

OTRO FRAILE—No importa: la cosecha ha sido espléndida.

ANG MGA NAKA-IKOB—¡Oh Virgen del Rosario, mapalad na kalaban ng Ntra Siá de la Paz at Buenviaje!.. Tangápin mo po ang alay naming mga koronang kumikislap, tandá ng aming pagkamabuting anak at karalitang tinatawid.

SÁ LOÓB LOÓB NG VIRGEN—¡Ay kawáawang mga anak ko! Isan-lá na niyo iyan sa Monte de Piedad at nang kayoy may ipagtawid gutom Kaming mga taga-langit ay di maibigin sa yaman. Huag ba niyong isilid iyan sa butás na tao.

ISANG FRAILENG MATABÁ—Abá namíng Virgen itó, pinakikialamán pa pati ng aming hanap.

ISÁ PANG FRAILE (pabulong)—Huag kang manigay... mahahalatá tayo



EL D.º ESTA OCUPADO

—¡Señor! ¡Por favor!
 —¿Que quieres?
 —Mi mujer se muere, señor. Sávela V, señor!
 —¡Há? no me estorbes; ¡no ves que estoy ocupado!
 Tu eres un *buisit*.

SA LOOB NG SABUNGAN

Ang pinagkahasáhan —Doctor, para na po ninyóng awa...!
 —Anó ang ibig mo?
 —Malubha po lamang ang asawa kong inyóng ginagamot. Inyó po lamang sagittín.
 —Há, huwag kang maingay, isá ka pang makaabala, ¡hindi mo náikita't may ginágawa ako?

(Lipag Kalabaw, 13 June 1908)



(Lipag Kalabaw, 10 October 1908)

IN THESE THREE CARTOONS the radical nationalist weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* makes satirical comment about the parlous state of Philippine health care in 1907-08. In 1902-04, for example, there were some 119,000 deaths from cholera in the Philippines and many more from malaria, tuberculosis, smallpox and other epidemics.¹

The Doctor Is Busy (upper left) and so refuses to see a dying patient. In the midst of tying the talons on his fighting cock, the doctor is approached by a peasant who pleads: "My wife is dying, *señor*, save her, *señor!*" To this plea the fat doctor, in hat with religious scapulary about his neck, replies: "Be quiet. You are bothering me. Don't you see that I am busy."

Aside from its commentary on the Filipino passion for gambling, the cartoon satirizes the haughty, unsympathetic manner of Filipino doctors who, if this is any sample, felt that their medical degrees were license to command respect, not to render service.

A Mass is Better (lower left) mocks both the superstition of the Filipinos and the influence of the Spanish friars, particularly among devout women. Evidently frightened by one of the recurring cholera outbreaks of the

period, the women complain: "The municipal government will not allow the processions which the Church has recommended to fight the spread of cholera." The priest answers: "Don't worry, my daughters. If processions are not allowed, then we must have masses said. Besides, a mass is more efficacious than ten processions (and costs less)."

The Director's Confidantes (below) shows a group of Filipino medical doctors pleading with Commissioner of Public Health Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who served with distinction in the islands from 1905 to 1915, to employ them as public health doctors. Interior Secretary Dean C. Worcester and his subordinate Dr. Heiser had rebuffed many qualified Filipino applicants and imported American doctors, a policy that angered nationalists and split the Philippine Commission along racial lines, Filipino and American, in 1907. While conservative Commissioners like Cameron Forbes believed Filipino doctors incompetent and supported Worcester, the Filipino commissioners, notably Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, attacked the policy. With the advent of Governor-General Harrison in 1913, medical training was expanded and Filipino doctors were given preference.²

BISA NANG BULONG

EL CONFIDENTE DEL DIRECTOR



SA DIRECTOR:—Maghanoon dilis kayó, m. gincó. Diya'y sinasabing wala raw namumuwangán ang inyóng mga kagawad kundi maghawal ng *pacie*. Kundañu'y ipinipilit niyóng gamitin *sila* puyong baririto kami na mga doktor diw *masama*.....

ANG MAGLALANGIS:—(pubnison)- Hús, huwag niyong pagpapakingán *sila*. Silang labat po'y mga *masama*.....

ANG DIRECTOR:—(Oh, usted mi salvador naw. Poco tiempo usted *paciente*.....)

CORO DE MEDICOS.—Señor Director: La sanidad está abandonada; nadie se fia de esos doctores *burdetes* que le han enviado de fuera. Aquí estamos los médicos filipinos para ayudarle a salir del paso.

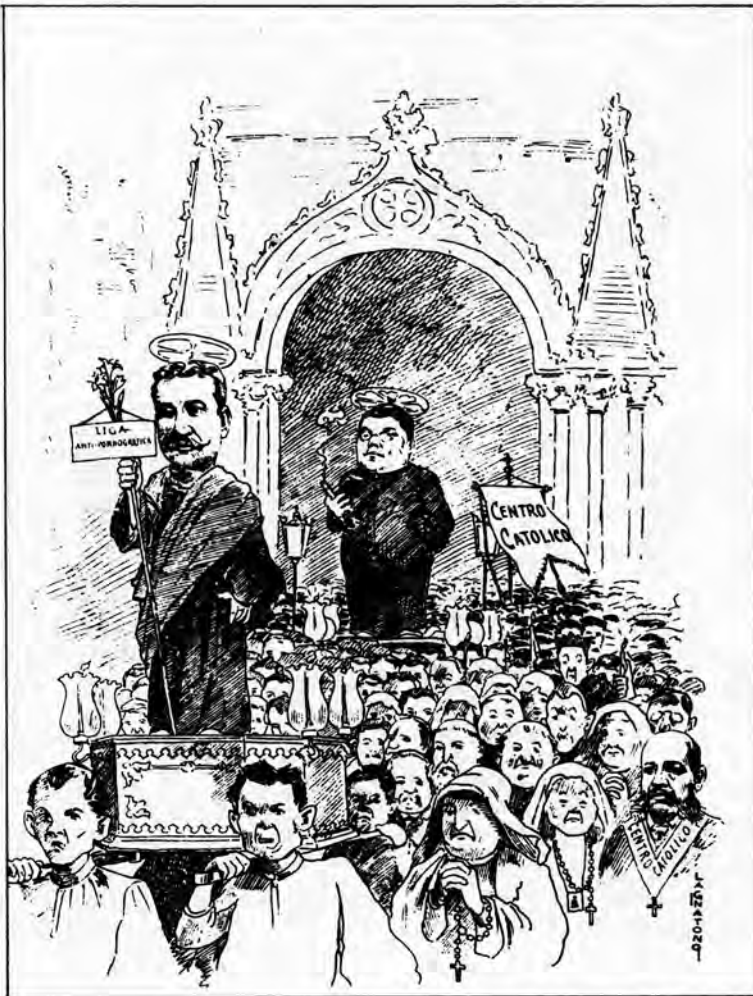
EL CONFIDENTE.—(No les haga caso; son todos incapaces).

EL DIRECTOR.—(¡Oh, usted es mi salvador! Será usted ascendido pronto).

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 25 April 1908)



(Lipag Kalabaw, 9 May 1908)



(Lipag Kalabaw, 27 July 1907)

DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE the influence of Spanish friars, early 20th century Filipino nationalists fired broadsides against both the institutional Church and folk Catholic superstition. In their defence, the religious orders financed Catholic political candidates, sponsored daily newspapers and organized lay action arms like the *Centro Catolico*.

In a rather sympathetic portrayal (above), a reformist Filipino priest, Catholic or Aglipayan, tries to discourage his parishioners from the superstitious custom of dancing for fertility before the images of San Pascual or Santa Clara. Barring his parishioners from entering the Church, the Filipino priest says: "My children, there will henceforth be no dancing in Church; the Church is not a dancing school." The people answer: "Then San Pascual and Santa Clara will be displeased with us." The priest promises: "Don't worry, I will deal with them." But the people have the last word: "Then whom should we deal with when we ask for children to be born to us?"

The caricature (lower left) of a procession "to pray for a flood of votes" is bitter satire on the role of the Catholic



MITIN POR VELASCO

UN LEADER.—Este, hermanos míos, es nuestro candidato. Me parece que es de buen ver. Espero que procuréis por todos los medios que le voten los electores. Nosotros no votamos, pero influimos.

UN OYENTE.—¡Cáspital! No es posible encontrar un hombre más apropiado.

PAGKATIG KAY VELASCO

—Ito ang ating kandidato ngayon. Tingnan ninyó syáng mabuti, hindi pa man ay mukhang santo na, kaya siya ang pilitin ninyóng ilagay mga manghahalál.

—Siya nga namán, baguy na baguy iyang maging concejal.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 1 August 1908)

Church in the upcoming 1908 Manila municipal elections. The Church supported candidates like Miguel Velasco, shown bald and bearded at the procession's front, and made a serious effort to win the eight council seats, a boldness that outraged secular nationalists.

The procession waves the banner of the *Centro Católico*, a vigorous lay organization that tried to maintain Catholic influence in areas such as education and politics. Attempts to lobby for appointment of Catholic teachers brought the *Centro* into conflict with Education Secretary James F. Smith, himself a Catholic. The other banner is for the *Liga Anti-Pornografica*, a moral regeneration movement that tried to recover, on an informal basis, the censorship powers the Church had enjoyed under Spain.

At a **Political Meeting for Velasco** (above), a Spanish friar introduces the Catholic candidate in the 1908 Manila elections, Miguel Velasco, to his only supporters, a gaggle of grotesquely caricatured Spanish friars. A former captain in the Spanish colonial navy, Velasco, a Spanish mestizo, was active in the Federalista Party in 1901 but gradually moved closer to the Church and became its leading political agent.

THE CARTOONIST MOCKS the **Political Begging** of Nacionalista Party politicians Dr. Dominador Gomez (left) and Rafael del Pan (right) during the great faction fight of 1907-09. During the 1907 elections for the First Philippine Assembly, the Nacionalistas in Manila had split into factions supporting rival slates for the city's two seats — the radical nationalists Fernando Ma. Guerrero and Dr. Justo Lukban versus the somewhat more moderate Gomez and Del Pan.

The July 1907 elections appeared a split decision, with Guerrero defeating Del Pan in Manila South and Gomez over Lukban in Manila North. Claiming that Gomez was Spanish instead of Filipino on purely technical grounds, Dr. Lukban filed a protest and won Gomez's seat in the interim until a special election could be called. Gomez won the election in 1909, but until then had to campaign vigorously for popular support.³

As Del Pan and Gomez return to the electorate to campaign for the special election, the satiric nationalist newspaper *Lipag Kalabaw* mocks them for their mendicancy and Del Pan's alleged Catholic support. Gomez and Del Pan

beg the voter: "Give us your charity, for God's sake." The voter responds: "I have no alms to give." Gomez and Del Pan answer: "If you have no money, then just give us your vote." The voter: "So you are after money and votes? Then you should go to the friars, after all you are their friends."

The charge of pro-friar sympathies is undeniable for Del Pan but questionable for the radical labor leader and bohemian Dr. Gomez. Del Pan's father was a Spanish creole who participated in the pro-friar demonstrations of 1888 and edited one of Manila's leading newspapers, *La Oceania Española*, until his death in 1894. A law graduate from the University of Santo Tomas, Rafael Del Pan became justice of the peace for Intramuros under the Spaniards but later served the Philippine Revolution as a diplomat. Returning from exile in 1903, he allied himself with Dr. Gomez and joined the prestigious law firm Del Pan, Ortigas & Fisher which was retained by the colonial government during the friar lands controversy. Although a nationalist, Del Pan maintained his ties to the Catholic Church and seemed to support it in the friar lands case, a kind of moderation that outraged the militants of *Lipag Kalabaw*.⁴



MENDICIDAD POLITICA

- Among, iuna limosna, por Dios!
- Patawarin po.
- Dame aunque sea un voto, y si no lo tiene. una monedita
- Hermano, acuda á los frailes, que son muy ricos.

POLITIKONG NAGPAPALIMOS

- Palimós na nga po among! para na po ninyóng awa!
- Patatawarin po
- Kung wala po kayóng kuwalta ay kahi't ang inyóng boto'y ibigay sa akin
- Ah, kuwalta palá at boto ang inyóng hanap? Paroón kayó sa mga fraile at kayo rin lamang ay kaibigan nilá.

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 11 July 1908)



IGUAL OPORTUNIDAD PARA TODOS
 FILIPINAS PARA LOS FILIPINOS
 O
 VENTAJAS DE LA VENIDA DE CAPITALES

ANG MGA MAPAPALAD

ANG TAONG BAYAN - Kaya pala hindi matapos ang sinasabing paghihirap ng munisipyo ay may alagang siyang mga patabain. Kung ganito nga eh, hindi na mataapos ang panghiit ko!

(Lipag Kalabaw, 31 October 1908)

AS DEMOBILIZED AMERICAN SOLDIERS filled the insular civil service and American corporations won the major development projects, Filipino nationalists saw themselves becoming economic aliens in their own land. Once the opening of the Philippine Assembly in 1907 guaranteed them a political voice, Filipino nationalists became increasingly concerned with economic issues.

Two of the most visible American corporations during the first decade of U.S. rule were Atlantic Gulf and Pacific Company and the Manila Electric Road Railway & Light Company (Meralco). A leading U.S. civil engineering firm established in the 1880s, AG&P had won lucrative contracts for construction of an entire new port for Manila, the U.S. Navy coaling station at Sangley Point and a marine railway for the Philippine Coast Guard. The Manila port contract, already completed by 1908, was a vast project requiring dredging of a deep water harbor to 10 meters, laying 3.5 kilometers of breakwaters, filling 106 hectares of foreshore, and building two covered steel piers 197 meters long and 21 meters wide. At a cost of \$4.5 million the port project was equivalent to one-third of total insular government revenues of \$12 million for 1905.⁵ Since all revenues came from Filipino taxpayers, nationalists were outraged at seeing Filipinos barred from any significant participation in the

development of their own country's infrastructure.

Shown here as E.R.R. & L. Co., Meralco was Manila's major public utility and the largest American investment in the Philippines. In 1902 the Philippine Commission awarded a contract for Manila's electrical generation and light rail transport to Charles M. Swift, a prominent investor with interests in Detroit's public utilities. After a major construction program, awarded to American contractors, Manila's electrical street tramway opened in April 1905, and its grid was largely complete by 1907.

Nationalists were correctly concerned about allowing such a basic public service remain in American hands. Meralco's contract guaranteed it a 50 year monopoly with the right to fix its own power and transport rates for 25 years. The company charged the highest rail fares in Asia and forced most of the city's working class to walk to work. In its 1905 report the Philippine Commission admitted that Meralco's five centavo fares meant that "the greater part of those who live in the overcrowded districts are unable to patronize the cars."⁶

Under the circumstances, the cartoon's image of Meralco (E.R.R. & L.Co.) dragging Juan de la Cruz along by the neck as he vomits pesos from his emaciated frame is no overstatement.

LA PRENSA AMARILLA



LOS MOZOS A CORO:

A estos animalitos
hay que bañarlos
pues vienen personajes
á visitarnos.
Si Taft los encontrase
en tal situación
de fijo que ordenara
la cremación.

Paliguan ang marapat
sa mga hayop na ito
at ng kung dumating si Tap
ay hindi mahiyá ta, o
Baka pa niya masabi
na kung wala siya rito
ay payagod na lahat
ang ating mga bisero.

(Lipag Kalabaw,
14 September 1907)

THE CARTOON SATIRIZES the low standards of journalism among Manila's newspapers, **The Yellow Press**, during the recent elections for the First Philippine Assembly. Most newspapers, such as *La Democracia*, were party organs and abandoned all objectivity for a shrill partisanship during the weeks of hard campaigning.

Anticipating the visit of U.S. Secretary of War W.H. Taft for the Assembly's October inauguration, the cartoon shows editors dressed as stablehands cleaning up their soiled pages to avoid the ire of Former Governor-General Taft. The stablemen are shown chanting: "We have to clean up these animals, for if Taft sees them in this condition, he is sure to order their cremation."

As the colony's first governor-general and senior administrator in his current office as Secretary of War, Taft was a man of enormous influence in the Philippines and his tours had the aura of a grand colonial inspection. In his first

visit as Secretary of War, he noted the conflicts between Filipinos and Americans under Governor-General Luke Wright and had taken decisive action upon return to Washington. Wright's term as governor was cut short, the controversial Constabulary commander Henry T. Allen was retired, and several officers involved in a harsh pacification campaign south of Manila were forced out of the service.

Since Taft was coming to inaugurate the First Philippine Assembly in October, it was thought that his tour would be a formal review of Philippine progress and prospects for self-government. If they were to pass muster in his stern inspection, the parties and their newspapers would have to abandon partisanship for the moment and adopt a higher tone of "honor," "truth," and "decency." Since several seats were still subject to divisive protests that would come before the Assembly, the impulse to partisanship was still strong. The press clean-up was not going to be easy.

THE LANDSLIDE VICTORY of the radical Nacionalista Party in the First Assembly elections of July 1907 inspired a surge of Filipino national pride and a jingo backlash from the large Manila American community.

On 11 August thousands of Nacionalista Party supporters crowded Luneta Park for a heady victory rally. Passing by public buildings, demonstrators tore down the American flags and ran up the Philippine flag. The local American press screamed for vengeance, and two weeks later 4,000 of Manila's 5,000 Americans rallied at the Opera House to protest desecration of their flag. Applauding the angry speeches wildly, colonial Americans demanded action, and the Philippine Commission soon met to pass a law banning any display of the Philippine flag.⁷

The battle of the flags was a symbolic struggle over more substantial matters — money, jobs and power. After

resigning from their volunteer and regular regiments between 1899 and 1901, many American veterans had stayed in Manila where their race won them jobs and opportunities far beyond their slender abilities. One American oldtimer recalled: "Corporals became capitalists . . . Sergeants became school superintendents, lawyers became millionaire mining men, and company clerks operated restaurants."⁸ By 1907 Manila's 5,000 Americans monopolized government contract work, dominated the upper echelons of the civil service, and lived a life of leisure with carriage, mansion and servants.

The election of the radical Nacionalistas raised the specter of a Filipino first program that could threaten the colonial American's privileged life style. Similarly, Filipino nationalists were determined to beat back the dogs of jingoism and win the jobs, contracts and power for Filipinos who would develop the Philippines.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 19 October 1907)

JINGOISMO RABIOSO



EL PUEBLO - ¡Ladrad, chuchos, ladrad!... que yo sé defenderme y repar- } ANG BAYAN - Tumatahól kayó nā tumatahól, hindi naman ninyo
tir palos. } ako mákakaḡat at lalambanugin ko kayó.

WHEN FILIPINOS BEGAN WINNING civil service appointments after 1913, they found themselves facing serious discrimination in both wages and positions. After his appointment in 1913, the liberal Governor-General Francis B. Harrison reversed the pro-American hiring policies of the Taft era (1900-12) and began the "Filipinization" of the civil service.

Since the Bureau of Education was the colony's largest public employer, most Filipinos were hired as school teachers. Although their qualifications were now equal or better than those of the old American teachers, the Filipinos confronted an institutional racism which gave them lower wages, larger classrooms and fewer privileges.

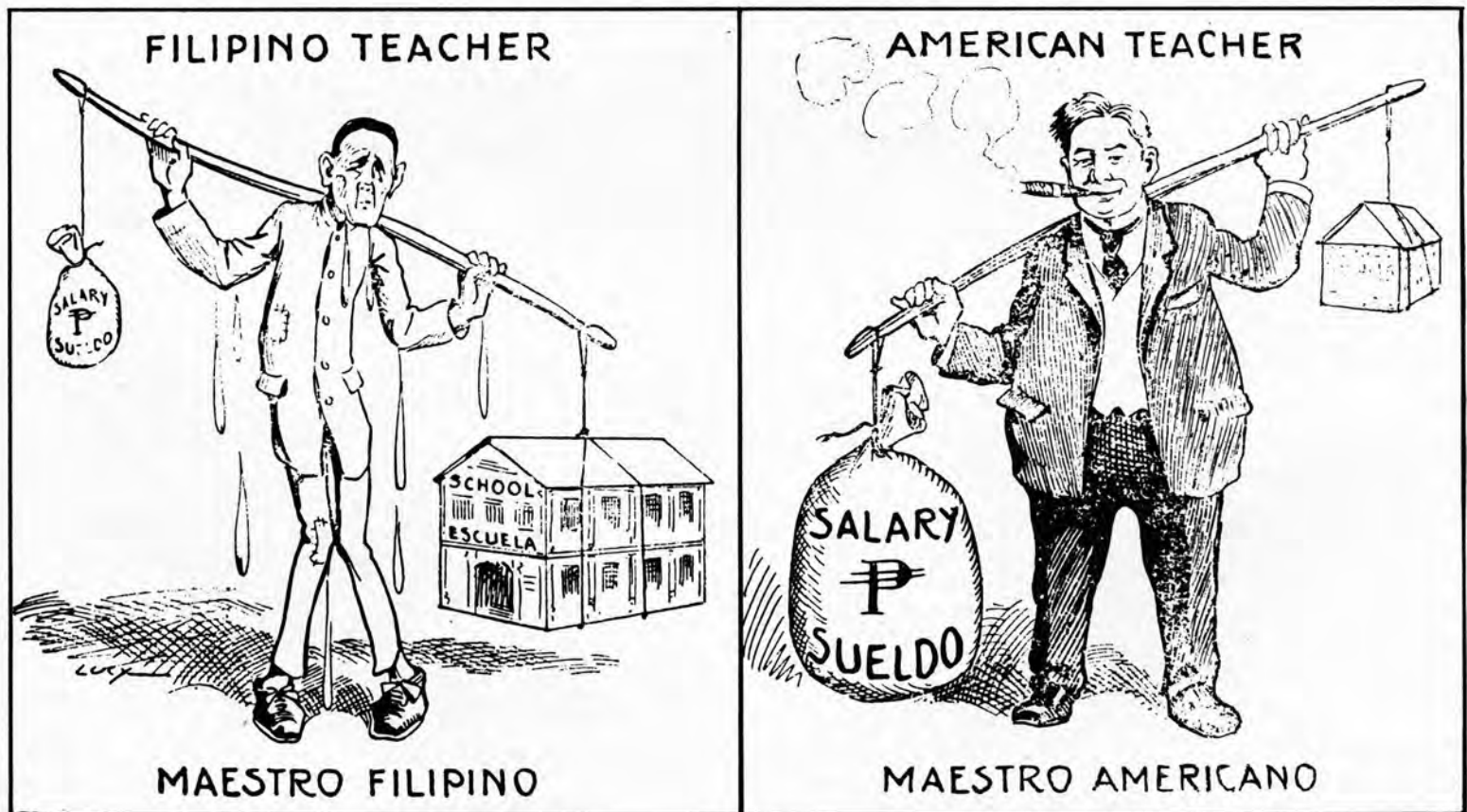
Recalling his initial appointment as a teacher in 1910, Senator Camilo Osias could not conceal his bitterness even half a century later: "After a month and a half I received . . . my first monthly check of ninety pesos (₱90.00). I thought that was low pay; ₱1,080.00 a year, after graduating from Columbia University and qualifying in a high civil service examination. It was not very pleasant to receive only ₱1,080.00 when Americans who were only Normal graduates . . . were paid ₱4,000.00 a year . . . I did

Year 1

MANILA, OCTOBER 23, 1915.

Number 29

Equal work, unequal salary, why?

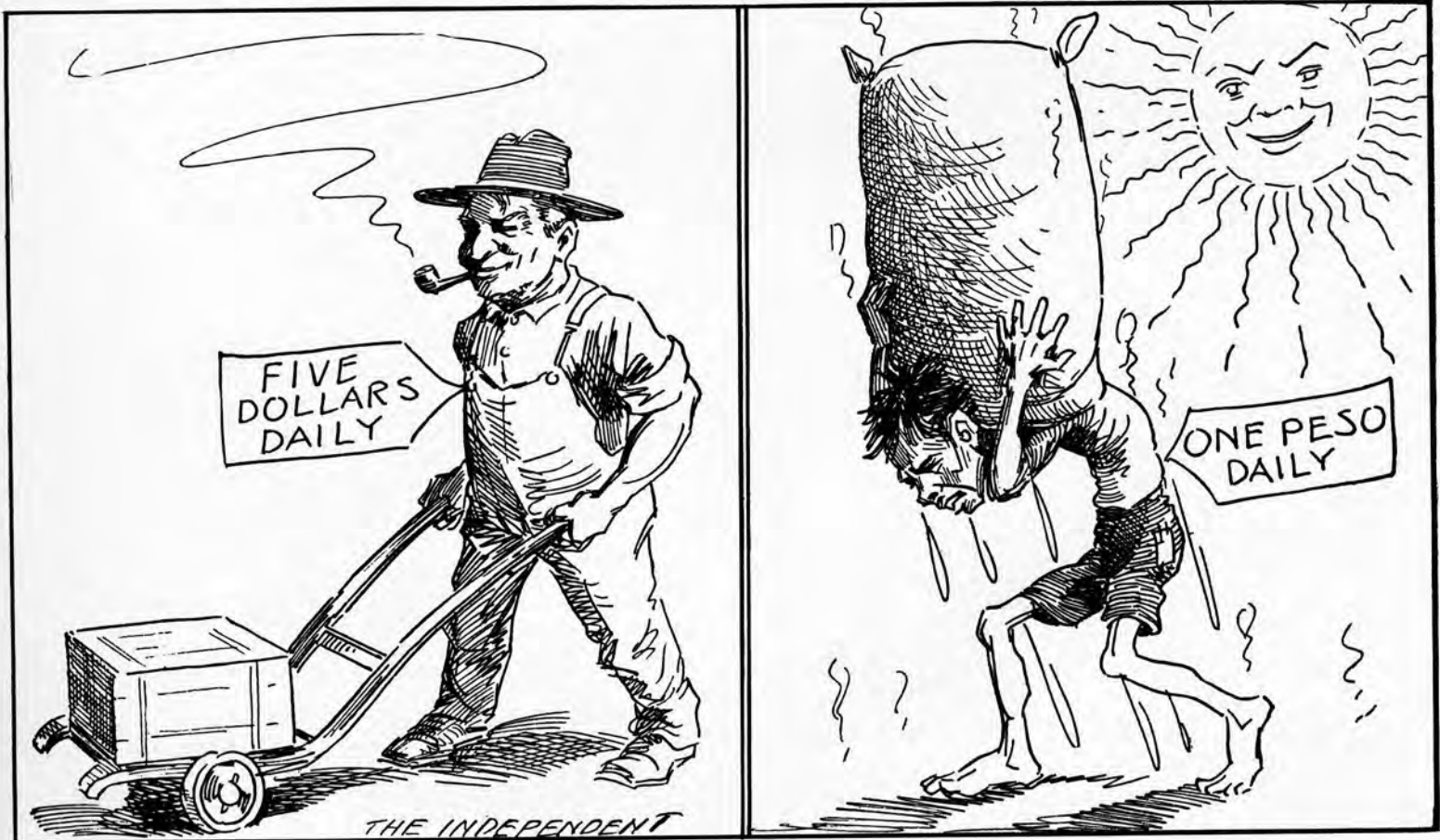


Igual trabajo, desigual salario, ¿por que?

not complain about the discrimination. I contented myself with the thought that I was serving my people . . . ”⁹

There were other forms of discrimination as well. With their seniority, Americans tended to teach in elite secondary school in the cities, while Filipinos were assigned to crowded primary classrooms in remote villages. In 1916, for example, Americans comprised only nine percent of all primary teachers but 76 percent of secondary teachers.¹⁰ All American teachers had a free summer holiday at the Baguio Teachers’ Camp where, in the words of Dean C. Worcester, they “forget their troubles . . . in healthful athletic sports, listen to inspiring . . . discourses, and above all else benefit by open-air life in a temperate region.” Filipino teachers were left to sweat it out in the lowlands.¹¹

American Worker/Filipino Worker (below) refers not to a ten-fold difference in Filipino and American manual wages within the colony, but to a more fundamental inequality — the difference in wages and working conditions between the two countries. While a stevedore on the San Francisco docks earned \$5.00 a day (₱10.00) for easy mechanized labor, the Filipino earned only ₱1.00 for hauling sacks by hand under Manila’s tropical sun.



Mamumuong Amerikanhon | Mamumuong Pilipinhon

UNCLE SAM AND LITTLE JUAN

DURING THE FOUR DECADES of U.S. colonial rule, "Uncle Sam" underwent a striking transformation in the pages of the Philippines press. In the early years when Filipino nationalism was at its height, Uncle Sam often appeared crafty and predatory in his relationship with the virginal maiden. "Filipinas." During the Harrison administration, however, Uncle Sam metamorphized into a wise, kindly looking man with a paternalistic concern for the boyish figure of "Juan de la Cruz", who had largely supplanted the maiden Filipinas as the nation's symbol. These images are thus a cameo of changing Filipino attitudes towards America and Americans.

The Taft era of 1900 to 1913 was a time of tension and testing in the Philippine-American relationship. Filipino nationalists prepared for the worst from the legions of American opportunists who had settled in for a rich harvest of colonial spoils. The U.S. governor-general, the 300 pound lawyer William H. Taft, played a difficult double game of placating the rapacious, racist American colonials and courting an emerging Filipino leadership. Although grateful to Taft for holding the colonials at bay, Filipinos were inherently suspicious of his dextrous duplicity. As governor-general (1901-1904) and secretary of war (1904-08), Taft combined the carrot of political appointments and the stick of ruthless repression to prod the Filipinos towards collaboration. His policy was crowned with success when resistance ended and the First Philippine Assembly was inaugurated in 1907. Although nationalists had intended to transfer their independence struggle from street and battlefield to legislature, they quickly mastered the art of colonial compromise and were drawn into the entanglement of an enduring Philippine-American relationship.

Fully aware of collaboration's pitfalls, the early cartoonists depicted Taft and his *alter ego* Uncle Sam as cunning political creatures. The cover cartoon of a January 1908 issue of the satiric weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* (right page) is perhaps one of the most prescient statements on the emerging Philippine-American relationship. The vile Caucasian caricature of Uncle Sam, representing the colonial executive, the Philippine Commission, pays court to the maiden Filipinas who symbolizes the newly inaugurated Assembly. **Mr. Commission:** "Do you accept? I will be the happiest of mortals. And when will you give me a token of your love?" **Señorita Assembly:** "You are a terrible seducer, but perhaps you may ruin yourself with your masters. I am very capricious and exacting, do you understand?" **Mr. Commission** (aside): "So I have seen . . . thirty pesos per diem . . . and yet it seems so little!"

Lipag Kalabaw's cartoonist had cut to the essence of the new relationship. Uncle Sam was indeed a seductive colonialist and the maiden Filipinas had sold herself cheaply.

By entering the legislative marriage on Uncle Sam's terms, she had named a price for her national integrity. Exemplified here, the early cartoons clearly used the sexual metaphor of rape/conquest, seduction/collaboration, with America symbolized by the predatory male and the Philippines by his virginal victim.

With Taft's calculated embrace of Osmeña in 1907 (page 172), confrontation gave way to collaboration. Within a decade Uncle Sam's image had been transformed. When America declared war on Germany in 1917, Fernando Amorsolo drew Uncle Sam as a wise, handsome leader leading a little, barefoot Juan into war for "liberty's sake." Juan had appeared in *Lipag Kalabaw's* early cartoons as a proud peasant figure, but now he became a wide-eyed innocent, Uncle Sam's grateful ward (pages 181, 200). Throughout the bitter battles over the role of the governor-general in the 1920s and the terms of independence in the 1930s, Uncle Sam remained above reproach.

While a convincing collaboration required such loyalty and thus rendered the Uncle Sam symbol almost sacrosanct, the same attitude did not obtain to his ministers. From T.H. Pardo de Tavera through Manuel Quezon, Filipino nationalists soon mastered the art of colonial manipulation. While they would serve a pliable master, they rebelled against any who refused to cooperate with their nationalist aims. Pardo de Tavera engineered the dismissal of the racist Governor-General Luke Wright in 1905, just as Quezon influenced Harrison's appointment as governor-general in 1913 and the rejection of another racist, Nicholas Roosevelt, as vice governor in 1930 (page 197).

Paralleling the American elections, there was then a cycle of conflict and collaboration in Philippine-American relations. As the advocates of conquest, the U.S. Republican Party favored either retention or a slow evolution to independence. Inspired by its anti-imperial traditions, the Democratic Party favored autonomy or independence. Thus, during the initial Republican era (1898-1912), Taft's cautious political reforms were the limit of Filipino progress. During the Democratic decade of the Wilsonian era (1913-21), the liberal Governor-General Harrison conceded a *de facto* Philippine autonomy over government and the economy. When the Republicans regained power (1921-31), the conservative Governor-General Leonard Wood tried to roll back Harrison's reforms and ran headlong into a maelstrom of Filipino protest. Finally, when the Democratic Party won power under Franklin D. Roosevelt (1932-45), the Philippines became a Commonwealth and U.S. control over domestic policy faded. Following every nuance in the power relationship between Washington and Manila, the cartoons applaud the Philippines' American friends and attack its American enemies.



<p>PRECIOS En Manila, 20 cent número Envío a provincias, franco de porte, 25 cent número.</p>	<p>AÑO II SEMANARIO SATÍRICO No 25 MANILA, SABADO, 11 ENERO DE 1908</p>	<p>Dirijase la correspondencia á la calle Concepción nú- mero 42, Kiapo.</p>
--	--	--

EL GALÁN Y LA DAMA

PAGMAMAHALAN



MR. COMMISSION - ¿Aceptais, pues? ; Oh! Soy el más feliz de los mortales ; Ycuándo me dareis, bella Asamblea, una limosna de amor?

SRTA ASSEMBLY (aparte) Limpíate que estas de huevo - (Al galán) Sois un seductor terrible, pero temo que arruineis á vuestros poderdantes. Yo soy muy caprichosa y muy exigente. ; sabéis?

EL GALAN (aparte) - Yalo veó. 30 pesos diarios...; y aun le parece poco!

SI DON COMISION - Lahat ng ibigin mo'y maáan. Sabi na kung anó ang nais mo. Lahat ay aking ibibigay....

SI DOÑA ASAMBLEA - Oo ngã pero ; anó namán ang hihingín mo pagkatapos?

SHOWN AS A SATANIC FIGURE with grotesque nose and broken teeth, Uncle Sam cackles: " 'Divide and rule,' said Machiavelli, and since they are divided I shall naturally defeat them."

Taking a non-partisan nationalist position, the *Lipag Kalabaw* cartoon of September 1907, just prior to the inauguration of the First Philippine Assembly, shows the parties hopelessly divided into three main groups.

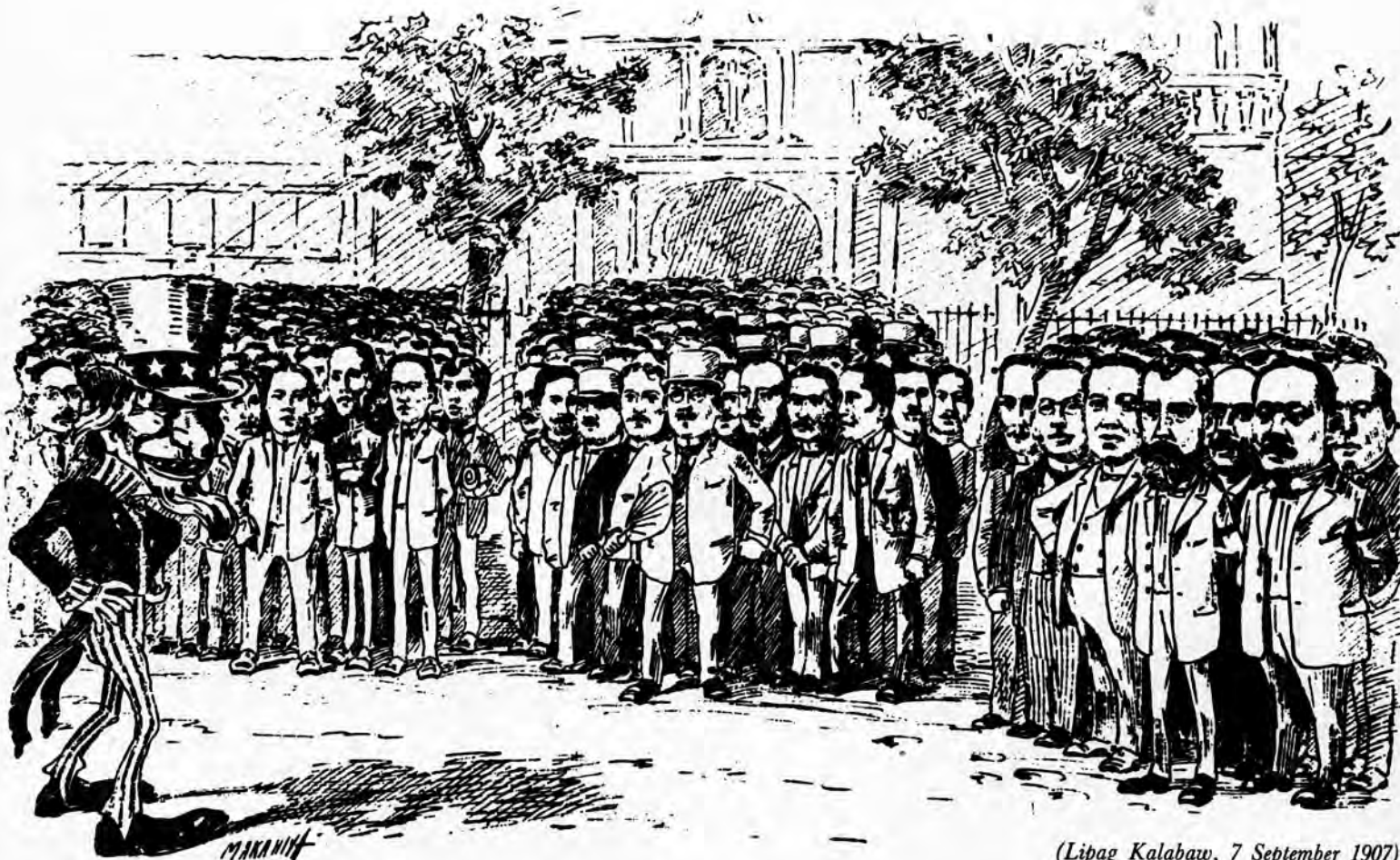
The Nacionalista Party was prone to splits since it was a union of several political parties — *Inmediatistas*, *Unionistas*, and *Urgenlistas*. In Manila the Nacionalista factions had run opposing candidates for the city's two Assembly seats. The election did not resolve the matter and the factional dispute spilled into the new Assembly where it soured intra-party relations for two years.

The group to the left near Uncle Sam is the *Inmediatista* faction. This group was led by Dr. Justo Lukban (shown hands in pocket to the right of Uncle Sam's beard), Manuel Sityar (hands folded to Lukban's right), and Fernando Ma.

Guerrero (hands behind back to Sityar's right). Renowned as the editor of the nationalist newspaper *El Renacimiento*, Guerrero won easily in the Manila South district. His ally Dr. Justo Lukban finished second in Manila North, but filed a successful protest against the winning Nacionalista candidate, Dr. Dominador Gomez. Not shown are their winning provincial candidates, Manuel Quezon of Tayabas and Sergio Osmeña of Cebu.

The center group represents the *Urgentista* faction led by Dr. Dominador Gomez (in hat with fan), Felipe Agoncillo (to his left), and Rafael Del Pan (to his right, second row). After being unseated by Lukban's protest, Dr. Gomez, a popular labor leader, won the Manila North seat in a special election.¹

The group at right is the *Partido Union Progresista*, the former Federalistas. Shown with beard, moustache and mourning band is Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, a member of the Philippine Commission. (See page 360 for identification of figures).



(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 7 September 1907)

EL TIO SAM— "Divide y vencerás" decía Maquiavelo, y como ellos se dividen, yo... venzo naturalmente.

SI TIO SAM— Hala, halikayó! kayó rin ang inaalaala ko! Akó ba ang inyong tatakutin, kung kayo'y magkahihiwalay. Mahanga pa pag ganya'y lalong sigurado ang panalo ko. . . .

A YEAR AFTER THE INAUGURATION of the Philippine Assembly in October 1907, Filipinos were concerned that their civil liberties had not been restored. Juan: "May I claim the right of free speech now?" Uncle Sam: "Why do you ask that question?" Juan: "The rumor is that free speech will again be suppressed."

The passage of the Sedition Law in 1901 had muzzled all Filipinos who advocated independence or any form of separation from the United States. Although the law was a wartime measure and automatically lapsed when a "state of peace" was declared in 1903, Filipinos were not told for another year. In May 1904, a Boston anti-imperialist, Fiske Warren, confirmed the Sedition Law's lapse in

correspondence with Governor-General Taft and then informed Filipinos by publishing the letters in *El Renacimiento*.

With the opening of the Assembly in 1907, there were signs of renewed repression. After a Nacionalista Party victory rally desecrated several American flags flying near Luneta, the Philippine Commission passed the Flag Law making it a felony to fly the Philippine flag. The prosecution of the seditious playwrights, Aurelio Tolentino and others, begun in 1905, continued. Although most members of the Philippine Assembly had run on independence platforms, the climate of repression was so strong that they had to refrain from passing any resolution in favor of independence.



(*Lipig Kalabaw*, 14 November 1908)

POLITICA DE MANO FUERTE

- Ante todo, ¿puedo hablar, ilustre Señor?
- ¡Galana pregunta! ¿Y quien te impede hablarme?
- Lo pregunta porque, como han anunciado la politica de mano fuerte!

TANONG NA MAKAHULUGAN

- Ako ba, maginoo, ay makapagsasalita pa ngayon.
- Bakit ganyan ang iyong tanong. May pumipigil ba sa iyo?
- Naitatanong ko pagka't siya'y sinasabing maghihigpit na naman daw ngayon.

LA SERENATA DE TAFT



Sai mi bien,
 el lecho deja,
 sal mi dulce amor
 a ver cómo tu Taft muestra la oreja...

Hangang gito, irog,
 mag'hat sa amin
 akoy lumilipad
 na dala ng hangin.

Para mo nang awa
 manong dungawin nio
 iawitan ng habag
 itong si Qui...

(Lipag Kalabaw, 19 October 1907)

ANG PANANAPAT NI "TAP"



- Esto para V., de parte de mi señorita. }
 - ¡My God! ¡Una cucurbitácea!.... }
 - Huwag ka na raw pong malingay at eto }
 ang kanyang pasalubong. }
 - ¿Anó iyan? ¿Kalaosá? } ¡Ay palad, }
 Santísima Kulasa!

BY 1907 THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN political relationship had begun to mature, and the Filipinos were coming to a realistic assessment of what they could expect from the United States. Filipino aspirations for an immediate resolution of their colonial status, either independence or U.S. statehood, cooled considerably, and both parties settled in for years of hard haggling for political concessions.

Taft's Serenade (previous page) was sung in October 1907 when he visited Manila as secretary of war to inaugurate the First Philippine Assembly. As the colony's first governor-general (1901-04), Taft had learned to "handle Filipinos" through a policy of attraction expressed in his slogan "the Philippines for the Filipinos." He understood that colonialism could only work if the colonized were compliant and perceived colonial policy to be in their best interests. He made great efforts to win the friendship of leading Filipinos.

Although Filipino politicians regarded Taft as their "best friend," that was a pragmatic judgement. Compared to the grasping, racist Manila American colony of ex-soldiers and merchants-on-the-make, Taft was far more acceptable.

The Filipinos still felt that Taft was first and foremost a colonial American. When Taft returned in 1907 to inaugurate the Assembly with pronouncements that Filipinos were not yet ready for independence, they did not meekly bow to his judgement even though expediency required that they do so. The subtleties of the Filipino reaction are shown in the cartoon: Taft serenades the maiden Filipinas with his policy of attraction; and she sends the maidservant with a *calabasa*, the traditional symbol of failure.

Filipinization . . . ? (below) was President Theodore Roosevelt's and Secretary Taft's stated policy for a gradual transfer of positions to Filipinos. In the cartoon Juan responds to these promises of 1904-05 with a demand that Roosevelt put more meat, or jobs, into the Filipino share of government. The president's refusal is symbolic of the slow pace of implementing these policies. Despite the official program of Filipinization, few Filipinos won government posts under the conservative governors who held office from 1901 to 1912. The Manila Americans hung tenaciously to their well paid jobs, and circulated rumors of gross Filipino incompetence to discourage further Filipino appointments.

¿FILIPINIZACION....?

COCINERONG MARAMOT



—Amigo, ponga aqui un poco más de carne, para que haya equidad.

—Por ahora ya es bastante; y ya no cabe más en el caldero.

—Pues cambie el caldero por otro mayor.

—No puede ser, porque ya no hay otro.

—Pues no nos venga usted con teorías

PILIPINO —Pareng kusinero, lagyan mo pa nga ng kuptol na karne ang aking paluyok.

CUSINERO —Ibig mo pa ng karné ay kálumiit ng iyong paluyok. Huwag mong kalilimutan kailan man ang malaki ay alaki at ang maliit ay maliit. He-ticho.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 18 April 1908)

THE CAPTION to this cynical commentary **Nothing Between Two Plates** discusses Secretary of War W.H. Taft's Manila visit of October 1907. One of the group: "Let us see what the great *maestro* [of democracy] has prepared." Another: "What is on the plate, *maestro*?" Taft: "Well, you see nothing between the two plates." A member of the Federalista Party: "We see that we have been fooled another time."

Considering the overwhelming victory of the Nacionalista Party in the 1907 elections for the First Philippine Assembly, Taft was expected to make some statement on independence in his inaugural address. The Nacionalistas had campaigned on a platform of immediate independence, in contrast with the more moderate evolutionary policy of the rival Progresista Party (formerly the Federalistas).

In his speech of October 16th before the Assembly Taft said:

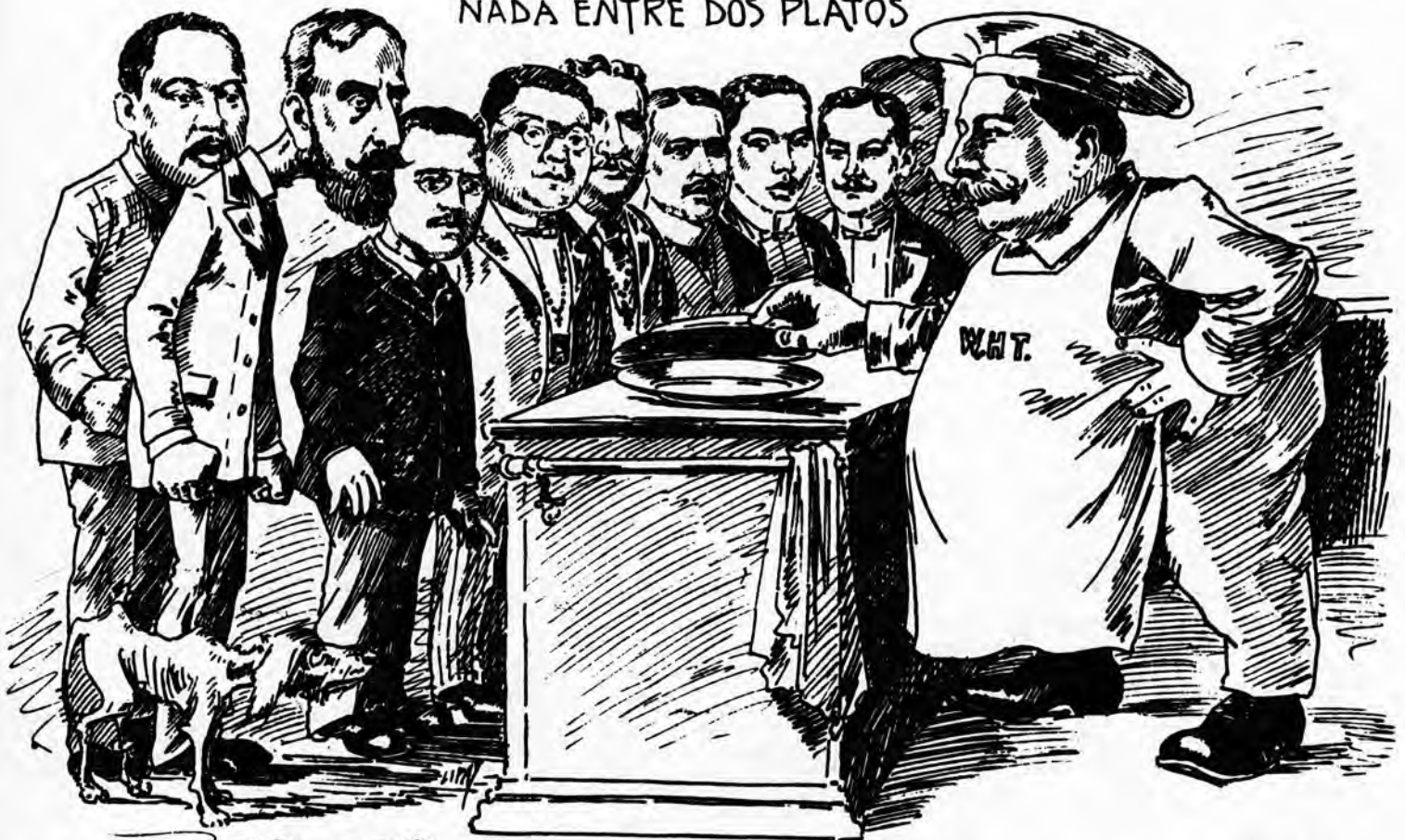
"I am aware that, in view of the issues discussed at the election of this Assembly, I am expected to say something regarding the policy of the United States towards these

islands. Before attempting any such task it is well to make clear the fact that I cannot speak with the authority of one who may control that policy. The Philippine Islands are a territory belonging to the United States, and . . . the policy to be pursued with respect to them, is therefore, ultimately for Congress to determine."

As the Filipinos saw it, Taft was pulling an old colonial trick used many times before by Americans. When Filipino negotiators had tried to get General Ewell Otis to call a cease-fire in 1899, for example, Otis had claimed that he lacked authority from Washington. Eventually, the Filipinos found that the only way to deal with this colonial version of the bureaucratic shell game was to build their own direct line to the U.S. Congress through resident commissioners and independence delegations.

Among the Filipino politicians meeting *Maestro* Taft are Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera (second from left), Fernando Ma. Guerrero (sixth from left), Sergio Osmeña (seventh from left), and Manuel Quezon (extreme right). (See page 361 for identification of figures).

NADA ENTRE DOS PLATOS



UNO DEL GRUPO.—Veamos lo que el maestro ha preparado...

OTRO.—¿Que hay en ese plato, maestro?

EL MAESTRO W.H.T.—Pues ya lo veis;... nada entre dos platos.

UN FEDERAL.—Vamos, nos la ha pagado otra vez.

ISA SA MĒA HAPUNAN.—Tignan natin kung ano ang inihanda ng sting 'ata- lolo'

ANG ISA PA.—Ano pu ka 'lolo' ang nakalagay sa pingang iyan?

ANG UNO TAFT.—Di ba ninyo nakikita't dalawang pingang walang laman?

ISANG FEDERAL.—Sinampayan na namam tayo.

LA FELICITACION



(Lipag Kalabaw, 4 July 1908)

EL ÚLTIMO ADIOS. — HULING PAALAM NI TAFT.



MR. TAFT.— ¡¡ Adios para siempre!!
 PEPIN.— Cuidado D. Sergio que la base está temblando.
 D. SERGIO.— No tengas miedo Pepin que por esta vez está bien asegurado.

MR. TAFT. (paiyák)— Paalam sa iyo habang buhay!
 ANG KALINIM— Huwag kang mag-alaw D. Sergio at baká ka mahulog
 D. SERGIO—Huwag kang mag-alala Peping at matatag ang tayò ko.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 23 November 1907)

THESE CARTOONS from *Lipag Kalabaw* show the Filipino mastery of a cynical sophistication in their dealings with the new colonial master. After agreeing to channel their political aspirations into the 1907 Assembly elections, Filipinos were bitterly disappointed as they came to the realization that American concessions would still be slow and hard fought. To nationalists like the editors of *Lipag Kalabaw*, such political gains hardly seemed worth the price of subservience.

The Greeting (upper left) expresses a nationalist critique of the new Assembly's disappointing first year. The old lady, representing an aged version of the usually robust maidenly symbol of Filipinas, leads a sick dog who represents the new Assembly. The old lady: "We come, sir, my dog and I, to congratulate you on your nomination [for the U.S. presidency]. You are aware that we do not want independence for the moment." Former Secretary of War W.H. Taft: "Neither does your dog?" The old lady: "My dog less than I. I let him loose so that he can be free, but he returned. He has a fondness for the chain."

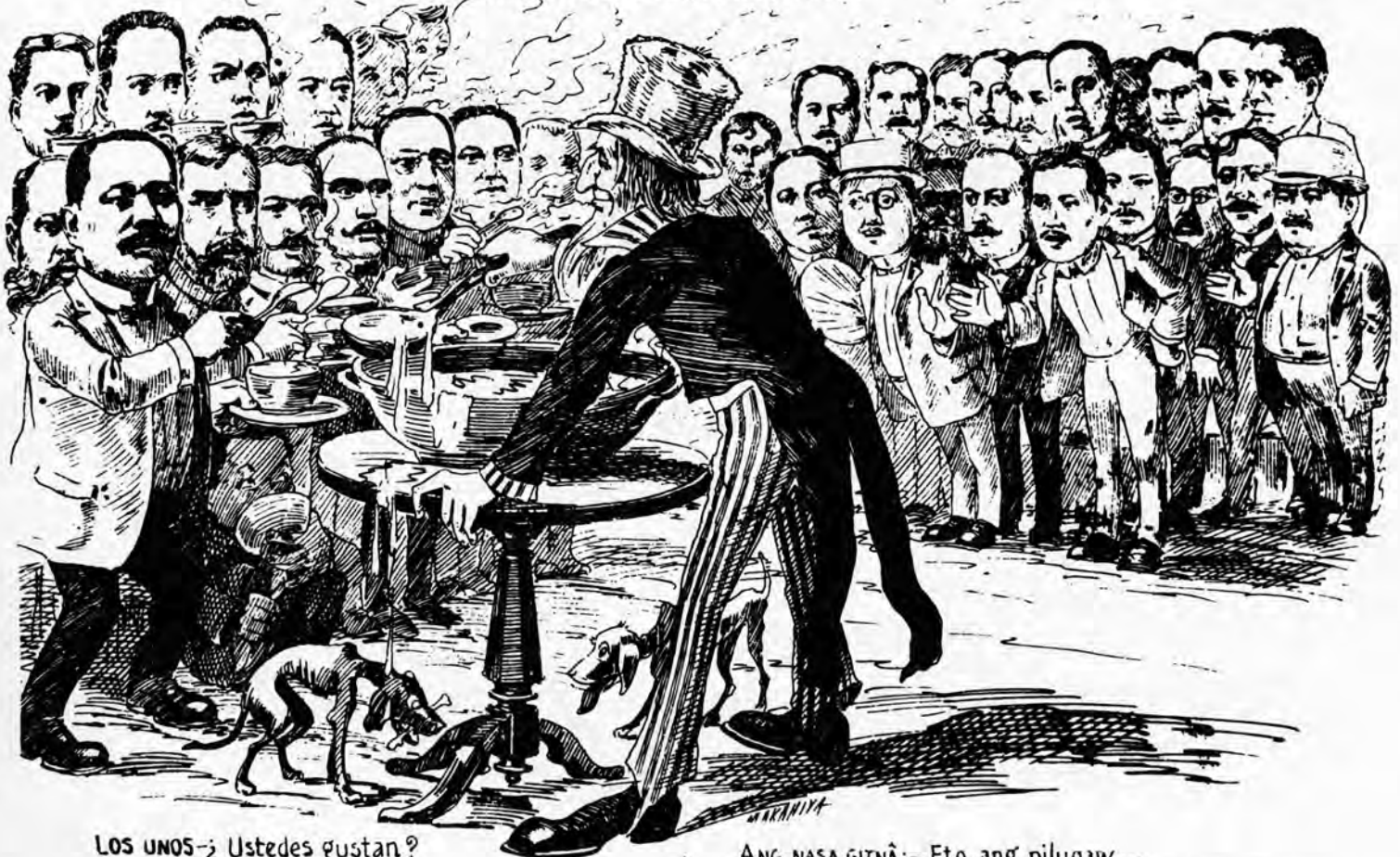
Note the date of the cartoon — 4 July 1908. Elected on a platform of immediate independence, the Assemblymen had been in office nearly a year without making any effort to put forward any sort of independence motion. The

Assembly's first act was, in fact, a motion of gratitude to the United States and a promise to work within the bounds of U.S. policy. Secretary of Commerce Cameron Forbes won these from Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña as a repayment of his support for their electoral campaign.

El Ultimo Adios, or the **Last Farewell** (lower left) is wry commentary on Taft's 1907 Manila visit for the inauguration of the Assembly. Although the Nacionalistas had defeated his old friends the Progresistas and elected a young radical, Sergio Osmeña, Assembly Speaker, Taft took pains to show his support for Osmeña. At a Malacanang Palace ball, Taft took Mrs. Osmeña as his partner in the opening *rigodon* instead of Mrs. Pardo de Tavera, wife of the Progresista Party leader. Taft told all Manila's influentials that Osmeña stood second only to the governor-general. Osmeña's leadership had strong support, as he tells his secretary who warns him about the wobbling suitcases.

The Parties Take Turns (below) shows Uncle Sam doling out the meager patronage gruel left to the Filipinos, first to the Progresista (Federalista) Party members who have until now monopolized his largesse. With their victory in the July 1907 elections, the Nacionalistas are now waiting their turn for Uncle Sam's patronage gruel. (See page 362 for identification of figures.)

EL TURNO DE LOS PARTIDOS.



LOS UNOS—¿Ustedes gustan?

LOS OTROS—Gracias. Ya lo haremos después.

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 24 August 1907)

ANG NASA GITNÂ:—Eto ang nilugaw....

ANG MANĀ SA KANAN:—Halina kayò riyang kumain.

ANG MANĀ SA KALIWA:—Salamat pò: hayaan niyòt sàkà nakami.

THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION'S Secretary of Interior, Dean C. Worcester, was the most despised among thousands of Americans who served in the islands. Although he had the longest service and greatest knowledge of any colonial American of his day, his capacity for intrigue and his abrasive personality won him enemies and enmity among both Filipinos and Americans.

Born into a poor Vermont family of clergymen and clerks, Worcester studied zoology at the University of Michigan and came to the Philippines for the first time in 1887 as a student volunteer in Professor J.B. Steere's expedition. Funded by a private grant, Worcester returned to the Philippines from 1890 to 1893 with another Michigan student, Frank S. Bourns, to collect more natural specimens. His research report won him an appointment as assistant professor in zoology at Michigan, but he lacked the intellect for academic analysis and made almost no progress on his dissertation over the next five years. In flight from academic failure, Worcester dashed off a popular book on the Philippines at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and accepted a temporary appointment to the Schurman Commission which was sent to the islands in 1899. He returned in 1900 as a member of the Philippine Commission

and, with the exception of brief home visits, would remain until his death in 1924.

Appointed Secretary of Interior under Governor-General W.H. Taft, Worcester held the post until his forced resignation in 1913, an unequalled record of colonial service. As Interior Secretary Worcester had a vast range of responsibilities — health, sanitation, public forests, public lands, Mindanao and Sulu, and Mountain Province. Initially, he devoted his energies to improving Manila's health and sanitation, but later spent most of time on Mindanao and Mountain Province.²

A blunt man whose incomplete scientific training inspired a confident racism, Worcester alienated the Filipinos with his remarks from the outset. In an early newspaper interview he declared: "Honesty among Filipinos is a theme for the humorist." He went on to discuss the evidence for the "natural unfitness" of Filipinos for self-government.³ Although demanding the highest standards from Filipinos, he was a man of questionable integrity. He promoted cronies and used his office to advance the business interests of his nephew and old friend Frank Bourns.

Given his temperamental unsuitability for public office, his political longevity was remarkable. Although a man of



Suspiciacias o el gusanillo de la conciencia

Isang makiliting Ginoo na pinahuhulaan kung sino.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 21 November 1908)

limited intellect or administrative competence, he had a natural gift for intrigue and vendetta that insured his survival. Through his old friend Frank Bourns, then a U.S. Army intelligence chief, Worcester began collecting a remarkable set of private files upon arrival in 1899. Preserved in the University of Michigan library, these files contain a wealth of gossip about the sexual and financial misdemeanors of Filipino and American officials, notably Manuel Quezon's alleged career of rape and concubinage while in government service on Mindoro. In his bureaucratic vendettas, Worcester played the slander and innuendo from these files like high cards in a political poker game.

Expressing the Filipino disdain for Worcester's racism and hypocrisy, the nationalist newspaper *El Renacimiento* attacked him in a 1908 editorial titled "Aves de Rapina" (Birds of Prey). Shown in this cartoon (left page) smiling gleefully at the offending section, Worcester sued the newspaper and its editor T.M. Kalaw for ₱100,000. After two years of sensational litigation, Worcester collected ₱60,000, an amount so onerous that it bankrupted the newspaper and forced its closure.⁴

In another cartoon (below) *Lipag Kalabaw* mocks

Worcester's pseudo-scientific "research" on the Philippines. The philosophical Commissioner says: "Who can tell if crossing these trout and conger eels might realize our dream of 'benevolent assimilation'! By the way, what shall we name these fish, Worcester Trout or Worcester Conger Eels?"

The cartoon is making a subtle point about the distortion of the colonized under colonialism. The cross breeding of a pacific trout with an aggressive, carnivorous eel, brought together through colonialism, would produce a new and indeterminate breed that not even its colonial creator could understand. The cartoon is also a sly snipe at Worcester's own academic failure — his disastrous Michigan dissertation was on the *coregonus*, an American whitefish.

After his retirement in 1913, Worcester remained in the islands to go into business. When he moved to Cebu to manage the Visayan Refining Company in 1915, a mass protest rally led by Dionisio Jakosalem filled the *Cine Oriente*, the city's largest, to overflowing. Denounced for his "systematic campaigns . . . against the Filipino people," Worcester was forced to leave Cebu.⁵ He retired to the Bukidnon Plateau where he managed two pioneer cattle ranches with 8,500 head.⁶



EL COMISIONADO (filosofando).—; Quién sabe, quién sabe si con el cruce de estas truchas y congrios se realizará nuestro sueño de "asimilación benebola"!... A propósito: ¿ cómo llamaremos á estos peccecitos? ¿ trucha Worcesterensis ó Worcester's Congrius?....

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 28 September 1907)

ANG COMISIONADO. (nag mumuni muni)—; Sino ang naka-áalám kun sa pag sasama sama ng mga hayop na ito ay inangyari ang pinapanangarap naming "payapang pagsakop"...! Ngunit hintay ka: ano kayang pamaagat ang bagay sa mga isdang ito? ¿ Isdang Worcester o Worcester na isda?



(Lipag Kalabaw, 27 June 1908)

ANG BIGAT NG "MALALAKI"

Ang bayang nanabood:—Kayá palá walá nang masaráp kundi ang Bagyo sa mañga taong itó ay doón sila nagsisitabá. Biró-biró pa hang bigat iyan, akó na lamang ang palaging payát!

EL REGRESO

UNO DEL PUEBLO (*filosóficamente*). ¡Carambá! ¡Carambá!—Todos han aumentado de peso. Mala señal. Me piguro que todo eso tendré que negarlo yo.

THESE TWO CARTOONS FROM 1908 editions of *Lipag Kalabaw* reflect the deep Filipino hostility to the vast cost of building the Kennon Road to Baguio, the most controversial of all American projects. Built between 1901 and 1905, the Kennon Road cost hundreds of lives and ₱5.5 million, equivalent to almost a quarter of the Philippine budget for 1905-06.

Soon after arrival at Manila in 1898, Americans were appalled by the city's health conditions and enervated by its summer heat. Like all Europeans of the day, Americans believed in a doctrine of environmental determinism, then studied as a sub-discipline of geography, which argued that temperate climates made Anglo-Saxons vigorous and tropical climates rendered Asiatics weak. "As a rule," explained an American colonial publication of 1903, "all newcomers to the tropics . . . lose flesh, vitality and energy."⁷ Lending credence to this view, the colony's cholera epidemics alone killed 200,000 Filipinos between 1902 and 1919.⁸

Inspired by the example of British India's hill stations, Secretary of War Elihu Root authorized Dean Worcester, Philippine Secretary of Interior, to locate a suitable site for a summer hill station. In July 1900 Worcester led an expedition into the mountains to Baguio. "We were all literally dumbfounded", he recalled, "when . . . we suddenly left the tropics behind us and came out in a wonderful region of pine parks."⁹

Estimating the total cost at ₱150,000, Captain Charles

W. Meade, former Manila City Engineer, began construction of a mountain road to link Baguio to the railhead for the line to Manila. After Meade and a successor were discharged for incompetence, Major L.W.V. Kennon took charge in 1903 and worked for two years with 3,000 laborers to complete the road. As the costs mounted, Filipino nationalists raised a chorus of protest at expending a vast treasure on an access road to an American summer camp.

The banquet cartoon titled **Rendez Vous** (right) shows Dame Filipinas, symbolizing the new Assembly, examining the budgetary menu served up by the members of the Philippine Commission in 1908 — (left to right) W. Morgan Shuster, W. Cameron Forbes (bald with fish), Dean Worcester, and Governor-General James F. Smith (bald with chicken). Filipinas comments on the menu: "Fixed budget? I don't like fixed things. Pampano fish from Baguio? Baguio . . . what disagreeable memories that name evokes. Surprise pie? I doubt anything can surprise me now."

The 1908 cartoon titled **The Return** (above) shows the "heavy" members of the Philippine Commission catching the train north towards Baguio for their summer sessions in the mountain cool. Cameron Forbes, the "founder of Baguio," weighs in the other commissioners — James Smith, Dean Worcester, and Jose Luzuriaga — while Commissioner T.H. Pardo de Tavera chalks up their weight. Gasping in amazement, Juan de la Cruz at the right symbolizes Filipino outrage at the enormous cost of the summer capital.

PRECIOS

En Manila, 20 cént número
Envío a provincias, franco
de porte, 25 cént número

AÑO II SEMANARIO SATÍRICO Nº 31

MANILA, SABADO, 22 DE FEBRERO DE 1908

Dirijase la correspondencia
á la calle Concepción nú-
mero 42, Kiapa.

RENDEZ VOUS.

KAGANDAHANG LOOB.



LA HUESPED DE HONOR. — ¿Presupuestos invariables? No me gustan las cosas invariables. Pámpano de Bagyo...; Bagyo!; Que recuerdos más desagradables evoca ese nombre!; Pastel de sorpresa? dudo que pueda sorprenderme nada ya.

ANG BB. ASAMBLEA. — Ano ba't gulóng gulo ang mga taong itó sa akin? At sopas pa naman ng **presupuestong di mababago**, ang ipakakain sa akin! Kumain na kaya ako?... huwag?... Pero hintlay ka, lalóng mabuting bayaan ko sila at pagkatapos ay... Bahala na!!!



(Lipag Kalabaw, 11 July 1908)

ES MUCHA CARGA

—Vaya, ya me estoy cansandro. Son cinco bultos que llevan no so qué, pero pesan mucho, sobre todo esta de Justioia. Si no vienen a recogerilo pronto, se la dejo al primero que venga, aunque sea el mismo Pardo.

MABIGAT NA PASÁN

—Nakú, pagkabigatbigat namán nitong dala kong m̄ga kabán. Kapag di itó binawasan ay ibibigay ko na ang isa sa sino mang lumapit sa akin, kahi't si Pardo.

AFTER THE INAUGURATION of the First Assembly in October 1907, Filipino politicians were determined to advance as rapidly as possible from Assembly to autonomy to independence. In making the next step from Assembly to autonomy, the political patronage of their American superiors, Governor-General James F. Smith and Secretary of War W.H. Taft, would be of paramount importance.

Although there had been two Filipinos on the Commission for several years, neither had been appointed secretary of an executive department. By mid 1908 it was generally expected that at least one Filipino would be appointed secretary, possibly Solicitor General Gregorio Araneta as secretary of justice.

The cartoon **Heavy Load** (left) shows Governor-General Smith carrying the main burden of his administration, while complaining and threatening to turn one pormanteau over to Filipino Commissioner T.H. Pardo de Tavera.

The Power of the Trusts (below) shows former Governor-General W.H. Taft on the campaign trail for the U.S. presidency in May 1908 striking a duplicitous deal with the sugar and tobacco trusts. As the "best friend of the Philippines," Governor Taft had worked to reduce American protective tariffs that barred entry of Filipino products into the United States. Here candidate Taft betrays his Filipino friends by courting the trusts with promises of high protective tariffs on Philippine goods.



(Lipag Kalabaw, 16 May 1908)

EL PODER DE LOS TRUSTS

—Pero insiste V. en que se reduzca la tarifa Dingley?

—No lo dejo para despues de las elecciones, si me conviene.

—Bien hecho puede V. contar con el apoyo de azucar y el tabaco americanos.

KUNG PANAHOON NG PANUNUYO.

—Pipilitin din nga ba niyong mababaan ag tarifa Dingley?

—Hindi, saka na kung makaraan ang halalan kung sakaling makabubuti sa akin.

—Kung gayon ay maaasahan ninyong ang mga trust ng tabako at asukal, ay inyong katulong.



(The Independent, 23 April 1921)



(The Independent, 21 August 1920)

WORLD WAR I SPARKED an outburst of pro-American loyalty among Filipinos and transformed Uncle Sam's media image. The prewar cartoons of 1907-08 showed him as a satanic monster, drawn in Caucasian caricature with great nose, fanged teeth and crooked smile. These three cartoons from war and postwar issues of the nationalist newspaper *The Independent*, by contrast, show him as a figure worthy of Filipino love and respect.

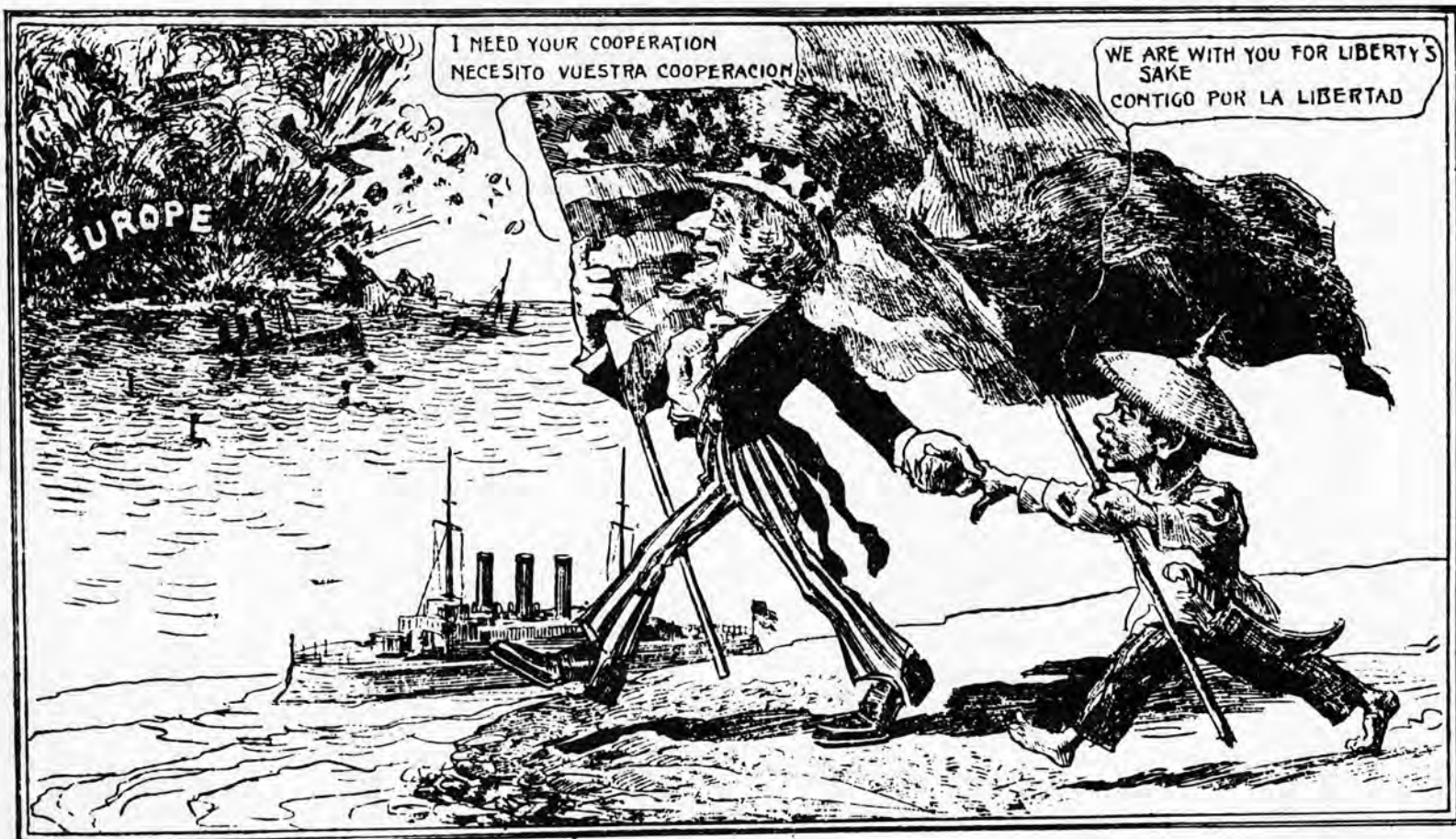
The Loyalty of the Filipinos (below) was published on 14 April 1917, only ten days after the U.S. Congress declared war on Germany and America entered the conflict. The artist Fernando Amorsolo draws a wise, handsome Uncle Sam leading little Juan, loyal and smiling, on the road to war. Accurately gauging America's mood, House Speaker Sergio Osmeña won unprecedented political concessions by suspending the independence campaign for the duration and offering the United States 25,000 troops, a destroyer and a submarine. Despite the country's poverty, Osmeña orchestrated a nationwide loyalty drive which netted \$20 million in U.S. war bond sales and \$500,000 in Red Cross donations.

Which Weighs More? (lower left), published by *The Independent* in 1920, still shows Uncle Sam in his war poster image of integrity. No longer an antagonist for Filipino nationalists, he now weighs the balance of opinion between the three Manila American newspapers who oppose independence and the 10 million Filipinos who support it. Once shown as an evil colonialist, Uncle Sam now has an Olympian posture of wisdom and justice.

Toward Liberty (upper left) is a mild rebuke for Uncle Sam's apparent double standard towards the Philippines. After the U.S. Congress passed some 30 resolutions advocating Irish independence and liberty for Eastern Europe, Resident Commissioner Isauro Gabaldon asked: "Does the heart of the American people beat with joy only for the freedom of Ireland, of Poland and Czechoslovakia, and not for the Philippines?"

Instead of showing Juan outraged at American hypocrisy as in prewar cartoons, *The Independent* has him tugging meekly at his Uncle's coat tails and asking in a child's voice: "Uncle, why don't you let me go with you too [to liberty]?"

The Loyalty of the Filipinos



(*The Independent*, 14 April 1917)

(Dibujo de Fernando Amorsolo.)

STILL GOING STRONG



THE ALIENS IN OUR MIDST

DESPITE THEIR SMALL NUMBERS, aliens were the object of continuous controversy during the American period. At each successive stage in their march towards national development, Filipinos seemed, in their own perception, to run headlong into yet another economic barricade manned by a new group of aliens.

Between 1898 and 1908 Filipino nationalists struggled to reduce the political power of the Spanish friars and force the sale of their vast agricultural estates ringing Manila. Only a few years after that struggle was won, Filipinos suddenly discovered the rising commercial control of the Chinese merchants during the World War I rice crisis. In the early 1920s anti-Chinese racism climbed to a fever pitch and then gradually tapered off towards the end of the decade. As the Philippines moved toward independence and responsibility for its own defence in the 1930s, it discovered to its dismay that the Japanese agricultural colony in Davao made the country a possible target for Japanese conquest.

As the target shifted in succession from Spanish friar to Chinese merchant, to Japanese colonist, the cartoonists joined the battle. Often racist in the extreme, these caricatures of predatory, stereotyped aliens reveal an enormous hostility and pent-up anger. In 1907-08 *Lipag Kalabaw's* evil Spanish friars appeared absurdly bone-faced and toothy with great bellies that seemed bloated from their plunder of the land. A decade later, the genre reached apotheosis with Fernando Amorsolo's horridly satanic Jesuits — always drawn with curved fangs and great, wart-covered noses.

After over three centuries of their domination, hostility towards the Spanish friars erupted in the revolution of 1896. Under the first Philippine Republic of 1898, friars were arrested, their estates were confiscated, and Filipinos were freed from rental payments. Despite the revolution's defeat, Filipino nationalists were determined to eradicate friar influence and pressed the U.S. colonial regime to confiscate the estates. Although the Americans were often unsympathetic to Filipino aspirations, their first Governor-General W.H. Taft concluded that there would be no end to civil strife and nationalist agitation until the friar lands were expropriated. After months of complex negotiations, Taft and the Vatican's apostolic delegate agreed in December 1903 to a purchase price of \$7.23 million for 167,127 hectares of friar lands. The Vatican had earlier agreed to reduce the number of Spanish friars. By late 1903 they had dropped from 1,124 in 1896 to only 250.¹ Those remaining withdrew from high-visibility parish work to a cloistered life in the convents or the religious schools.

Although the Vatican and the U.S. regime had agreed that their time was past, the Spanish religious orders struggled for several years to maintain their influence. For a time

they seemed successful. In 1907 the Dominicans won Papal approval for the coronation of their *La Naval* image as patron saint of the Philippines and hosted a spectacular ritual which was attended by leading Filipinos and American colonials. In an effort to recapture the substance of their former censorship powers, the religious orders organized the *Centro Catolico* and the *Liga Anti-Pornografica*. And several orders tried to recover their lost political influence by sponsoring daily newspapers and Church candidates for electoral office. Each effort prompted a deeply hostile nationalist reaction, and the Filipino press fought this resurgence of friar influence with every weapon at its command — satire, sarcasm, anger and wit.

In this period of strong anti-friar agitation, the Chinese attracted little comment. During World War I, this comparatively benign attitude suddenly changed. As the retail price for a cavan of rice shot upward from ₱4.70 in March 1914 to a peak of ₱15.90 in July 1919, anti-Chinese passions kept pace. Although the Chinese wholesalers and affiliated retailers provided a generally efficient marketing mechanism through their Tutuban Rice Exchange, they had apparently decided to capitalize on the rising market to make exceptional profits.²

The 1919 rice crisis prompted a sustained bout of anti-Chinese nationalism among the Filipino press, politicians and public. While the press carried a series of anti-Chinese cartoons and editorials demanding action, the Philippine Legislature responded with the Bookkeeping Act of 1921 requiring Chinese to keep their accounts in English, Spanish or Filipino. Although ruled illegal by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1926, it was reintroduced and remained a focal point of economic nationalism until the war. In 1924, after rumors circulated that Chinese shamans had slaughtered a Filipino infant, mobs raged through Cabanatuan, the center of the Central Luzon rice trade, looting Chinese shops and beating merchants. Several Chinese were murdered.³

As the tide of anti-Japanese feeling rose after 1930, the wave of anti-Chinese racism began to recede. Although there were only 29,200 Japanese residents in 1939, far fewer than the 117,400 Chinese, about 17,800 of the Japanese were concentrated in Davao Province. An alarmist government report on the Davao colony in 1930 and a subsequent surge of media sensationalism would have probably faded in time had it not coincided with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931-32. For the remainder of the decade, a crude equation between Davao and Manchuria remained a public fixation. The cartoons mirrored and magnified these fears, showing the Japanese as threatening invasion from without and subversion from within.

DURING THE FIRST DECADES of U.S. rule, the Filipino press launched angry attacks on the Spanish friars.

Friar Deceit (below) shows a grotesque Spaniard using his blandishments on the personification of Filipinas, saying: "I am rich and generous, ask of me what you will, but don't shut your doors to me." The shut doors refer to the determination of the Filipinos to prevent a return of the friars to the parishes, an issue that was still not resolved in 1908. Symbolizing the Filipino people, Juan reminds Filipinas: "Look in the Book of History. Do not forget the victims of the friars' habit." The book shows the names of the three priests garroted in 1872 on fabricated charges of sedition and those of nationalists executed during the revolution, including the wealthy merchant Francisco L. Roxas shot at Bagumbayan on 11 January 1897.

Lipag Kalabaw's cover cartoon of January 1908 (right) depicts the long battle among the religious for selection of the Philippines' patron saint. The cartoon shows a chubby Spanish Dominican friar holding *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and an angular Jesuit with another image, while both try to push their bottoms into a chair labelled "Patron Saint of the Philippines." Meanwhile, Archbishop Gregorio Aglipay, patriarch of the schismatic Philippine Independent Church, advocates the native image *Nuestra Señora de la Paz*, the Virgin of Antipolo.

The issue was finally resolved on 5 October 1907 when

Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary) was crowned patron saint in a grand ceremony attended by religious hierarchs, American colonials and leading Filipino nationals. The image, known popularly as *La Naval*, was decorated in jewels and embroidery costing ₱30,000. The American-owned *Manila Times* claimed that both Governor-General James Smith, a Catholic, and Archbishop Harty had favored the native image, the Virgin of Antipolo. It reported that during the ceremony Smith, "subservient to his Italian master, the Pope," crowned the image.⁴

The Dominican victory was the product of a concerted two-year campaign. In early 1906, the Dominican Provincial petitioned Rome to allow a "solemn coronation" for our Lady of the Rosary, explaining that it had been venerated as miraculous since its intercession had won a Spanish victory against the Dutch fleet in 1646, hence its name *La Naval*.

After Rome consented, the Dominicans nominated leading Filipinos to organize the coronation — Benito Legarda, member of the Philippine Commission; Manila Mayor Felix Roxas; and Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano.⁵ The Women's Committee formed in May 1907 included the city's wealthiest — Trinidad Ayala de Zobel; Rita Legarda de Valdes, daughter of Benito Legarda; and Consuelo de Macleod.⁶ With such powerful Filipino allies, the Dominicans easily defeated the bid to install a native saint.



(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 9 May 1908)

FALACIA MONASTICA

—Soy rico y generoso. Pideme lo que quieras, pero no me cierras las puertas.
—Mira el libro de la Historia. No olvides a las victimas de la cogulla.
—Si, sí, pueblo mio. Vaya al diablo el maldito fraile....

—Akó'y mayaman at magandang loob, kayá mayag ka nang magkaundo tayo.
—Hóy, ikaw, ikaw.... kundi sana kita nakikilala!.....

LPAĠ-KALABAW

PRECIOS
 En Manila, 20 cent. numero.
 Envio a provincias, franco
 de porte, 25 cent. numero.

AÑO 2. SEMANARIO SATIRICO. Nº 24
MANILA, SABADO 4 ENERO DE 1908

Dirijase la correspondencia
 a la calle Concepción nú-
 mero 42, Kiapo.

PAGUUNAHAN SA LUKLUKAN.



ÉL DE S. J. — Hermano, esa silla está pagada, ad majorem dei gloriam.

ÉL DE LA O DE P. — Quita day, Loyola; Quien va a Sevilla...

MONSEÑOR — Ni uno ni otro Los dos son parasitarios. Para patronos, aqui estoy yo y la da Antipolo... ó cualquiera de las nativas.

ANG ASWITA — Kapatid nabayaran kona ang sillang iyan sa kapurihan nġ Diyos...

ANG FRAILE — Huwag kang mainġay; ako nuna ang úupò

SI AGLIPAY — Hôy ano kayo? huwag kayong maghanġay na dalawá. Kayong dalawa'y kapwá dapò. Narito ako at ang sa Antipolo na siyang katutubò. Amin itó at hindí inyó....

THE CARTOON PROTESTS the attempt of the Spanish religious orders to recover their lost censorship powers during the first decade of U.S. colonial rule. Closely allied with the Spanish colonial government until its demise in 1898, the Spanish friars were official state censors of all published material and banned most non-religious Filipino publications. Although denied any formal powers under the American regime, the friars financed several conservative newspapers and formed lay organizations like the *Centro Catolico* and the *Liga Anti-Pornografica* to impose an informal censorship.

The Tagalog caption is headed **The Soldiers of "Libertas"** and refers to a conservative Spanish language newspaper published by the Dominican friars at the University of Santo Tomas. An extremely anti-Filipino organ, *Libertas* published a series of articles in 1903-04 attacking T.H. Pardo de Tavera, head of the Federalista Party, for his

"Summary Philippine History" published in the *Philippine Census*. Tavera's history had discussed the role of the friars in Spanish colonial repression, and *Libertas* proved his point by objecting violently to his views. *Libertas* was also strongly opposed to *El Renacimiento*, a nationalist newspaper edited by Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Rafael Palma and T.M. Kalaw.

In the Tagalog caption the Spanish nursing sisters tell Filipinas not to read *El Renacimiento*. She asks if it is bad for her health, and the sisters answer that it is not but, unlike *Libertas*, it has not been blessed. Filipinas answers: "Well then, what percentage does *Libertas* pay you for promoting it?"

The Spanish caption is slightly different. The Spanish sisters tell Filipinas not to read *El Renacimiento* since it has been banned. Filipinas answers that it is not true: "In Dante's *Inferno* there are many monks and priests, but no Filipino newspaper editors."

MGA KAWAL NI LIBERTAS

EN EL.....INFIERNO



- Naku hija, ano iyang binabasa mo?
- "Renacimiento" po
- Rena. . . cimiento, masama sa iyo hija ang bumasa niyan.
- Bawal po ba sa aking sakit?
- Hindi, pero iya'y hindi benditadong parís ng *Libertas*
- Ganoon pala, eh umagkano naman ang inyong *por ciento sa Libertas?*

- Hija mia, no ba uste eso, que se condenara!
- Pero si yo ya he estado ahi.
- Donde hija mia?
- Pues. . . en el infierno de Dante, alli vi muchos curas y monjas, pero ningun sector de periodicos filipinos.
- Bueno, sepa uste que aqui no se admite mas que el bendito "*Libertas*."

THE CARTOON PROTESTS SPANISH religious interference in the 1907-08 elections. Suffrage was still restricted and the parties badly financed, so the Spanish religious orders were able to use their wealth to influence the outcomes. The Spanish friar is shown here with ₱100,000 and a copy *El Mercantil* under his arm, a reference to the power of the friar-owned newspapers and the funding the friars provided loyal Catholic candidates, most notably in the 1908 Manila municipal elections. In 1907, for example, the *Manila Times* claimed that Dominican friars had been instrumental in defeating the re-election of Pangasinan Governor Isabelo Artacho, a known anti-friar and Federalista Party member who had been arrested in 1896.⁷

A grotesque friar waves to a Filipino passer-by wearing an "elector" ticket on his *barong*. The fat friar calls: "Brother, before voting could you come over here for a moment. You know that the friars are rich." The elector

tells the friar to keep his money and just pay his taxes.

As the cartoon **After the Demonstration** (next page, above) indicates, the Catholic political strategy had its successes and the Church won allies even in the anti-friar Nacionalista Party, notably Eusebio Orense. Although he served the revolution and was elected to the Assembly from Batangas as a Nacionalista, Orense had strong ties to the Church. Before the revolution he directed a Church school called *El Niño Jesus* (The Infant Jesus) and in 1900 joined the law firm Del Pan, Ortigas & Fisher which was later awarded a government consultancy on the friar lands case.⁸ Pleased with Orense's services, the Bishops in this cartoon are shown chanting in chorus that he is rewarded with the title "Foetus of the Provincial Council of the Religious Orders." Governor-General James F. Smith, a Catholic, looks on from the left.



(Lipag Kalabaw, 8 August 1908)

PROPAGANDA FRAILESCA

—Hermano, antes de votar, pase usted antes por aqui. Ya sabe usted que el fraile es rico.

—Malhaya tu estampa, so fraile. Guárdate el dinero, que ya te lo quitará el pueblo, haciéndote pagar amillaramiento.

ANG FRAILE.—Kapatid kong cristiano halika nga sandali. Sino ba ang iboboto mo? Magdaan ka muna riai.
—Ihava ako ng Dios sa tukso. ¡Vade retro!

DESPUÉS DE LA MANIFESTACIÓN



PAGKATAPOS NG DISCURSO.

Un Obispo — Muy bien; que sea enhorabuena. Ma estado V. Sublime, colossal. . . .
 Otro — ¡ Es una excepción!
 Otro — ¡ Es un caso extraordinario!
 Otro — ¡ Lo que es. . . es un aborto!
 Todas a coro — Eso, eso; un feto de nuestro Concilio provincial!

Isang Obispo — Pagkabusituli ng pagkakahapit ninyo. Parang pulot at gatá
 Isa pa — Siyangá talagang siya'y tanging tangit!
 Isa pa rin — Oo nga, oo nga, parang pasadyá ito!
 Lahat (sabáy sabáy) oo nga pala naman! ¡Siya'y pinakanunal ng ating Concilio!

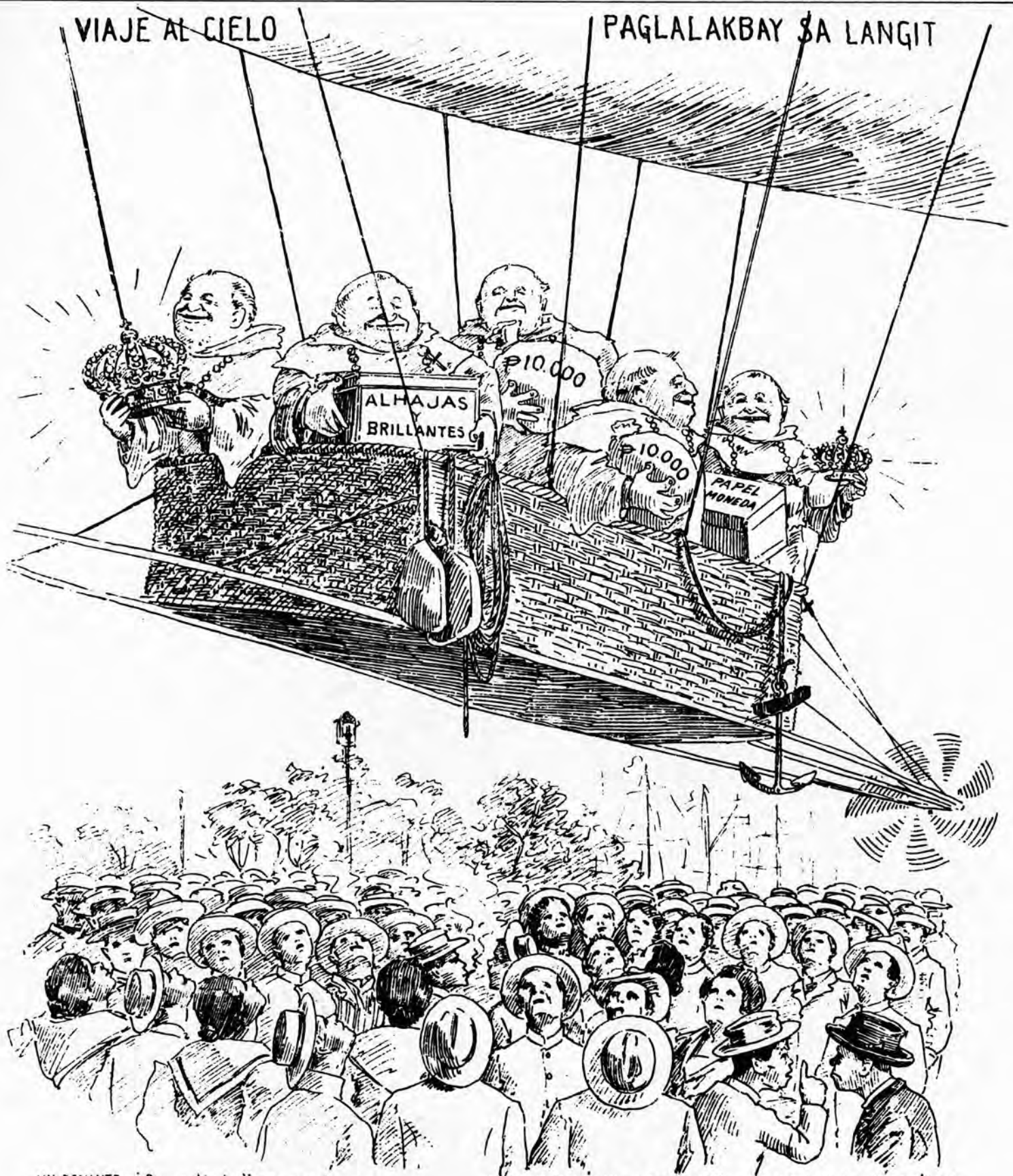
(Lipag Kalabaw, 4 January 1908)

¿A DO VA LA NAVE?

ANG DAONG NI S. PEDRO.



(Lipag Kalabaw, 28 December 1907)



UN DONANTE.-¿ Pero a dónde llevan ese tesoro?
 OTRO.- Hermano, van a coronar la Santa imagen... al cielo.
 UN DESCREIDO.- Si, si, a coronar. Eso es la coronación...
 del negocio... redondo.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 12 October 1907)

ISANG NAQ ALAY.-¿ Saan dadalhin ang katakot takot na kayamanang
 iyan?.....
 ISANG "MANANG".- Saan pa, kundi sa.... langit!
 ISANG "PILLASTRE".-; Loko namang langit iyan! ¿ baka sa langit
 na "Kaban" ng ating "Corporacion"?

IN THE DECADE FOLLOWING the American conquest of 1899, Filipino nationalists were concerned about the future role of the Catholic Church and were determined to purge the influence of Spanish friars. Although denied the patronage of the Spanish colonial state, the Spanish religious orders still tried to use their wealth to exercise some influence.

Where Is The Ship Going? (page 228, below) shows the Catholic Church as a ship headed for the rocks. As the bishops steer the ship of Church onto the rocks, two groups of rivals watch from the shore. On the left is the schismatic Philippine Independent Church, here headed by Antonio Ma. Regidor, a nationalist of the 1872 generation, and its Archbishop Gregorio Aglipay. On the right are the Spanish friars who cheer gleefully as the boatload of secular bishops crash the Church onto the rocks. If the secular churchmen sink, then the friars may yet recover their former influence. Although the Aglipayans had suffered major reverses from court decisions which forced them to return parishes and lands to the Catholic Church, they still represented a major challenge to the power of the religious corporations.

Voyage To Heaven (previous page) is sarcastic commentary on the vast wealth of the Spanish religious orders. The orders are shown as fat Spanish friars in a balloon loaded with jewels, diamond crowns, bags of coin, and boxes of paper money. As men of God, the friars have taken a vow of poverty, but the orders have accumulated a wealth that was both conspicuous and enormous.

Beneath the balloon a Filipino crowd debates the Church's wealth. One donor: "Where are they going with this treasure?" Another: "To Heaven, to crown the holy image." An unbeliever: "Yes, yes. This is the coronation business. . . hard cash."

Bees And Drones (below) shows the Spanish friars as fat drones and the Filipinos laborers as hard-working bees, economically disenfranchised in their own country. Old Spanish drone: "Look at the unfortunate sons of Adam. They fulfill the divine judgement — you shall live by the sweat of your brow." Young Drone: "And we, Father, why do we not labor; we do not sweat . . ." Old drone: "No, my son, to the greater glory of God."



(Lipag Kalabaw, 11 January 1908)

El Zángano viejo — Mirad a esos desgraciados hijos de Adam. Cumplen el mandato divino: Ganaras el pan con el sudar de tu rostra. . . .
Un Zanganito — Y nosotros, padre mio ¿como lo ganamos? Nosotros no sudamos, padre. . . .
El viejo — No, hijos mios: ad majorem dei gloriam. . . .

Reverendo Kabá — Tingnan niyo ang mga sawing palad na iyan. Pikit matáng sumusunod sa utos ng diyos: na sa pawis ng iyong nod lukuha ng makakain.
Isang pariparian — At tayo po naman mahal na ama? Tayo'y hindi nagpapawis!
Reverendo Katabá — Talagang ganóon mga anak ko. Pawis fig loko tabá fig tuso.

WHILE A CROWD OF FILIPINOS dutifully gathers before the Internal Revenue office to pay taxes, two Spanish friars scamper down the street **Evading Their Taxes**. The cartoon refers to the intense Church opposition to taxes on its properties levied by the Manila Municipal Board. In October 1907 the Municipal and Advisory Board proposed a tax on all Church real estate. The Dominican-owned newspaper *Libertas* commented that such taxes would "mean that Filipino Catholics, in the future, may not make manifest their religious sentiments without submitting to conditions not exacted even by protestant or schismatic governments."⁹ The Church protested the proposed tax vehemently, claiming it restrained freedom of worship and had no parallel in the civilized world.

The caption shows the friars chanting as they run from the Internal Revenue Office:

"Let us run, brother; the question is not to pay tax.

"Let us run and talk to the mayor.

"Yes, yes, his father built our Church, and he is now a professor at Santo Tomas.

"Yes, and to Don Miguel, and to . . ."

The mayor was Felix Roxas, a professor of law at the University of Santo Tomas and the son of one of the first Filipino architects who built some religious buildings in Intramuros. The last reference is to Don Miguel Velasco, a Spanish mestizo who had served in the Spanish Navy and was running for the Manila Board with friar support.

EVADIENDO LA CONTRIBUCIÓN

PAG-ILAG SA AMILLARAMIENTO



—Corramos, hermano; la cuestion es no pagar amillaramiento.
 —Corramos a hablar al Alcalde, á...
 —Sí, sí, su padre construyó nuestro templo y... el es catedrático...
 Y á Don Miguel, y á...

—Takbó kapatid at malapit tayong abutin ng buwis na iyan. Takbó at hanapin natin si Don Miguel...
 —Oo nã, pero lalong mabuting... ang Alcalde ang ating hanapin. Ang tatay pa naman... niya ang gumawâ ng aming Simbahan at sakâ siya'y profesor sa Santo Tomas... Takbo't mahuhuli tayo!

(Lipag Kalabaw, 15 February 1908)

IN 1906-07 THE NATIONALIST Antonio Ma. Regidor and the friar apologist Jose Loyzaga y Ageo waged verbal warfare in the pages of the Manila press over the future of the Philippine Church. The cartoon metaphor is an *arnis* combat, the traditional Tagalog martial art of fencing with two rattan sticks. Here Church banners are substituted for one of the rattan sticks. The combatant on the left is Regidor, shown fighting with the banner of the Philippine Independent Church and seconded by its primate Gregorio Aglipay. At the right is the Spanish mestizo journalist Loyzaga, waving the banner of the Catholic Church and supported by a Spanish friar.

Although a Spanish creole, Regidor identified fully with Filipino aspirations and played a leading role in the nationalist movement for 40 years. Born in Manila in 1845, he was a graduate student in the University of Santo Tomas Law Faculty in 1868-69 and became involved in the student reform movement. After the Cavite Mutiny of January 1872, he was exiled to the Marianas Islands. He made a spectacular escape to Yap Island on an American boat and from there found his way to London where he spent the next quarter century.¹⁰

As a well paid international lawyer, Regidor had the means to maintain an open salon for Filipino exiles in London and finance the propaganda movement of the 1880s and 1890s. In 1898 the Malolos government sent him to Washington, D.C. as deputy to envoy Felipe Agoncillo.¹¹

Even before his hero's return to Manila in August 1907, Regidor was among the most influential of the anti-friar agitators. In a front page article in a May 1906 edition of *La Democracia*, for example, he said the Filipinos, like the Irish, must refuse to accept "fake missionaries" and tolerate only Filipino priests. With foreign priests, Filipinos deny themselves "representation in their own social life, law and politics," and must reject this "religious pandemonium" which is supported by "words of false charity and evangelism."¹²

Church historian John Schumacher, S.J. credits Regidor, Isabelo de los Reyes and Felipe Buencamino with pushing Fr. Aglipay towards schism, a move he would not have otherwise made.¹³ After witnessing the inauguration of the Assembly in 1907, Regidor returned to London where he died in 1910 at work on a history of the Philippines.¹⁴

DE POTENCIA A POTENCIA

QUIERA PATANI



MONSEÑOR (A REGIDOR), Duro compadre, que tiembla hasta la catedral.
FRAY DOMINGO (A LOZAGA), Matalo! matalo!... y te soplas otra catedral. *t: futro en London! Redi's.

ANG FRAILE - Avance Don Pepe, sa murang-tadyang ng pakialamerong iyan ang patama.
SI AGLIPAY - Sisid-kapatid, ka Toño, at ang na sa likod ang iyong unahin.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 16 November 1907)

IN THE EARLY SESSIONS of the First Philippine Assembly Pedro A. Paterno, representing Laguna Province, introduced a bill to allow Chinese immigration for plantation labor. Sugar planters had agitated for such immigration for 20 years, arguing that Filipino labor was indolent, insufficient and unreliable. The cartoon from the nationalist weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* shows Paterno **Representing... Peking?** as he advocates Chinese immigration and outrages the crowd of Filipino farm laborers behind him. In the end the labor movement, working through radical representatives in the Nacionalista Party, defeated the bill.

The bill typified the upper class *hauteur* that characterized Paterno's political career. Born to a wealthy Chinese mestizo merchant in Santa Cruz district in 1857, Paterno took his undergraduate education at the Ateneo before migrating to Spain where he took 25 years to finish law degrees at Salamanca and Madrid. Wealthy, educated and urbane, he cultivated a wide circle of friends among Madrid's literati and politicians. Although present there during the Filipino propaganda movement of the 1880s and 1890s, he remained aloof and devoted his patriotic energies to hosting lavish banquets and salons.¹⁵

In 1894 he returned to Manila with the title 'Your Excellency' and was appointed director of the Philippine Library-Museum, an institution which existed only on paper. During the revolution, he negotiated General Emilio

Aguinaldo's surrender at Biak-na-Bato in 1897 and then served on the Spanish Consultative Assembly established to win support for a dying colonialism. After America defeated Spain, Paterno joined the revolution as president of the Malolos Congress and later ousted Apolinario Mabini to form a cabinet. When captured, he took an oath of loyalty to the United States and joined the pro-American Federalista Party.

Again showing the chameleon-like sensitivity that was his hallmark, he broke early with the Federalistas and formed the Liberal Party which he later merged with the Nacionalista Party in 1906. The first candidate to campaign in an automobile, Paterno won election to the First Philippine Assembly in 1897 from Laguna's first district. Although he challenged Sergio Osmeña for the speakership, he was soundly beaten and gradually faded from political prominence.¹⁶

Unlike T.H. Pardo de Tavera or Sergio Osmeña, Paterno never found an influential patron among the American colonials. His elegant Hispanic manners and Spanish fluency were of little use with the Americans, who generally disliked and distrusted him. Governor-General W.H. Taft described him as "a great deal of an ass," a fairly representative American opinion.¹⁷ American patronage was a critical asset during the colonial period and without it Paterno soon lost political influence.

¿ REPRESENTANDO... PEKIN?

ANG PASKÓ NI DON PEDRO.



LOS SUYAS — Mucho galasia señor. Iplisientante por ese ley; nosotros dale con V. un poco miki.
PATERNO. (sonriendo para su capote) Yo les voy a dar el gran miko.

ANG MGA INSIK (sabag sabag) — Mueno dia siñolia. Eto jamón, eto jopia, ¿ Kailán abo-balo Ley?

DON PEDRO — Muwag inip. Ako bahala!

MGA TAONG-BAYAN — Kundangá; ang mga taga Laguna, ¡ nakó!

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 16 November 1907)

ALTHOUGH SPANISH FRIARS remained the most controversial aliens during the first decade of U.S. colonial rule, Filipino economic nationalism was still not sensitive to the Chinese control of retail trade. Initially, it was the Chinese opium habit that attracted criticism, and it was not until World War I that retail trade became the main issue.

While the other European colonies in Southeast Asia licensed and taxed Chinese opium dens, the U.S. regime banned them and forced Chinese addicts into a thriving black market. The Spanish government had licensed Chinese dens for half a century and the cholera epidemic of 1902-04 introduced large numbers of Filipino users to the drug since its constipating powers were an aid in combatting the disease.

When U.S. civil government was inaugurated in 1901, the Philippine Commission was faced with the difficult task of shaping American opium policy. In 1903 Commissioner of Public Instruction James Smith proposed that sales be restricted to Chinese and profits used to build schools, a pragmatic approach that won approval from Governor-General W.H. Taft. The Commission was about to promulgate such a law when the protestant churches, led by Episcopal Bishop Charles Henry Brent, objected. Protestant protests flowed into the White House and the Secretary of War cabled Taft: "Hold opium bill. Further investigation. Many protests."

To mute criticism, the Commission dispatched an investigative committee to survey opium use in the Far East comprising Dr. Jose Albert, Bishop Brent and the Commissioner of Health. In 1905 the Commission finally declared an immediate ban on Filipino opium use and a three year transition to a full prohibition for Chinese as well. After six months of dwindling doses, all Chinese opium sales were cut in March 1908.¹⁸

The September 1908 cartoon titled **Hallucinogenic Business** (below) shows Chinese addicts successfully bribing a Filipino pharmacist to sell them opium from his medicinal stocks. An April 1908 cartoon titled **Pretending Not To See** (upper right) shows Chinese smokers bribing a Manila policeman to enter an opium den. The illicit traffic continued until the start of World War II.

Chinese Reprisals (lower right) shows the Manila Chinese launching a boycott against the Spanish language daily *El Comercio* after it advocated a ban on Chinese migration to the Philippines. In 1904 the American prohibition on Chinese migration had been extended to the Philippines, but Chinese and American businessmen wanted it lifted to import cheap plantation labor. In the midst of the heated debate, *El Comercio's* opposition was unwelcome and the Chinese chases the paper's editor shouting insults in heavily accented Spanish — *Katisila palaile* (Spanish friar), *filipino pasificado* (fake Filipino), *simiguensa* (shameless), and *dimunio* (devil).



NEGOCIO ALUCINANTE

—Seño: nosotolos no puele lomilo, no puele fumalo. Ne-sita un poco mineno, como aquel mene botica que se llama molo. . . molo. . .
—Ya sé lo que es; pero cuesta mucho dinero porque está prohibido.
—No impota, seño, nale un poco y paga todo cuanto. Nosotolos suki de uté.

—Siño, nosotlo quiele complalo mocho mineno, si osité puele saca botica, mocho mocho.
—Ahá! pero mahal na mahal po ngayon po. ¿Makaka-kákagát ba kayó sa halagá po?
—Masiki cuanto siñolia, nosotros pagalo. . .
—¡Ito ang tunay na pagkabuhay! ¡Viva China!

(Lipag Kalabaw, 12 September 1908)

(Lipag Kalabaw, 14 April 1908)



(Lipag Kalabaw, 30 November 1907)

Long live Spain free of Religious Corporations!



(The Independent, 27 January 1917)

(Dibujo de Fernando Amorsolo.)

AS CARTOONIST FOR the nationalist weekly *The Independent*, Fernando Amorsolo drew, with an unequalled vitriol and racism, caricatures of the Spanish Jesuits identifiable by their habits and initials "SJ" (Society of Jesus).

Long Live Spain (above) comments upon the inauguration of the Spanish cultural center, *Casa de España*, in January 1917. Filipino and Spanish banquet speakers celebrated Hispano-Philippine friendship with paeans of praise for Spain's glorious legacy in the islands. While *The Independent* treasures Spain's literary and cultural legacy, it cannot forget the abuses of the friars and the religious corporations. Filipinas points to the skulls of Filipino nationalist martyrs executed in 1872 and 1896-97 — Jose Rizal, Fr. Jose Burgos, merchant Francisco L. Roxas — and

A Duel to Death



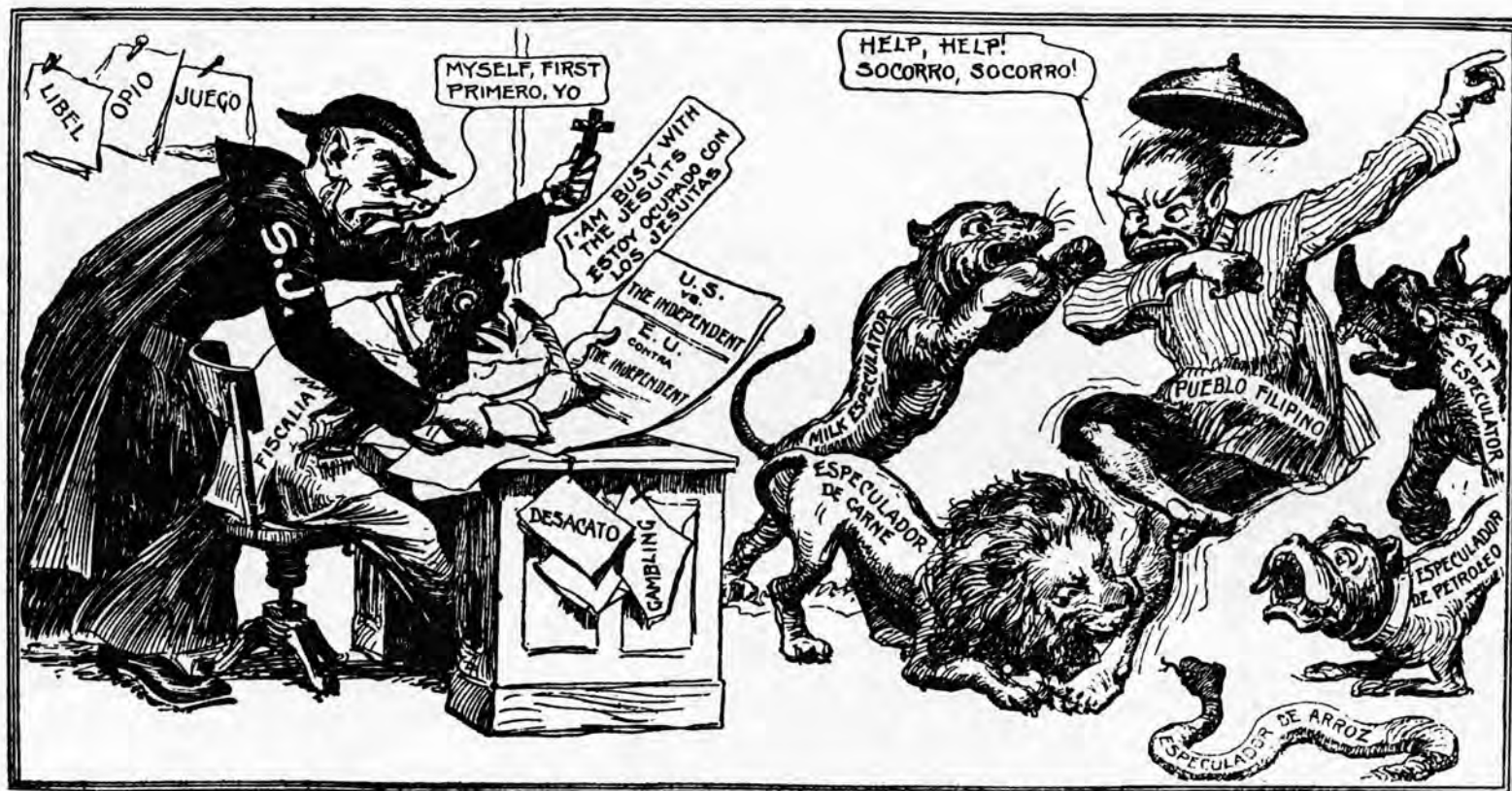
(The Independent, 10 February 1917)

(Dibujo de Fernando Amorsolo.)

tells the satanic friars begone. The Spanish friars (marked with "FR") are carrying devils' pitchforks, while the Jesuit leader holds a bleeding dagger. Amorsolo's accusations against the Jesuits were, in fact, inaccurate since they had played a minor role in the friar persecution of the nationalists.

A Duel To The Death (above) was drawn for *The Independent* by Amorsolo in early 1917 when Manila City Fiscal Quintin Paredes, later house speaker and senator, filed two criminal libel suits against the newspaper demanding ₱200,000 as damages for statements about the Jesuits. Masked to conceal their role in the case, the Jesuits are pitting their fighting cock, Fiscal Paredes, against the Filipino people who have a cock labelled *The Independent*.

There are no Prosecuting Attorneys for Jobbers...



(The Independent, 24 November 1917)

(Dibujo de Fernando Amorsolo.)

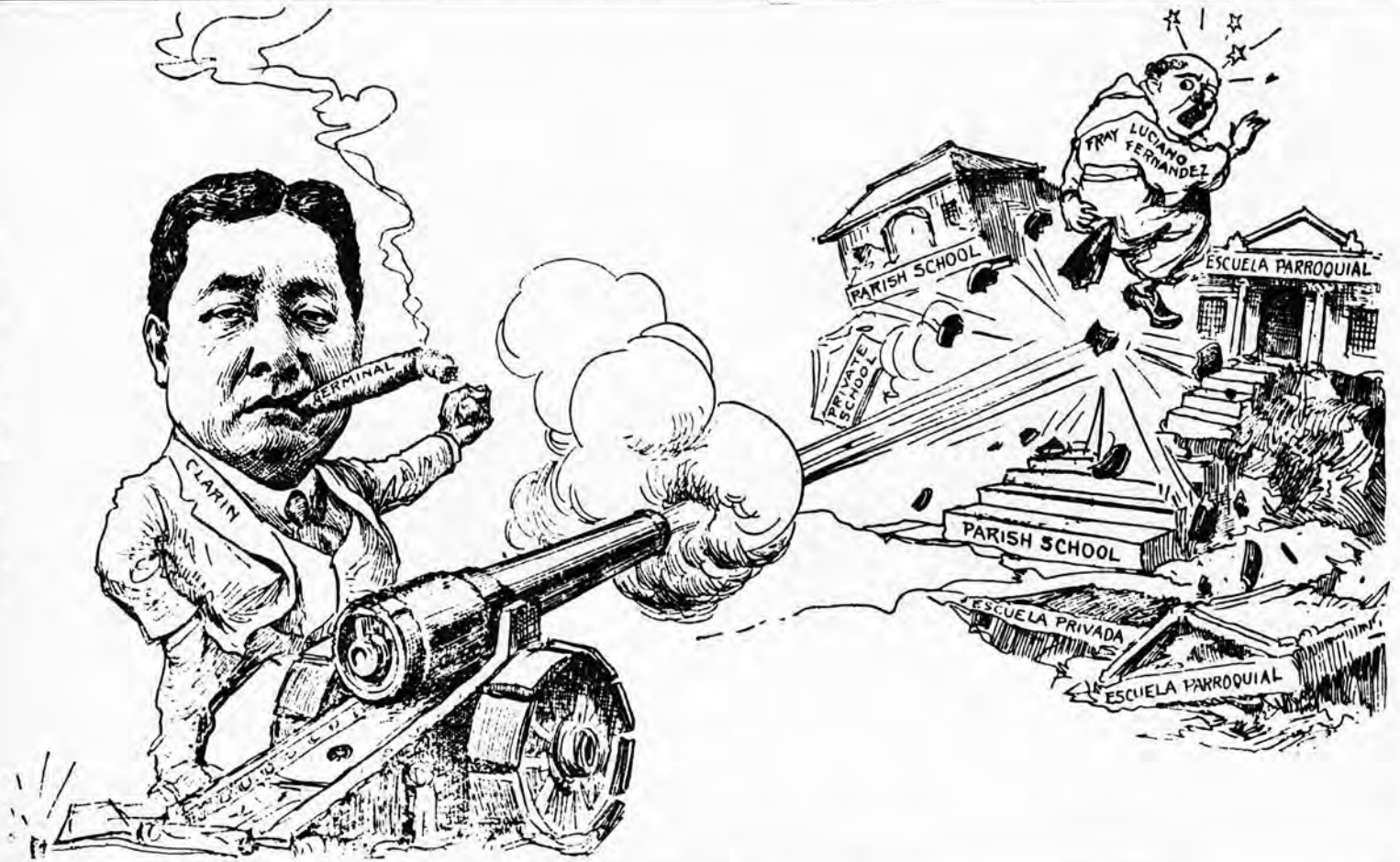
THROUGHOUT 1916-17 *The Independent* continued its attacks on all forms of Spanish religious influence. The newspaper's publisher, Vicente Sotto, adamantly opposed the continuing influence of the Spanish friars in the press, politics and education. Showing the Jesuits as lean, wart-nosed devils and the Dominicans as fat Hispanics, Amorsolo's caricatures sharpened the cartoons' cutting edge.

There Are No Prosecuting Attorneys (above) attacks Manila City Fiscal Quintin Paredes, drawn as a big fighting cock, for pursuing two libel suits against *The Independent* while ignoring the wartime food speculators. The newspaper had attacked the Jesuits in its columns and Paredes, responding to the Jesuit complaint, had filed criminal libel charges seeking ₱200,000 in damages. The papers on the wall imply that the Fiscal's office is preoccupied with petty crimes and has no time to prosecute the major speculators. Indeed, the average wholesale price for a cavan of rice had increased in Manila's markets from ₱4.71 in January 1914 to ₱5.92 in February 1917 without any government intervention.

How the "Terceristas" Go To Fight (lower right) mocks the 1916 electoral alliance between the opposition Progresista, formerly Federalista, Party and the Terceristas, a radical split from the ruling Nacionalista Party. The cartoon shows Progresista leader Juan Sumulong, carrying the old Federalista Party's U.S. statehood banner, riding Tercerista leader Antonio Montenegro who wears the tag "Hero of Manawag," a reference to his command of General Aguinaldo's rearguard during a skirmish with American forces in November 1899. The other Tercerista leader Pedro Gil is shown bearing a fat friar with a sack of ₱25,000, an allegation that the party's paper, *Consolidacion*, is Spanish financed. The election turned out to be a disaster for the coalition. They captured only 9 of 90 Assembly seats and a year later merged to form the new Partido Democrata.¹⁹

Shelling the Foggers (upper right) is Senator Jose A. Clarin of Bohol who has just spoken on the Senate Floor denouncing a friar-sponsored bill on private education that would install religious schools in the towns and *barrios*.

(The Independent, 24 February 1917)



(The Independent, 3 June 1916)

DURING WORLD WAR I Filipino hostility towards Chinese erupted into racism. As wartime demand pushed freight costs to unprecedented heights, the average price for a cavan of rice in Manila increased from ₱4.70 in 1914 to ₱15.90 in 1919.²⁰ Much of the increase was, in fact, speculative profit and Manila consumers, sorely pressed by the price rise, blamed Chinese rice merchants for their plight. Through the informal Tutuban rice exchange, a small group of Chinese dominated the wholesale market for native rice. Petty Chinese merchants controlled some 80 percent of Manila's retail trade. After suffering from four years of painful speculative price increases, working class Manileños developed a deep antagonism towards the Chinese.

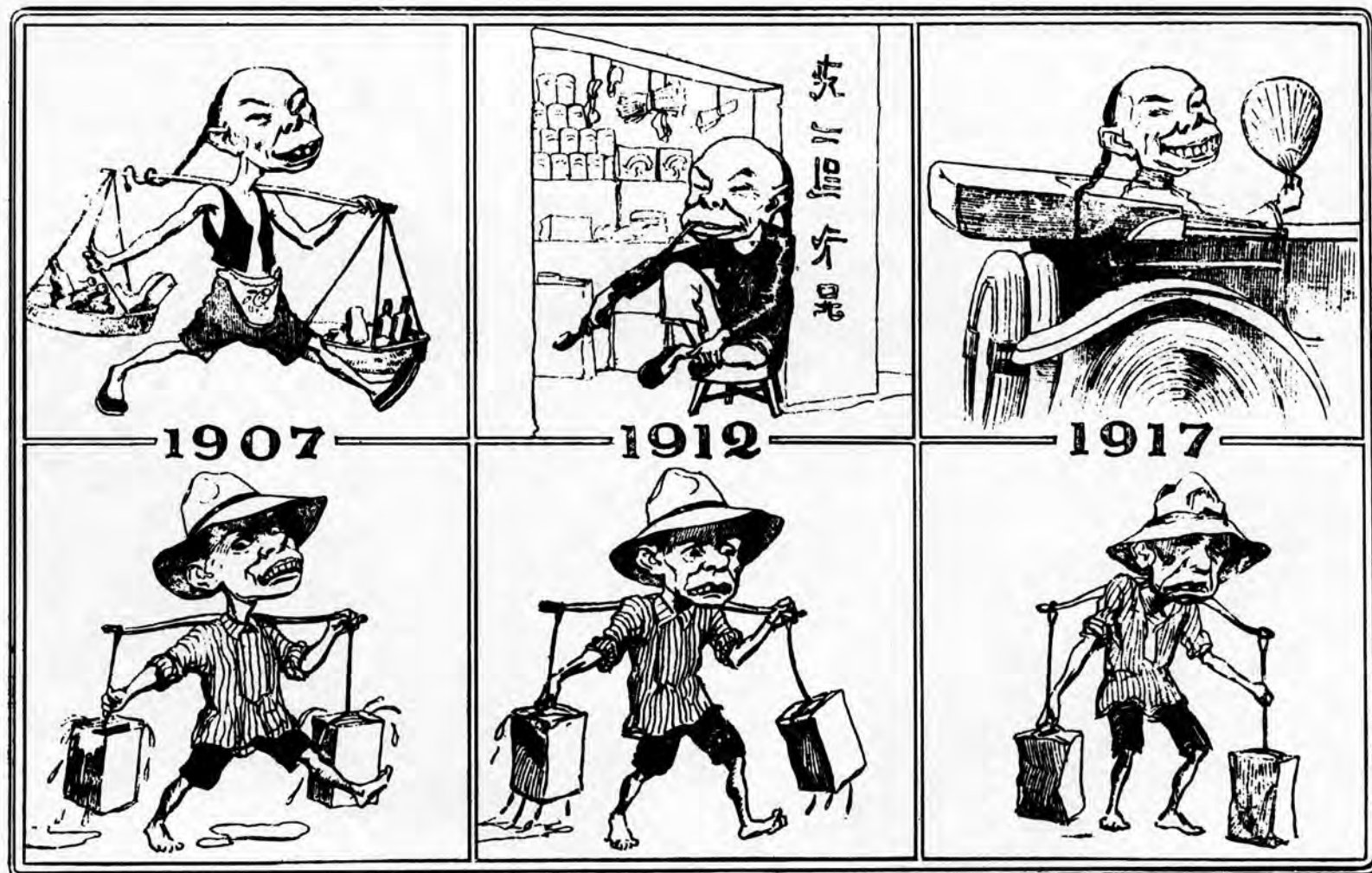
While the Chinese Progresses (below) shows that in the past decade foreign merchants, Chinese included, have grown from small traders into "now great merchants and bankers." The Filipinos, by contrast, have remained hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Question of Time (upper right) illustrates the subtle Chinese corruption of Filipino civil servants. While few

public officials of the early American era would have dared accept a blatant bribe in cash or kind, the Chinese have, over the past quarter century, selected influential Filipino officials as their baptismal godfathers when they convert to Christianity. Every year the Chinese renew the bond by delivering gifts on their godfather's birthday, a custom that *The Independent* considers an indirect bribe.

Why There is Opium (lower right) claims that the U.S. colonial government's ban on opium sales is not effective. According to *The Independent's* police source, Chinese avoid the prohibition by smuggling opium through Manila Customs in drums of cement, condensed milk and other bulk cargos, something almost impossible to detect. Once the opium has cleared the Customs House, Manila Police have proved incapable of preventing its distribution. While the "poor Chinos belonging to the lower classes are made to suffer the penalty" for smoking, the "big fish" who own the opium dens always get away. *The Independent* suggests that, as in British colonies, opium should be legalized as a source of government revenue.

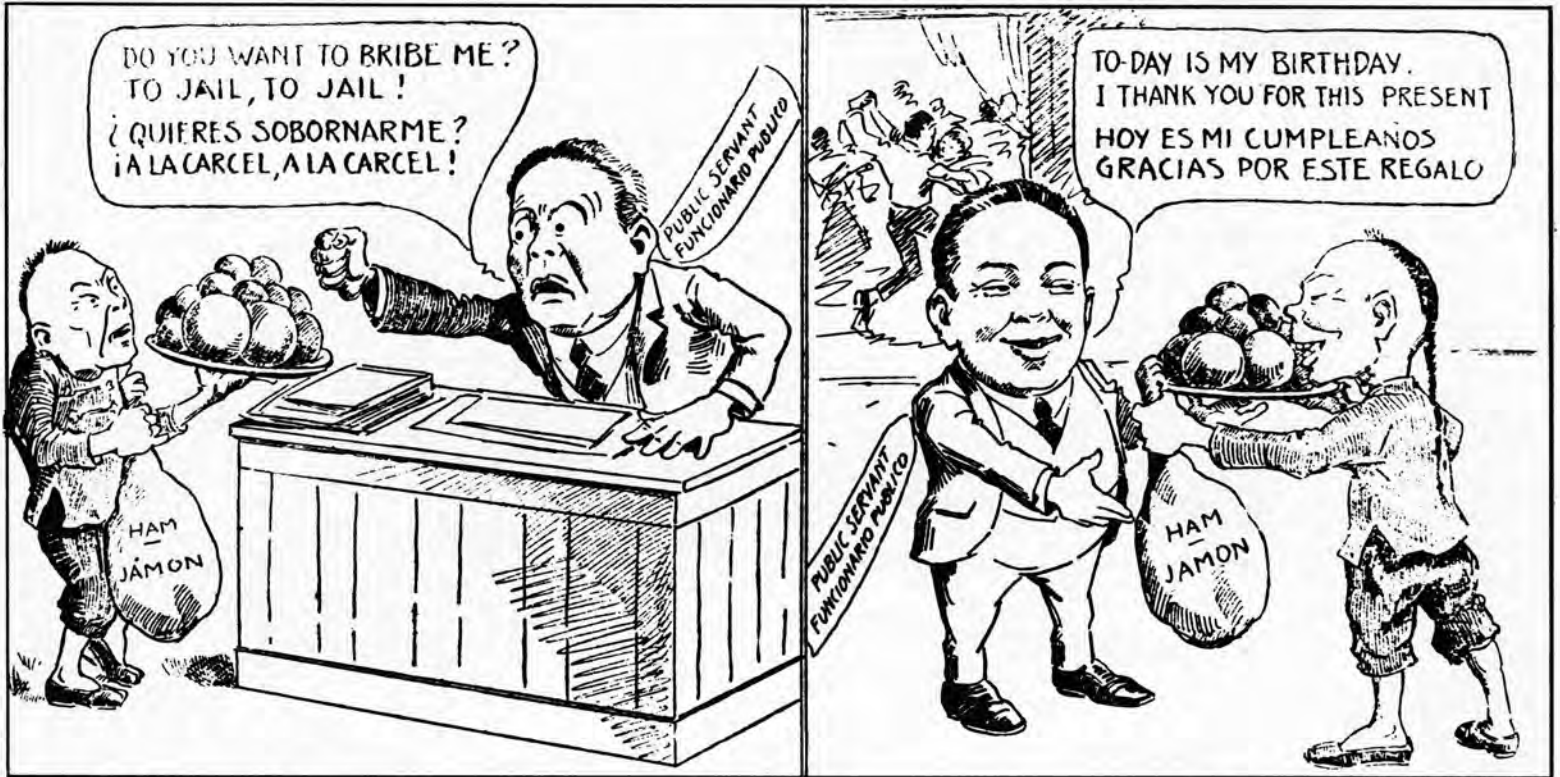
(*The Independent*, 23 June 1917)



(Dibujo de Fernando Amorsolo.)

Mientras el Chino progresa, el Filipino se estanca

Question of Time



(The Independent, 14 February 1920)

(Dibujo de Jorge Pineda)

Year V

MANILA, JANUARY 11, 1919.

Number 197

Why there is Opium in the Philippines



(The Independent, 11 January 1919)

(DIBUJO DE JORGE PINEDA)

Porque hay opio en Filipinas

Will He Do It? — ¿Lo Podrá Hacer?



THE POLITICAL PAGEANT

THE CARTOONS present a vivid chronicle of the men and machinations of prewar Philippine politics. The rise and demise of parties, personalities and factions are recorded in near-infinite detail. The sum of these cartoons, selected from three weekly papers, is an illustrated history of Philippine politics under American rule.

Almost all the Manila dailies were, at base, propaganda organs for a given party or faction and could not allow their cartoonists the liberty required for sharp satire. In 1932-33, for example, when Manuel Quezon found the Roces family's *Tribune* unsympathetic, he arranged for his supporters to purchase the *Herald* group and installed Carlos P. Romulo as his editor.¹ By contrast, the weeklies *Lipag Kalabaw* and *The Independent* held a radical nationalism and the *Free Press* a pro-Americanism that militated against any consistent partisan loyalties.

Although they cover the better part of 40 years, the cartoons focus on only two major parties and four dominant leaders, an accurate reflection of the era's politics. Led by the brilliant scholar Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, the Federalista Party prospered from its leader's close relationship with the first U.S. governor-general, W.H. Taft, and monopolized the limited patronage he provided Filipino aspirants. Crippled by their earlier espousal of American statehood for the Philippines, the Federalistas were crushed by the new Nacionalista Party in the 1907 elections for the First Philippine Assembly. In its early sessions, the Assembly elected Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon, two young provincial politicians, as speaker and majority leader.

Little would change for the next 35 years. Since the Nacionalista Party retained a clear legislative majority until the Japanese invasion in 1942, the only issue of any real political import was the struggle for leadership within the party. A brilliant legislative tactician, Speaker Osmeña cautiously constructed a power base within the party that approached the autocratic. Hailed by the masses as the nation's real leader after his election to the speakership in 1907 (page 256), within a decade he translated that dream into a reality by his skillful collaboration with American patrons and dextrous manipulation of his Filipino clients.

But even the careful Osmeña made one mistake. When Resident Commissioner Quezon returned from Washington in 1916 as the hero bearing the Jones Act, Osmeña unwisely decided not to stand for a seat in the new Senate and to keep his place in the Assembly, now the lower house, which he thought the real locus of power. With Osmeña's gracious but foolish consent, Quezon won a seat in the Senate and became its first president. As an unacknowledged co-author of the Jones Act, Quezon understood, as Osmeña did not, that it gave the Senate some significant powers which made it the dominant chamber. After pre-

paring his support for six years, Quezon launched a brilliant coup in 1922 that toppled Osmeña from the Nacionalista Party leadership. By the time the daggers were wiped clean, Quezon was party president, Osmeña had accepted a secondary position in the Senate, and Quezon's young protegee Manuel Roxas had replaced Osmeña as House speaker.

During the next decade, Quezon built a political machine that far surpassed Osmeña's earlier effort. Using the government's greatly expanded economic powers, exemplified by the Philippine National Bank, Quezon cultivated a clientele of wealthy Filipino businessmen such as Vicente Madrigal and the Elizalde brothers who willingly bankrolled his political ambitions. Political power begot money which, in turn, begot ever greater political power. Confident in an almost unassailable leadership position and mellowed by tuberculosis, Quezon made the transition from politician to statesman in the mid 1930s.

But before he could scale the Olympian heights to the Philippine presidency, Quezon had to defeat a final challenge. Weakened from tuberculosis, Quezon dispatched his rivals Osmeña and Roxas to Washington to lobby for independence in late 1931. When their efforts met unexpected success as the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill moved towards passage in 1932, Quezon sensed a threat. If Osmeña and Roxas were allowed to bring an independence bill home in triumph, they could use the adulation to mount a leadership challenge — just as he had done a decade before.

Quezon's success required two years of stunning political acrobatics. He dismissed Roxas from the House speakership, purged the government of opponents, orchestrated his Legislature's rejection of the H-H-C Act, and convinced an unsympathetic President Franklin Roosevelt to procure passage of a new independence act from Congress. His triumph complete, Quezon won election as president of the new Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 and reigned without any significant opposition, Filipino or foreign, until the Japanese invasion of 1942.²

Although the history of the American period has been written as a Manichean struggle between craven Federalista collaborators and heroic Nacionalista patriots, the two parties appear, in light of current historical research, strikingly similar.³ Just as Federalista T.H. Pardo de Tavera enjoyed Governor-General Taft's patronage, so Quezon cultivated Governor-General Harrison. In power, both parties collaborated to win patronage for their party's supporters; out of power, each party attacked the other for an inevitable collaboration. Excepting the differences in political circumstance, both parties were similar mixtures of politician and patriot.



PRECIOS
 En Manila, 20 cént. número.
 Envío a provincias, franco
 de porte, 25 cént. número.

AÑO I. SEMANARIO SATÍRICO Nº 15

MANILA, SABADO, 2 NOVIEMBRE DE 1907.

Dirijase la correspondencia
 á la calle Concepción nú-
 mero 42 Kiapo.

EL HOMBRE DEL DIA



Para Taft, el Speaker es el "Segundo personaje" de Filipinas; pero para muchos es el "primero!"

¡ Nakú si Osmeña ibig yatang iakya't sa lançit.

PRECIOS

En Manila, 20 cént. número
Envío a provincias, franco
de porte. 25 cent. número.

AÑO I. SEMANARIO SATIRICO Nº 3.

MANILA, SABADO, 10. DE AGOSTO DE 1907.

Dirijase la correspondencia
a la calle Concepción nú-
mero 42, Kiapo.



MAKAHIJA

LLANTERA NACIONAL PROGRESISTA

El del Norte - No lloro por mi, sino por mi señora
y mi suegro que tanto se han cansado.
El del Sur - ¡Ji...ji...ji!...¿ Quien me manda meter-
me en politica?... Gasté dinero, perdi clientela y me gané
enemigos... ¡ Rayo nose!...

IYAKANG PEDERALO PROGRESISTA.

Ang sa Hilaga - ¡ Kung sa aking na lamang ay ano ba kundi ako
lumabás; nguni't ang ikinaiyak koy ang naging pagod ng asawa,
ko't biyaran!
Ang sa Timog - ¡ Ji...ji...ji! Kundangan kasi ako eh... ¡ Sayang
ng galapi kong nagastá...! ¡ Rayo nose!

AMONG ALL THE PROGRESISTA PARTY candidates they defeated in the 1907 Assembly elections, the Nacionalistas took greatest pleasure in the humiliation of Dr. Benito Valdes. Married to the daughter of the influential Commissioner Benito Legarda, Valdes was expected to win easily over the two rival Nacionalista candidates. Not only were the Nacionalista Party votes divided, but Valdes was courting American colonial votes — a major bloc in the restricted electorate. After their split four months before the elections, Nacionalista Party factions led by Fernando Ma. Guerrero and Dr. Dominador Gomez had devoted most of their energies to the defeat of intra-party rivals.

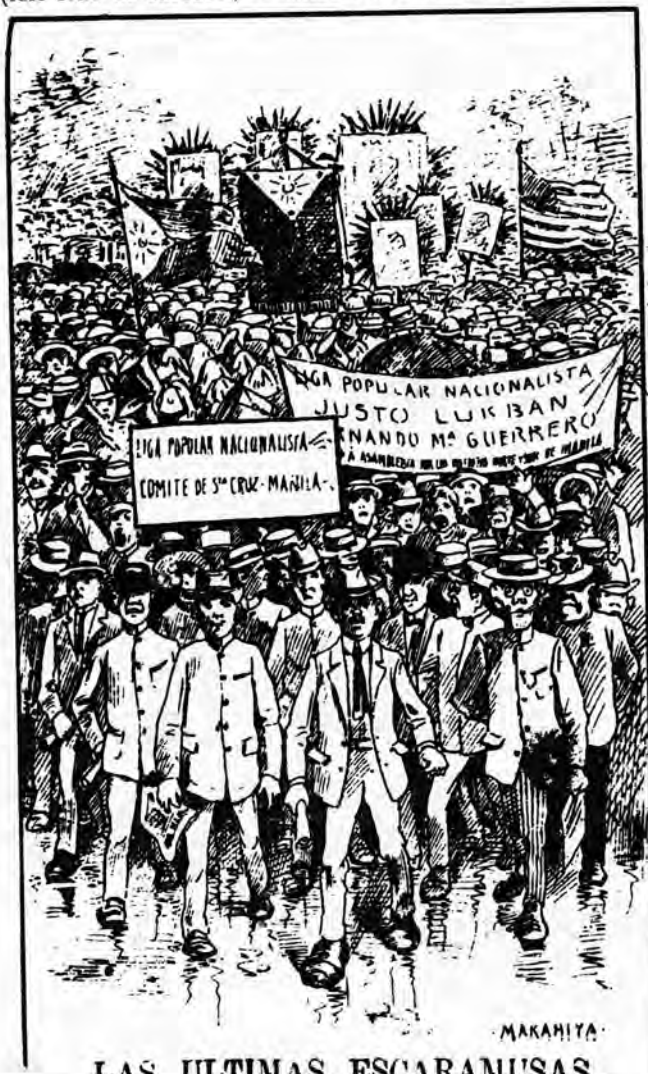
The nationalist weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* satirized the Manila elections in its cartoon **The Electoral Campaign** (below). On the left is one of the Nacionalista factions headed by its candidates for Manila's two seats, Fernando Guerrero and Dr. Justo Lukban. On the right is the other Nacionalista Party faction's parade led by Dr. Dominador Gomez, shown carrying a fan, its candidate in Manila's first district. In the center is Dr. Valdes' Progresista procession, a single horse cart flying American flags, a snide reference to the candidate's courtship of American voters.

The cartoon titled **The Weeping of the National Progresistas** (previous page) shows the losing candidates' reaction to their humiliation. Progresista Roberto Moreno (left side of cartoon) finished third behind two Nacionalista

Party rivals in Manila's first district, as did Dr. Valdes in the second. Guerrero won by 2,029 votes over rival Nacionalista Rafael Del Pan with 1,114 and Dr. Valdes with a meager 917.⁴ Instead of voting for the pro-American Progresistas as expected, the Manila Americans either abstained or voted for the more personable Nacionalistas.

On the Spanish Bridge (right) shows Dr. Valdes attempting suicide into the Pasig River, a cruel reference to the Progresista Party's near dissolution in the wake of electoral disaster. Out of 74 Assembly seats, the Progresistas won only 16 to the Nacionalistas' 59. Writing to Secretary of War W.H. Taft three days after the election, Commissioner Benito Legarda, Dr. Valdes' father-in-law, reported that the Progresista Party Directorate had "proposed to disband the party in view of the little support given it by the [American colonial] government," a motion that was only narrowly defeated.⁵

The Greasy Pole of July 30th (next page) shows the outcome of the July Assembly elections in Manila's two districts. Grasping the ₱20.00 per diem salary and waving the American flag of victory (at the left) is the winning Nacionalista Fernando Ma. Guerrero. Below him Rafael Del Pan and Dr. Benito Valdes slip downward. On the right pole Dr. Dominador Gomez has defeated rival Nacionalista Dr. Justo Lukban and Progresista Roberto Moreno. (See page 360 for identification of figures).



LAS ULTIMAS ESCARAMUSAS
Mga huling paglalaban



LA CAMPAÑA ELECTORAL
Dahil sa halalan

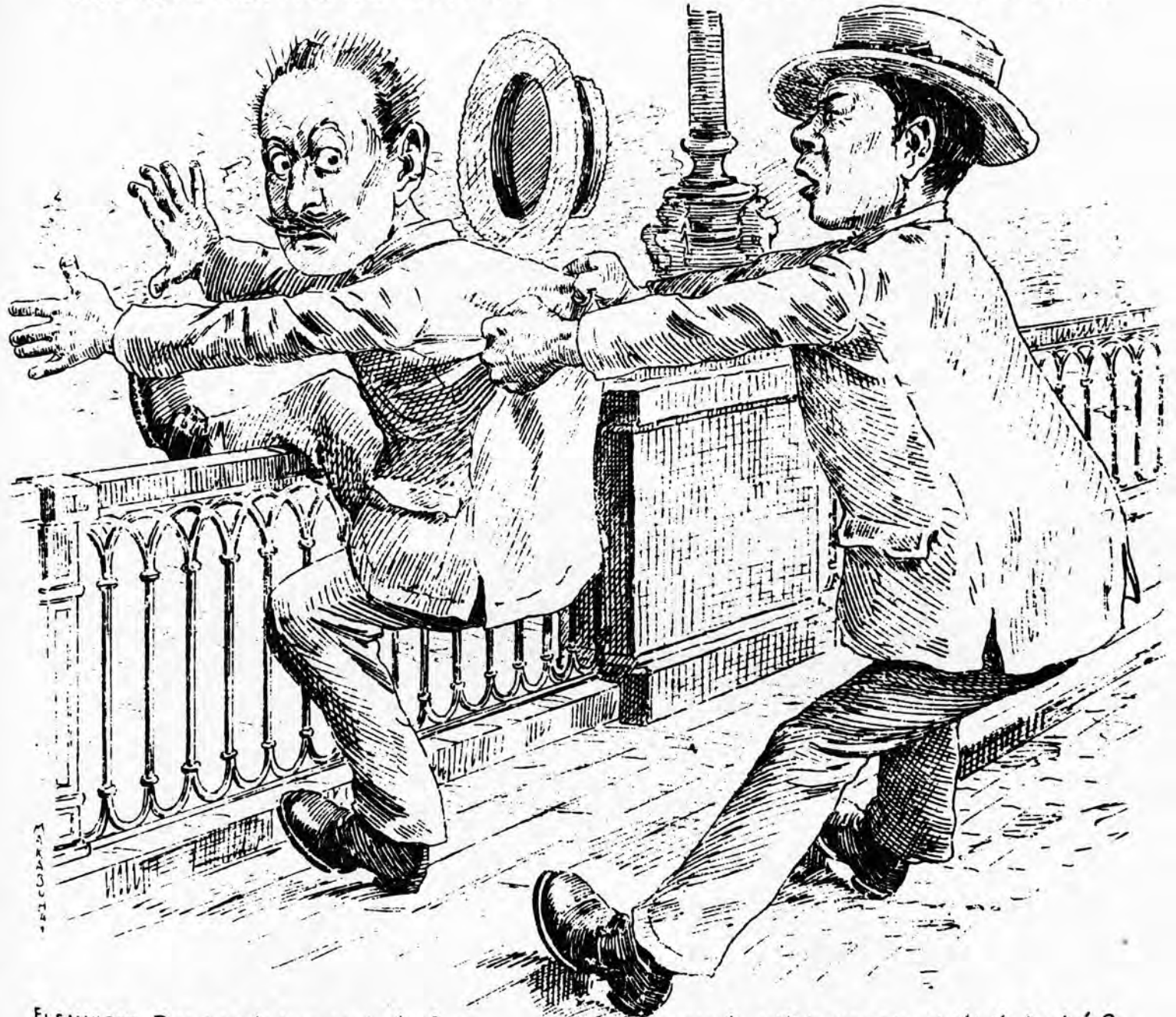
PRECIOS
 En Manila, 20 cént. número
 Envío a provincias, franco
 o porte, 25 cént. número

Año I. **SEMANARIO SATÍRICO** No 9

Dirijase la correspondencia
 a la calle Concepción nú-
 mero 42, Kiapo.

MANILA SABADO, 21 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1907.

EN EL PUENTE DE ESPAÑA. — SA TULAY NA MALAKI.



EL SALVADOR— Pero ¿ estás loco, compadre ?

EL OTRO — Loco de despecho, si: sudé, trabajé, luché, gasté
 dinero y me dieron un chasco en las elecciones.
 ; Quiero suicidarme!...

- Abán, kumpare! ; nalóloko ka na ba, at tatalón ka riyán?..

- Ah... anò páy nagkakaganitó na rin lamang!... lahát náy
 ginawá ko sa hálalang iyán ay kalabasa't kalabasa rin
 ang íginaganti sa akin!... Bitiwan mo akó" oras na itó...!

LAS CUCAÑAS DEL 30 DE JULIO
KUSKUS BALUNĠUS



Un curioso - ¡Que barbaridad! ¡Veinte pesos diarios!
Una del Parian - Más barbaridad el que ya gasta cualta y saliva y ya quedá kulálat.

-¡Que balbaridad, nakú!
-idalawampung piso araw araw!
-Lalo namang balbaridad ang magkagasta
ng salapi't laway al pagkatapos ay makulálat.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 10 August 1907)

MOCKINGLY TITLED "PROGRESISTA VOTERS," the cartoon plays upon the Progresista (formerly Federalista) Party's image of denigrating the capabilities of ordinary Filipinos. Although published in July 1907, the cartoon refers to an incident two years earlier in 1905 when Modesto Reyes (speaking at left) brought in new members from rural areas like San Francisco del Monte to tip the balance within the party to the "radical" Federalistas. With the support of the rural voters in the back row, Reyes was able to win passage

of a motion which rejected the party's U.S. statehood plank in favor of one advocating eventual independence.

After the vote went against him, party leader Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera complained bitterly about Reyes' recruitment of rural "uneducated" voters. Seated are Manila *Ilustrados* that typify the party's conservative leadership — (left to right) Francisco Ortigas, Arsenio Cruz Herrera, unidentified, and Jose Alemany. (See page 362 for identification of caricatures.)



ELECTORES PROGRESISTAS (Lipag Kalabaw, 27 July 1907)

El abogado oficial — Sr. Presidente reconozco que son del grupo de los torpes — internos — son de los nuestros.

El Presidente — pues admitidos.

Ang abogado oficial — Ginoong Presidente: nalalaman ko pong sila'y mga dungo, dapwa't ito'y sa atin atin na lamang, sila nama'y mga cawal natin.

Ang Presidente — kung gayon ay maaari na.

THE SHORT STOCKY SPEAKER (below) is Dr. Justo Lukban, one of the Nacionalista Party's two candidates in Manila's first district. With considerable prescience, the cartoon shows him saying "I am not the official candidate, but we shall see." Although defeated by Nacionalista rival Dominador Gomez, Lukban filed a technical objection to Gomez's victory on ground of citizenship and succeeded in unseating his rival after fratricidal intrigues inside the Assembly. After a special election was called, Gomez, an exceptionally popular labor leader, won easily.⁶

Dr. Lukban is one of the most remarkable and tenacious political figures of the early 20th century. A Bikol native, he graduated in medicine from the University of Santo Tomas and had built a thriving practice in Manila by the outbreak of the revolution in 1896. An ardent nationalist, he joined the revolution early and served in both the Hong Kong exile government and the Malolos Congress. Although Dr. Gomez eventually defeated him for Manila's first district seat, Dr. Lukban was later appointed Mayor of Manila and served with a memorable vigor and verve.⁷

The Elections (right) shows the leaders of the

Progresista Party roaring along towards an apparent victory in the 30 July 1907 elections for the First Philippine Assembly, scattering pedestrians and running over the figure of a young woman with a shape like that used to show Filipinas, the symbol of the nation. Riding in the passenger seat, Dr. Jose Alemany ("Dr. *Alimango*," or "Dr. Crab," a pun on his name) asks the driver, party president Arsenio Cruz Herrera, to slow down. President Herrera, however, speeds onward saying it is the only way to keep pace with the country.

This cartoon refers to the earlier in-party fighting over the change from the old Federalista Party's U.S. statehood position to the new Progresista Party's pro-independence platform. Like other "radical" Federalistas, President Herrera believed that public opinion was so strongly in favor of independence that the party had to change.

Showing the Progresistas in an automobile, then the very latest status symbol for wealthy Manilaños, is a sly dig at the affluence of the party's leaders riding in the back — Jose Albert, Modest Reyes, Gregorio Araneta, and Juan Sumulong. (See page 361 for identification of caricatures).



El doctor—Yo no soy candidato "oficial," pero veremos á la prueba.

Ang doctor—Akoy hindi kandidato "oficial," datapwat ugnan natin.

(Lipag Kalabaro, 3 August 1907)



LAS ELECCIONES

El Dr. Alimango. - Com padre, de...e dese pri...pri-
sa que el enfermo se se mu...muere

El Presidente. - ¡Silleta! Así estamos reventando al
pueblo

(Lipag Kalabaw, 27 July 1907)

Dr Alimango. Kum...kumpare, da...da da'i... kayo
at... at... at... manu...matay... na... ang... ang... may
sa...sakit.

Ang Jefe. - Diyabló! Sa ganya'y napipisan an tulo'y
ang bayan

DURING THE 1907 ASSEMBLY elections, the nationalist press grew partisan. The cartoon below shows Progresista Jose Alemany complaining: "Damn it, those firemen betrayed me in the last elections." During the July campaign, a Progresista rally was disrupted and party leaders called out Manila's firemen to control the unruly crowd, a task they failed to perform to Alemany's satisfaction.

The caricature (right) is an heroic portrait of the Nacionalista Party's candidate in Manila's second district, journalist Fernando Ma. Guerrero. As editor of the newspaper *El Renacimiento* in 1905, Guerrero had published a brilliant exposé of the "concentration camps" set up by the U.S. Constabulary in Cavite Province to break support for rebels led by Macario Sakay.

PRECIOS	Año i.. SEMANARIO SATÍRICO Nº 4.	Dirijase la correspondencia á la calle Concepción nú- mero 42, Kiapo.
En Manila, 20 cént. número. Envío a provincias, franco de porte. 25 cént. número.	MANILA, SABADO, 17 DE AGOSTO DE 1907.	



307-0

DON PEPE—¡Ca...ca...ca...ramba!... Estos pi...pi...
pi...caros bo...bo...bomberos me...me...me han traicio
na...na...do en las e...e...lecciones.

DOCTOR ALAMANG:—Go...go...gordenis!... Si...si
nal...sinalbahe akó na...na... nang mǵa bo... bom...be
rong itó sa ha...ha...hálalan.

BACOR CAVITE CAMPO DE RECONCENTRACION



MONOLOGO.

—Pero ¿cómo entenderán esos picarucos el patriotismo?

—¡Ah, si ahñándose al presupuesto

(Lipag Kalabaw, 27 July 1907)

MUNIMUNI.

Anó caya ang palagay ng mga tungák na iyan sa kagitingan?

Ah, siya nga palá, makikain ng basabasa

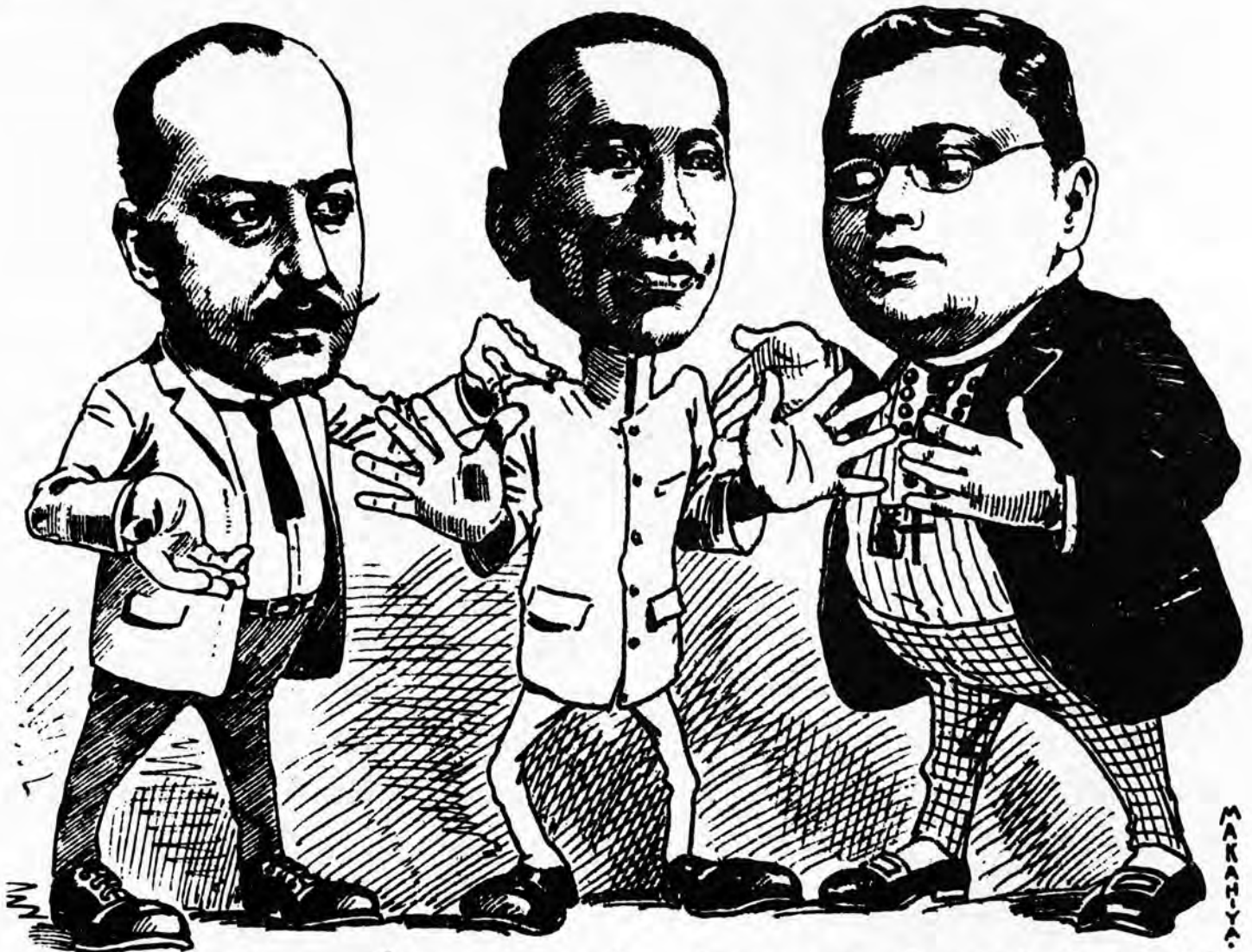
PUBLISHED DURING THE WEEK of the first Assembly elections on 30 July 1907, these two cartoons from the nationalist weekly *Lipang Kalabaw* attack the Progresista Party's candidates for Manila.

The formally attired pedestrian (right) is Roberto Moreno, Progresista candidate for Manila's first district who strolls alone like a street vendor shouting "Here I am!" And the spectators at the window respond in derision: "Here comes the man who thinks Filipinos incapable." The barb refers to the earlier support of the Progresistas for U.S. statehood on grounds of Filipino incapacity for self-government.

The gesticulating trio (below) depicts the debate among rival candidates in Manila's second district over the friar lands question. In the center the independent nationalist Pablo Ocampo is saying: "I don't know, I don't know. The question is a bit difficult." Nacionalista candidate Rafael Del Pan insists: "Perish the principles, and save the religious corporations."

The exchange refers to the debate then raging over the friar lands and the controversy over Del Pan's role in their disposition. Angered at the abuses of the friars under the Spanish regime, nationalists favored outright confiscation of the vast religious estates. Although a protestant, the first U.S. Governor-General W.H. Taft was convinced both that Catholicism should remain the Filipino faith *and* that the friar lands had to be returned to the Filipinos. After hard bargaining with Vatican representatives at Rome and Manila, Taft finally purchased 410,000 acres, home to 60,000 tenants, for \$7.23 million in December 1903.⁸

During the negotiations and afterwards, the colonial government retained the law firm Del Pan, Ortigas & Fisher to advise on the validity of titles and other matters. As senior partner and founder of the firm with the American attorney Frederick C. Fisher, Del Pan, himself a Spanish creole, played a key role in the land sale which many nationalists felt was scandalously generous to the friars.⁹



El del centro.— ¡ No sé, no sé!... Es un poco pe-
liagudo.

Los otros dos.— ¡ Perezcan los principios y sal-
vense las corporaciones."

Ang nasagítñâ — ¡ Aywan ko ba, Aywan ko ba!.....
Iyan eh may pagkang'anib.

Ang dalawang katabi.— Magsilubog ang mga tun-
tunin at malingtas ang mga pari.

(*Lipang Kalabaw*, 3 August 1907)



El "interfecto"—; Aquí estoy yo!
 El público —; Paso al mantenedor de
 la incapacidad filipina!

Si Moreno—; Náririto akó, señores!
 Ang público—; Paraanin ninyo iyáng
 tagapagpatibay n̄g kawalāng-kaya n̄g pilipino

(Lipag Kalabaw, 3 August 1907)



Los Candidatos (a tempo)—¡ Señor, Señor! ¿ por que nos has abandonado en las urnas?
 El Cristo—¡ Paciencia y barajar, hijos míos ! Otra vez no os metáis en camisas electorales de once varas—Mi rei no no es de este mundo—

Ang dalawang kandidato--(Sabay)--¡ Poon Poon!
 ¿ bakit mo kami pinabayaan nayan sa loob ng Urna?
 Si Cristo--Kumindat kayo sa dilim, mga anak ko
 ¡ Uli uli huwag na kayong maglilinkot at nang di na-
 kahinipò ng.....

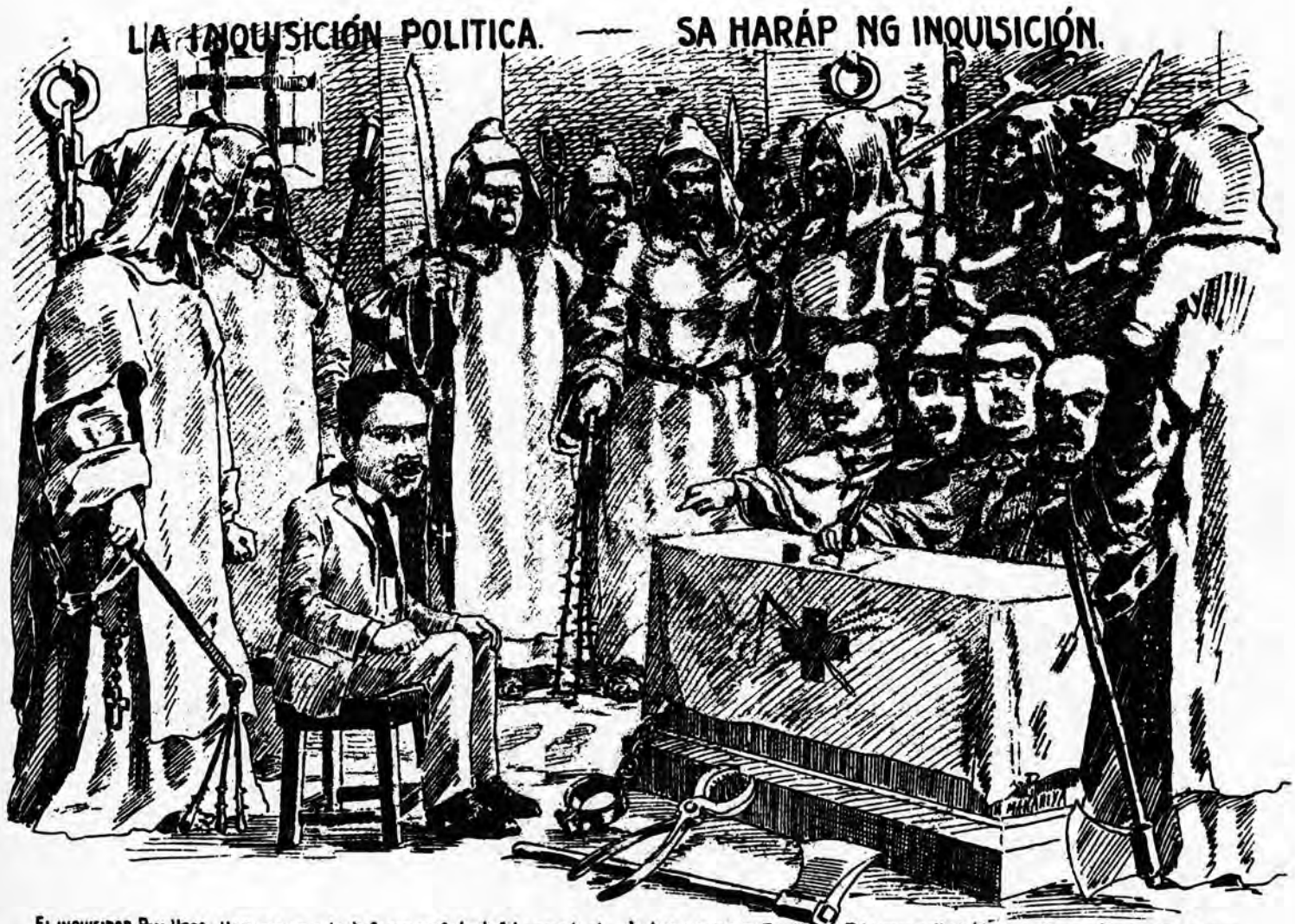
(Lipag Kalabaw, 3 August 1907)

IN ITS VICTORY the Nacionalista Party press was not inclined to generosity. The weekly *Lipag Kalabaw*, for example, reserved its strongest criticisms for the *Centro Catolico's* candidates for Manila's two seats in the 1907 Assembly elections. Shown after their humiliating defeat, the two candidates (left) pray: "Lord, Lord, why have you forsaken us at the ballot boxes?" And Christ answers: "Patience and play your card, my sons. In the future do not put yourselves in the garb of candidates. My kingdom is not of this world."

The Political Inquisition (below) portrays the May 1907 split within the Manila branch of the infant Nacionalista Party. As a fusion of a number of early splinter groups, the Manila wing was prone to internecine faction fighting. Three months before the July elections, the Directorate, shown here as hooded inquisitors, selected its candidates and Fernando Ma. Guerrero, shown seated on a stool, claimed that his faction had been "frozen out." Meeting without any representation from Guerrero's influential faction, the Directorate selected Rafael Del Pan (left end of the table) and Dr. Dominador Gomez (next to Del Pan) as party candidates for Manila's two seats.

The entire process was marked by bitter acrimony. During one of the party meetings, Del Pan angrily confronted those who had protested his selection and called them traitors. In retaliation, Guerrero's supporters in the Tondo, Trozo and San Nicolas branches accused official candidates, Del Pan and Gomez, of being usurpers.

Unwilling to accept such a dubious selection process, Guerrero and his ally ran as independent candidates in Manila's two seats. The intra-party faction fighting was so intense that observers were surprised when the two Progresista candidates still finished third behind both Nacionalistas. In the second district Guerrero, a popular hero through his militant editorship of the nationalist newspaper *El Renacimiento*, defeated Del Pan by 2,029 votes to 1,114. Although the official candidate, Dr. Gomez, won the first district seat, his combative rival Dr. Lukban filed a protest in the National Assembly on technical grounds and pursued it until Gomez was unseated. The dispute was finally settled in a special election in which Gomez, a popular labor leader, won easily.¹⁰



EL INQUISIDOR PAN-URGO—Hagamos un auto de fe con ese "súcubo": ha negado el dogma santo de nuestra... infalibilidad y superioridad.

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 21 September 1907)

ANG INQUISIDOR PAN-URGO—Pahirapan natin iyát ng maalis ang dimonyo sa katawan. Kung bakit ayawkumilala sa ating... pagkahari at Kapangyarihan.

DOMINADOR GOMEZ WAS PERHAPS the most controversial political leader of the early American period. Cosmopolitan, bohemian and nationalistic, Dr. Gomez and his career were the sum of its contradictions.

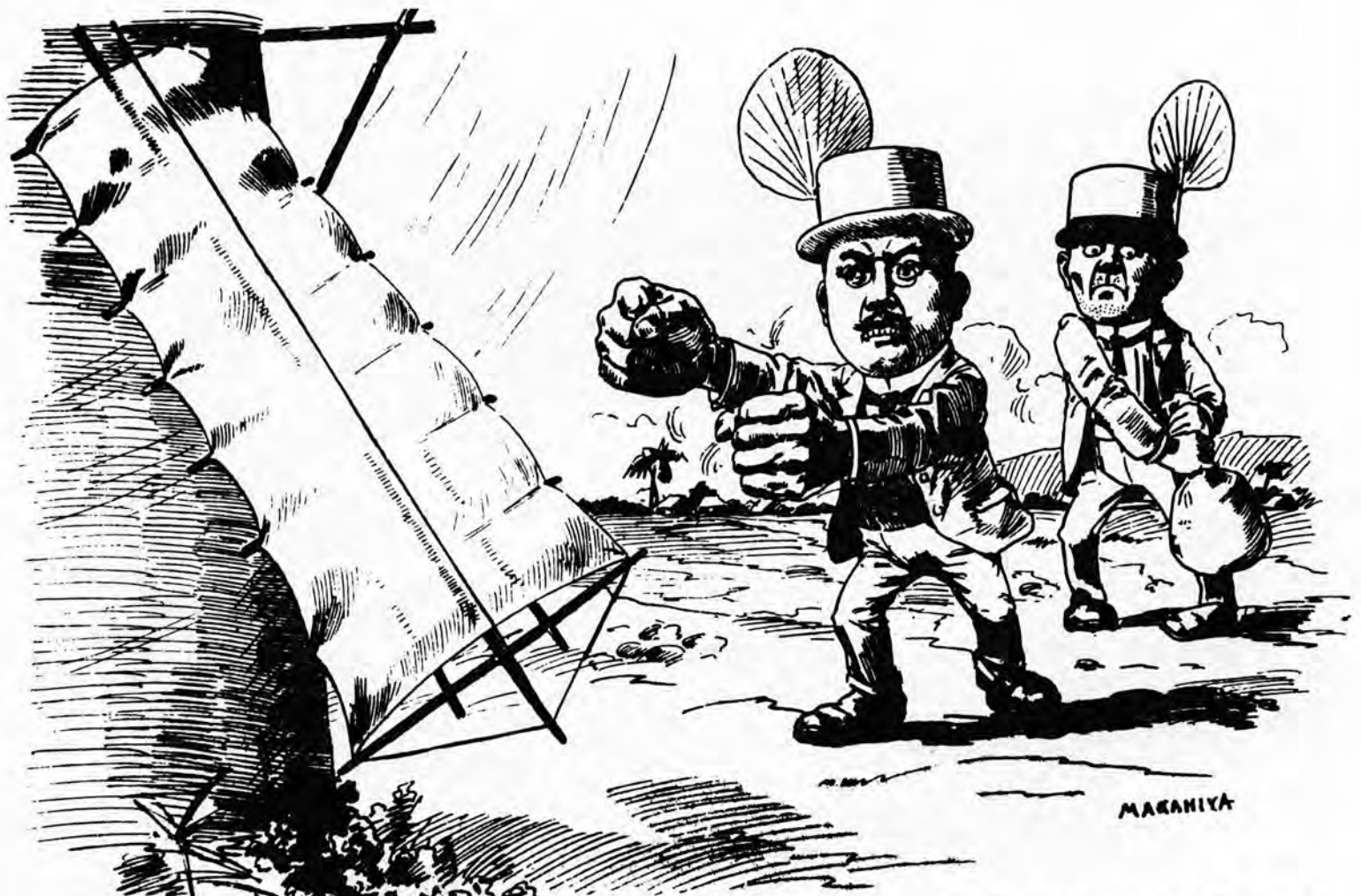
Born in Manila in 1866, he left for Madrid as a young man to complete his medical studies. During the late 1880s, he was one of the most active propagandists in Madrid's Filipino colony and was a regular contributor to the nationalist newspaper *La Solidaridad*.¹¹

After graduation, Gomez joined the Spanish Army medical corps in 1895 and served in Cuba during the suppression of the nationalist revolution and the Spanish-American War. While still in the Spanish Army, Gomez was a regular contributor to Isabelo de los Reyes' nationalist magazine *Filipinas Ante Europa* and later worked as co-editor.

Arriving in Manila in October 1901, de los Reyes became involved with Fr. Gregorio Aglipay in the preliminary organization of the Philippine Independent Church and also founded the country's first labor union, the *Union Obrera Democratica*. Dr. Gomez followed in February 1902 and soon was de los Reyes' collaborator in both enterprises. In September Gomez succeeded de los Reyes as president of the *Union Obrera*.¹²

Devoting all his energies to the union, Gomez reorganized it into a mass mutual-welfare society and nationalist organization, in effect a means of extending the independence movement to the mass. Enormously popular because of the free medical services he provided members, Dr. Gomez forged the union into a major political force within a few months. On 1 May 1903 he launched the country's first May Day demonstration. An estimated 100,000 workers surged through the streets of Manila shouting "Down with American Imperialism," "We Demand the Eight Hour Working Day." American troops with fixed bayonets were called out to prevent demonstrators from breaking into Malacañang Palace. Several weeks later Manila police raided Gomez's home and he was later sentenced to four years imprisonment for sedition, a conviction eventually overturned by the Supreme Court.¹³

Hounded by the U.S. authorities and eventually sentenced to hard labor in prison, Gomez withdrew from the union and shifted his attention to politics. One of the founders of the Nacionalista Party in 1906, Gomez won the official party nomination for Manila's first district in May 1907. Published the week of the elections, *Lipag Kalabaw's* cartoon (below) shows him as the combative Malayan



El Quijote malayo—No temo á la muerte y espero vencerla. ¡La "fuerza" es la vida y la política.....en el teatro Rizal!

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 3 August 1907)

Ang Quijote malayo—Hindi ako natatakot sa kamatayan at inasahan kong siyay talunin. Ang "lakas" ay siyang buhay at ang politika ay.....ang inasal ko sa dulaang "Rizal."

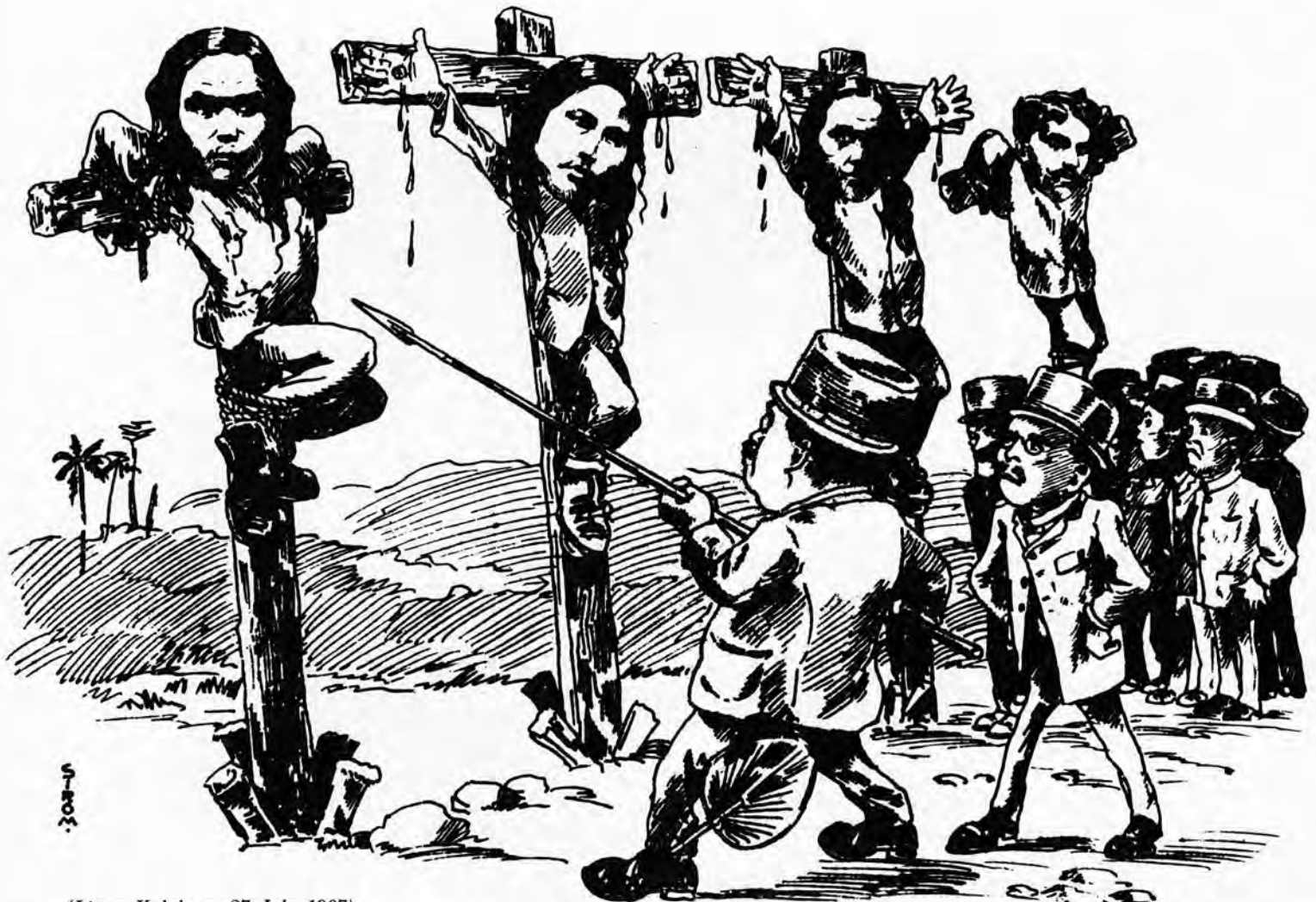
Quixote saying: "I am not afraid of death and hope to defeat it! Force is life and politics — in Rizal Theater". Although Gomez's popularity as a labor leader and doctor gave him an easy win over his intra-party rival, Dr. Justo Lukban, the latter managed to unseat him by filing a technical protest in the National Assembly that Gomez was still a Spanish citizen.

The protest and counter-protest dragged on for months and degenerated into political melodrama. Although admired for his nationalist ardor, many Assemblymen disapproved of his morals. Rafael Palma described him as "something of a pagan in his mode of living" and expressed distaste at his open romances with young women despite his marriage. Over Gomez's protests that he would be carried dead from the chamber first, the Assembly voted to call a new election which Gomez won easily.¹⁴

The Candidate Longinus (below) shows Gomez as the Roman soldier spearing the Christ-like national martyrs of Macario Sakay's rebel forces in July 1906, a reference to the most disgraceful incident in his long political career. Since the American colonial government refused to allow the first Assembly elections until order was fully restored, Gomez sought permission to arrange the surrender of Sakay, the

most active of the remaining guerilla leaders in the Cavite-Batangas area. Although Commerce and Police Secretary Cameron Forbes thought Gomez an "unmitigated scalawag," he consented after making it completely clear that Gomez had no authority to promise the rebels any conditions.¹⁵ In a letter dated 2 July, Constabulary Colonel H.H. Bandholtz wrote to Gomez: the government cannot offer, negotiate or talk of conditions with any leader or band of brigands. . . . Although he promised Bandholtz that "no conditions of any sort shall be offered," Gomez then gave Sakay written promises of a complete amnesty as a condition of his surrender.¹⁶

Bearing Gomez's written promises, Sakay and his men surrendered on 4 July and were arrested two weeks later. The cartoon shows the rebels Macario Sakay, Leon Villafuerte, Lucio De Vega and Julian Montalan being crucified by Gomez's betrayal. After trial on charges of rebellion, Sakay and his aide De Vega were sentenced to death and died with a Christ-like dignity on the gallows.¹⁷ Despite his popular identification as Longinus from the Tagalog passion play who spears the crucified Christ, Gomez won a seat in the First Assembly elections and remained a popular figure in Manila politics for another decade.



(Lipag Kalabaw, 27 July 1907)

El Candidato Longinos

Si Candidato Longinos



BAGONG QUIJOTE EL BURRO DEL P. GIL

Ang nakasakay — Pag ganitong nakaborriko ako ay di ko kinatatakutan ang kamatayan, kahi't pakitang may anyong sakay.

Ang borriko — Kay ganda ko palang lalaki, pag si Doctor ang aking dala. Kungdi lamang sa mahahabakong taynga ay ipagkakamali na ako sa kabayo ni Santiago.

El ginete — Arre borriquito, que ya estamos cerca Te aguarda una buena digestión.

El pollina — ¿Quien me tose á mi teniendo este amo: Si ro fuera asno, me llamarían el caballo de Santiago. Pero estas orejas me denuncion como el borriko de Fr. Variano Gill.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 4 April 1908)

DESPISED BY BOTH RADICAL Filipino nationalists and American colonials, Dr. Dominador Gomez's political career went into decline after 1907. For five years after his return from political exile in Spain in 1902, his charisma and combatativeness made him the hero of the Filipino left. Allied with Isabelo de los Reyes, he was a director of the Philippine Independent Church, president of the country's first major labor union, and a leading figure in the Nacionalista Party.

After the scandal of his betrayal of guerilla leader Macario Sakay in June 1906 (previous page) leaked out, radical Nacionalistas began to turn against him. Although elected to the First Philippine Assembly in July 1907, Gomez was unseated after rival Nacionalista candidate Dr. Justo Lukban filed a protest that he was not technically a Filipino citizen. Ousted from the Assembly in 1907, Gomez worked for over a year denouncing Lukban and campaigning for a special election which he eventually won.

Published in 1908 when the electoral controversy was at its height, these two cartoons from *Lipag Kalabaw* typify the radical nationalist attacks on Gomez. **The New Quijote and Fr. Gil's Burro** (left) uses an obscure metaphor to deliver a clear message. The New Quijote is, of course, Gomez shown with his usual fan astride a burro labelled J.T.S., Nacionalista Party politician Jose T. Santiago. During the

intra-party faction fight of May 1907 over nominations for Manila's two Assembly seats, Dr. Gomez's ally, Rafael Del Pan, had attacked the opposing faction as traitors. Speaking for the rival Fernando Ma. Guerrero faction, Santiago had protested the attack and accused Gomez of being the traitor.

The bag carries the label "30 Sueldos Fr. M. Gil," a veiled reference to the accusation of the Nacionalista Popular Club of Tondo that Gomez had agreed to work his "infamous attraction" on the rebel leader Macario Sakay for a P30,000 reward from the Americans. The label equates the American reward with the 30 pieces of silver Judas Iscariot received from the Romans for the betrayal of Christ. And it compares Gomez to the infamous Fr. Mariano Gil, former parish priest of Tondo, who betrayed the *Katipunan*, the revolutionary secret society, in 1896.

David and Goliath (below) portrays Ramon Diokno's election as councilor for the Manila North district in 1908 as a stunning rebuke for Dr. Gomez. Through his free clinic and labor activities, Gomez had built up a strong following in the working class districts north of the Pasig River. Running in opposition to the powerful Gomez faction in Manila North, Diokno had faced an uphill battle and his victory was thus a major upset — to the delight of anti-Gomez elements within the Nacionalista Party.



David y Goliath

DIOKNO — A este gigante le derribo yo.
GOMEZ. — ¡Diablos! Este pickinini me va a reventar! Desde David acá cuantos gigantes vencidos por enanos!

Goliath — (Akalain ko bang ang paslit na ito ay mag-pangalóg ng mga tuhod ko ngayón)...

David — Ang maliit ang nakakápung ang sukat mong akalain, hambóg na higante! Hawak ko na itong *enkatado* mong paypay; tambá un ang iyóng *Lakas*... Ha! ha! ha!...

(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 29 August 1908)

A RATHER UNFAIR CARICATURE of the three Filipinos appointed to the Philippine Commission by Governor-General W.H. Taft — (left to right) Jose Luzuriaga, a wealthy Negros sugar planter; Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, wealthy Manilaño and Federalista Party president; and Benito Legarda, Manila landowner and Taft's close personal friend. Showing them with women's dress and

nicknames, *Lipang Kalabaw* implies that they, like the Federalista Party, are Taft's political mistresses.

The Philippines in Washington (right) shows the two Filipino resident commissioners, Benito Legarda and Pablo Ocampo, with the Collector of Internal Revenue John Hord in December 1907 as they set out from Manila to represent the colony's interests in Washington, D.C.

PRECIOS	AÑO I. SEMANARIO SATIRICO Nº 13	Dirijase la correspondencia á la calle Concepción número 42, Kiapo.
En Manila, 20 cent. número. Envío á provincias, franco de porte, 25 cent. número.	MANILA, SABADO, 19 DE OCTUBRE. DE 1907.	

LAS TRES HIJAS DE...TAFT.

ANG TATLONG ANÁK NI TAFT



Tres eran tres
las hijas de Taft,
tres eran tres
y ninguna es gentil ni popular....

Tatlo silá, tatlo siláng
mãa anak na dalaga
ng bantog na si Mr. Tapa;
ngunit ni isang maganda'y
walà kayong makikita

FILIPINAS EN WASHINGTON. — ANG TATLONG NAG SI YAO.



Coro
Los tres, los tres,
no hay tres artistas
como estos tres.

Ilong Legarda
ofrecera
ramos de flores
a Mr. Taft.

Pablito Ocampo
presentara
nuestras demandas
y... nada mas

Como es sabido,
el colector
cobrara siempre....
que es lo mejor.

(Con musica de Escamilla)

SI LEGARDA—Pagdating ko roon ay aking isasapayan
agad ng **papa'** ko ang mga bulaklak na ito.

SI OCAMPO—Muag ko lamang malilimutan ang mga bilin sa
akin ay hindi na maghihinayang ang Pilipinas
sa ₱ 14,000....

SI HORD—Kahit naman saan kami dumating ay siem-
pre akó ang makalalamang....at tingnan kung hindi.

(Lipag Kalabaw, 28 December 1907)

FLAILING AWAY WITH THEIR NETS, Assemblyman Pedro Paterno and Governor Juan Cailles of Laguna Province, southeast of Manila, seem to be battling the locust plagues that ravaged rice crops during the early American period. Many of the locusts in the foreground are wearing the round hats of Spanish friars or the helmets of *conquistadores*, a clear reference to the battle over the church estates.

Initially acquired in the 16th and 17th centuries to feed the Spanish colony in Manila, the friar estates grew steadily until they held a near monopoly on agricultural lands in some provinces. Second only to Cavite, Laguna Province had 62,172 acres of friar lands, holdings so extensive that the Taft report of 1900 described it as "virtually an estate." In the four Tagalog provinces near Manila friar estates

represented an average of 48 percent of total arable area. In Cavite Province, with a total of 121,747 acres, they reached a remarkable 82 percent of agricultural lands.

During negotiations with the Vatican in 1902, Taft agreed to purchase 410,000 acres of friar lands for \$7.23 million in gold. By way of recompense for this generous price, the Vatican agreed to withdraw the Spanish friars from the Philippines and therein invest most of the \$7.23 million.¹⁸ Although settlement was announced in December 1903, complications over friar influence, final sale of their lands and recognition of legitimate tenants dragged on for years. Thus, in 1908 when this cartoon was published the friar lands question was still very much an issue in Laguna, Cavite, Rizal and Bulacan provinces.



(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 9 May 1908)

— A estos bichos destructores hay que cazarlos así.
 — Cierto, una red es mejor que una ley.
 — Pues usemos redes y leyes, antes de que nos coman toda la cosecha.

— Ang mgā hayop na itó ay dapat ubusin.
 — Siya ngā, pagka't malakas umubos ng pananim. Kapurhán natin sa mata ng Diyos ang magligpit sa mgā walong. . . . hiwang ito!

LIKE A TEACHER CHIDING bad little boys, Juan de la Cruz chastises the failed Catholic candidates in the August 1908 elections for Manila's Municipal Board. Among the several Catholic candidates, only one, Enrique Mendiola, was elected to the four elective posts in the eight-member board. Shown weeping from shame are Miguel Velasco (bald with beard and scapulary), Mariano Monroy (second from right), and Tomas Arguelles (in cassock-like skirt at right). Juan chastises them for not joining one of the two main parties, the "red" or the "white." Since they took support from the Church instead of the red or white, then they must eat red

and white squash, *calabasa*, the Tagalog symbol for failure.

These elections were the first for Manila's Board. Until 1908 both the Municipal Board and its representative Advisory Board were appointed. After several years of running conflict between the two bodies, the Philippine Commission passed a new municipal act in July 1908 providing for an eight-man board with three appointed members, four elected and the city engineer sitting *ex officio*. This structure survived only ten years until passage of the Revised Administrative Code of 1917 which created an entirely elective board of 10 members.¹⁹



(*Lipag Kalabaw*, 29 August 1908)

LOS NIÑOS INDEPENDIENTES

—Lo teneis bien merecido. No teneis aún para sacudir la patria potestad. ¡Y quereis ser candidatos independientes! De hoy en adelante no saldréis a la calle sin programa ni leaders.

—Mabuti sa iyóoo!. . . . Hindi kayó *pulá*, hindi kayó *puté*; *nguni't* ibig ninyóng makadisgracia ng boto ng mga *mapula't mapute*. . . . Kung ganyan ngang pakanin kayó ng *kalabasang pulá* at *kalabasang pute*? . . .

WITH THESE CARTOONS and others, *The Independent's* battling publisher Vicente Sotto filed salvos of derision against the coalition of opposition parties in 1916 and 1917. In the years following its crushing defeat in the 1907 Assembly elections, the Progresista Party, suffering from the stigma of its popular association with the old pro-American Federalista Party, weakened to the point that it was no longer an effective opposition.

In 1914, however, opposition to Speaker Sergio Osmeña's conservative dominion over the ruling Nacionalista Party erupted in revolt when Teodore Sandiko, a revolutionary general and influential party leader in Bulacan, broke away to form a radical opposition. Known popularly as the Terceristas, or Third Party, Sandiko's group launched sharp attacks through its paper *Consolidacion*, edited by Pedro Gil, on the Nacionalista Party's betrayal of first principles.

The June 1916 Assembly elections were an opposition disaster. Of the 90 seats, the Nacionalistas won 75, the Progresistas 7 and the Terceristas only 2. As the October

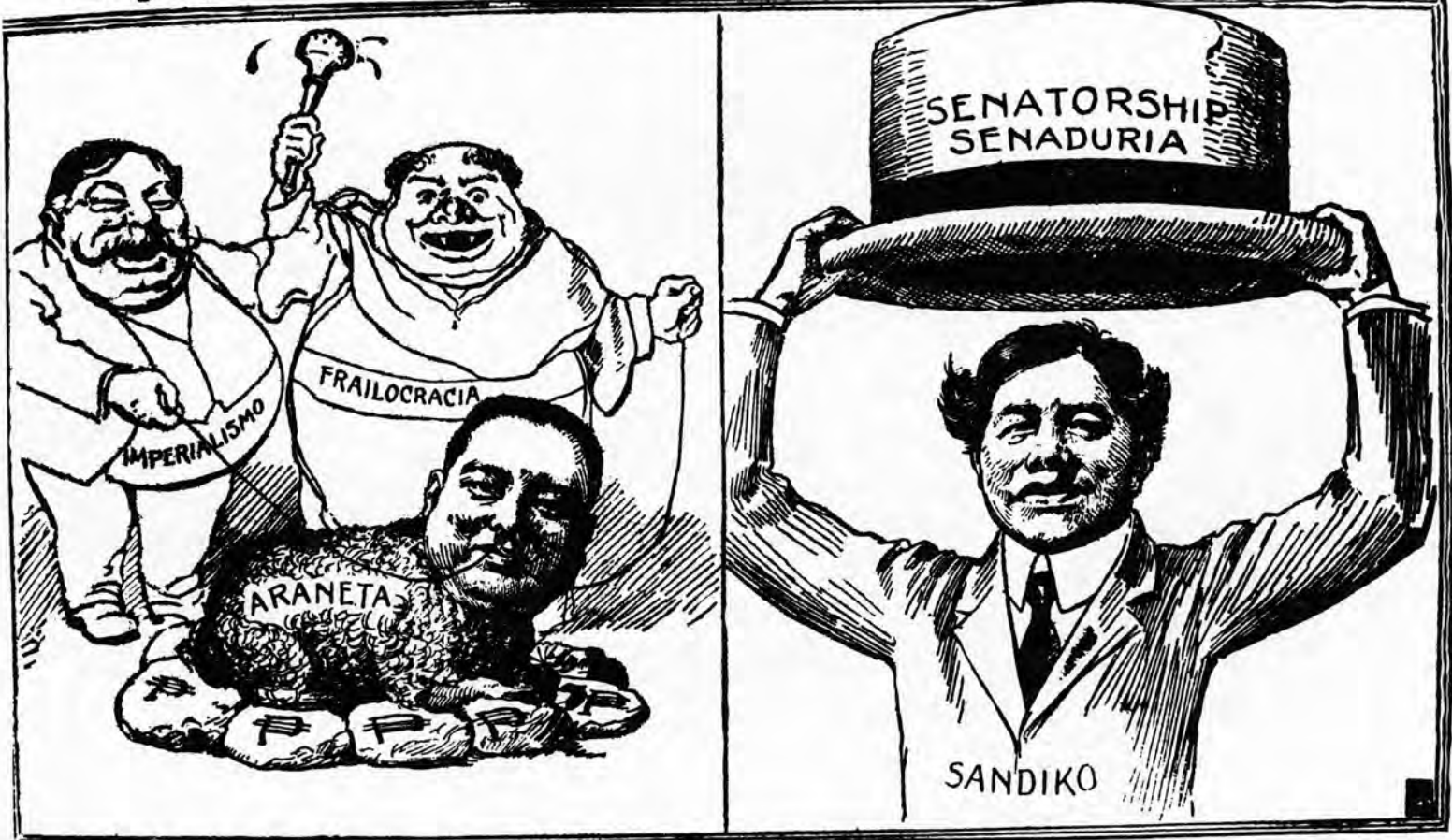
elections for the First Philippine Senate approached, the two opposition parties were forced to mount a combined ticket, thus producing a coalition senatorial slate of extreme nationalist radicals and genuine conservatives.

In its cartoon **Goyo, The Patriot** (below), *The Independent* mocks this marriage of convenience. It wonders how a radical revolutionary like Sandiko can ally with an arch reactionary like Gregorio Araneta. While serving as solicitor general under Governor-General W.H. Taft (1901-04), shown as "imperialismo" with mustachios, and his conservative successors, Araneta testified for the prosecution in the libel case Dean C. Worcester filed against the nationalist newspaper *El Renacimiento* and defended the Spanish friars right to reoccupy their parishes.

The combined opposition Senate ticket was, in fact, a disaster. Of the 22 Senators elected, 21 belonged to the ruling Nacionalista Party. Faced with a choice between alliance or extinction, the Terceristas and Progresistas fused into a new party called the *Partido Democrata* in April 1917.²⁰

Goyo, the patriot...

Too big for him



(*The Independent*, 16 September 1916)

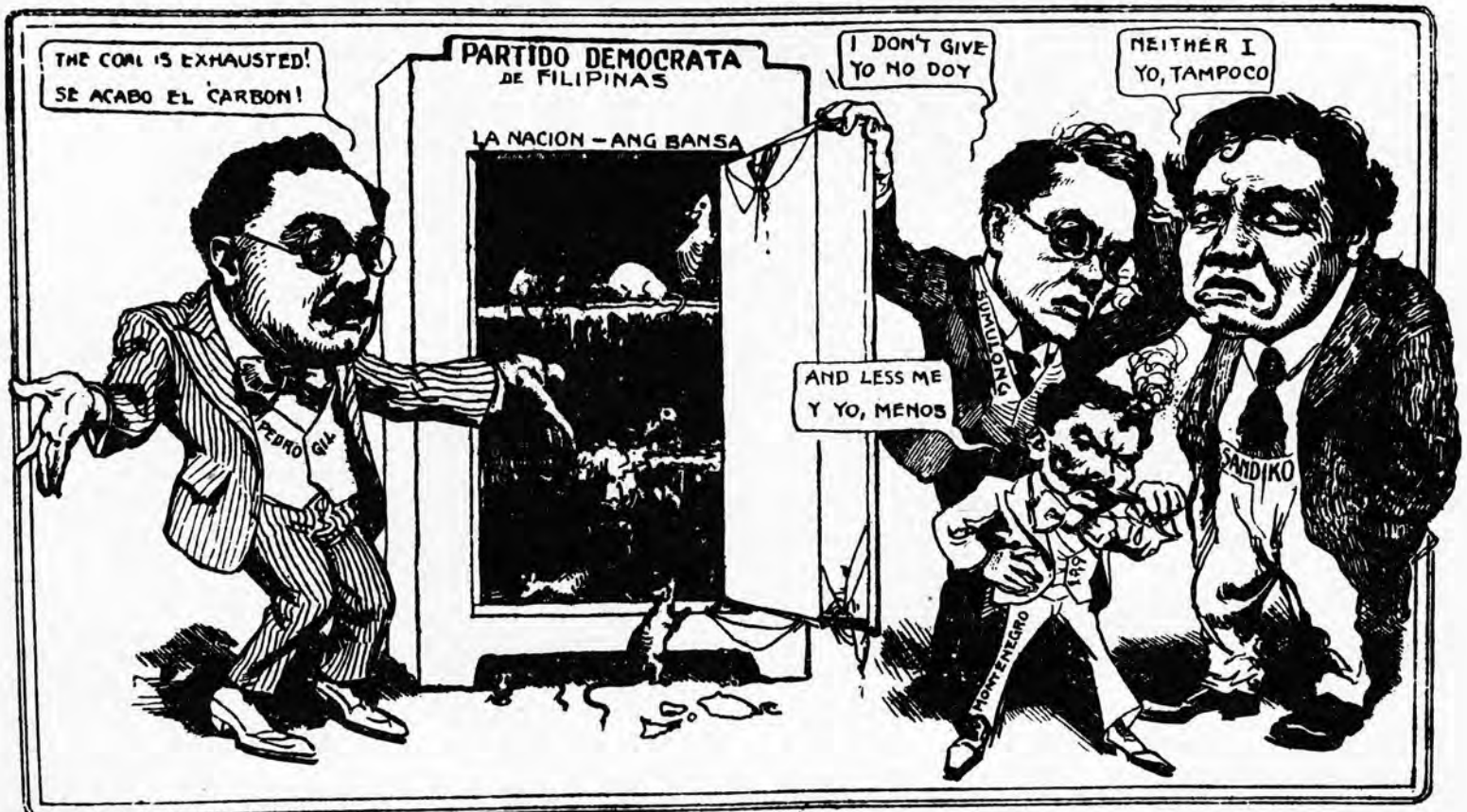
(Dibujo de F. Amorsolo.)

FOUNDED IN APRIL 1917, the new opposition group, the *Partido Democrata*, was on the verge of bankruptcy by May. As a fusion of the conservative Progresista Party and the radical Tercerista group, the new party faced a difficult ideological and financial merger. The financial crisis first manifested itself in the operations of the party's newspaper, *La Nacion*. Originally launched as *Consolidacion* for the Terceristas in 1914, its editor, Pedro Gil, simply renamed the paper three years later and merged it into the new party. Within weeks, *La Nacion's* funds were exhausted and Gil had resigned with his two senior reporters.

The cartoon shows editor Gil standing before *La Nacion's* empty coffers shrugging in resignation. To the right stand the Democrata Party's impecunious leaders — Teodoro Sandiko, revolutionary general and radical nationalist; Juan Sumulong, leader of the Progresista Party faction; Antonio Montenegro, another nationalist and revolutionary hero.

Although the crisis was ultimately resolved and the Democratas remained the opposition party for another 15 years, the incident was an omen of its future fortunes. Its rhetoric was moving and its leaders often brilliant, but the Democrata Party never mustered sufficient means, either money or patronage, to mount a serious challenge to Nacionalista dominion. After a steady erosion of its support, the Democrata Party convention finally voted overwhelmingly to dissolve the party in early 1932.

The New Party in a Crisis



(*The Independent*, 19 May 1917)

(Dibujo de Fernando Amorsolo.)

AN EMERGING NATION

THE CARTOONISTS WERE, above all else, passionate nationalists. But for them and their editors it was not enough that the Philippines should simply become independent. Not only should the nation be free of American domination, it should also be free of ignorance, injustice, inequality and corruption. Although they might hold their fire over partisan politics, they were relentless advocates of what they saw as the interests of an emerging nation. As if judges sitting in the court of history, the cartoonists summoned even the most powerful politicians for trial by caricature or sentence by satire when their failings threatened the nation's future. Insisting that public office was a public trust, the cartoonists condemned all — whether legislator, labor leader, senator, or civil servant — who let their hypocrisy or pride blind them to their true mission.

During the early decades of American rule, the cartoonists were concerned that the Philippines should forge a culturally diverse, geographically disparate colony into a unified nation. A 1908 cartoon in the nationalist weekly *Lipag Kalabaw* (page 314) chided the Catholic secondary schools for their anti-national abstention from the memorial services for the martyred patriot José Rizal. As this cartoon indicates, many artists had an implicit vision of the Philippines as a corporatist state that could accommodate all Filipinos as participating citizens regardless of race, gender or culture. Such unity would, they felt, be impossible, unless everyone accepted a secular, nationalist ideology as their paramount loyalty. Cartoons insisted that *mestizos* and *morenos* (brown) should be equal, women should not vote until educated away from submission to Catholic clerics, and the Igorots must accept national unification (pages 316-17).

On the question of independence itself, the cartoonists reserved their harshest judgements not for American imperialists but for Filipino nationalists. A 1919 cartoon published in *The Independent* (page 315) shows the Filipino politician as two-faced, proclaiming support for "immediate independence" to a jubilant Juan and then telling a confused American official that he does not really want it.

By the time independence approached in the early 1930s, after three decades of compromise and collaboration, it was no longer the shining vision of a nimbus-shrouded maiden Filipinas rising to the heavens. Instead, it was a pathetic figure mauled by political haggling and bound by terms and conditions (page 347). When the U.S. Congress finally approved an independence act in 1933, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, it became mired in Filipino factional politics. Sadly disappointed in their performance, one cartoonist showed leaders Quezon and Osmeña paddling a tiny ship of state preoccupied with their bickering

while Destiny, in all its majesty, stretches out its arms upon the horizon (page 353).

Once an autonomous Commonwealth was finally established in 1935, its security was threatened by the prospect of Japanese invasion (pages 342-43). Although President Quezon toyed with the idea of neutrality, it was an impossibility. As home to major U.S. military bases, the Philippines would inevitably be drawn into any Japanese-American conflict. On the eve of war in 1941, a *Free Press* cartoon hailed the embrace of the American alliance by showing Japan's General Tojo surrounded by the allies (page 356) and Defence Secretary Sison in Roman battle gear proclaiming defiance (page 355). In its final prewar issue, the *Free Press* cartoon showed Uncle Sam on a battlefield proudly embracing an American and Filipino soldier, tribute to their heroic and hopeless resistance to the Japanese invasion. Baptized in blood and fire, the Philippine-American relationship would emerge from the war as an enduring feature of Filipino political life (page 358).

The cartoonists were constant critics of bureaucrats and legislators, damning them as traitors of the public interest and exploiters of the mass. In their scramble for the spoils of office, politicians damaged the nation and duped the voters. A 1931 *Free Press* cartoon shows Juan outraged as mischievous candidates cover the handsome figure of Dame Filipinas with mud (page 341). Other cartoons portray the Legislature in session as corrupt, hypocritical, pompous and self-serving.

If legislators were hypocrites, then bureaucrats were, at best, spineless parasites. In 1931 *Free Press* artist Pereira drew a striking caricature of **The Bureaucrat, Modern Style** as an utterly cynical self-maximizer (page 336). When Senator Quezon introduced the Reorganization Act a year later to reduce the bureaucracy, the *Free Press* published an almost jeering cartoon showing a bloated civil servant being pushed into a boiling cauldron "reducing bath" (page 346).

Nothing strained the hyperbolic capacities of the medium more than the Philippine National Bank scandal of the early 1920s. Established as a national development bank with a largely Filipino staff and directors in 1916, the PNB made political loans to Nacionalista Party cronies and brought the country's economy to the brink of collapse. As the astronomical losses mounted and the PNB's Filipino president retired to prison, Filipino prestige suffered a major blow and independence was delayed for at least a decade. At the height of the scandal, cartoonists showed Quezon and Osmeña taking bribes from cronies, milking cronies and crucifying cronies (pages 320-26).

IN DECEMBER 1919 THE U.S. Navy's recent announcement that it would expand its Philippine base installations made independence an even more distant prospect. When General Emilio Aguinaldo declared the Republic in 1898, the sun of independence cast its strong rays across the land. Only two years later, however, the sun began to recede when Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera and his Federalista Party campaigned for U.S. statehood for the Philippines. Pardo de Tavera is shown trying to attach a Philippine star labelled "federation" to the American flag. Under the reign of the nominally nationalistic Nacionalista Party, the sun has receded behind storm clouds and Juan requires a spy glass to even catch a glimpse of its rays.

The sun used as the cartoon's central image was the revolution's most evocative symbol. A sun with stylized rays decorated the early Katipunan flags, the national flag and revolutionary postage stamps, municipal seals and military

banners. Often drawn as in the cartoon, or even more pronounced, the rays symbolize *liwanag*, or light, a Filipino folk symbol for independence and national redemption.¹

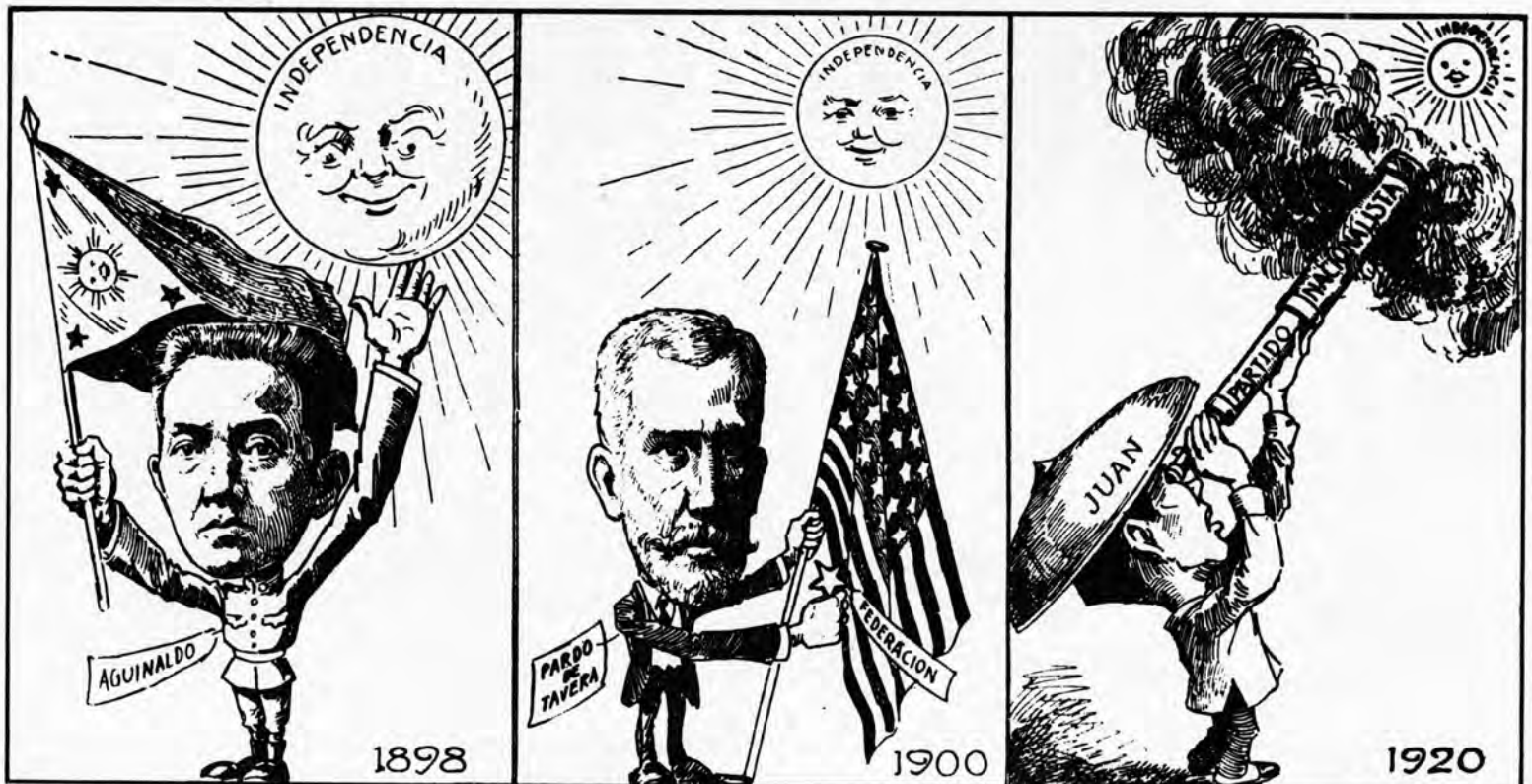
The cartoon, of course, expresses the strongly partisan opinions of *The Independent's* publisher Vicente Sotto. As a strong, uncompromising nationalist, Sotto despised the tactics of colonial compromise that the American occupation forced upon Federalista leader T.H. Pardo de Tavera and Nacionalista leader Sergio Osmeña. Seeking to extend the rights and liberties of the U.S. Constitution to the Philippines, Pardo de Tavera sought American statehood as a nationalist who was trying to advance his nation as best he could under the circumstances. Balancing the reality of American power with the ideal of independence, Osmeña moved forward towards his goal through compromise with colonialism. A nationalist of equal conviction, Sotto damned them both for their moderation.

Year V

MANILA, DECEMBER 20, 1919.

Number 246

From Bad to Worst



(The Independent, 20 December 1919)

De mal en peor

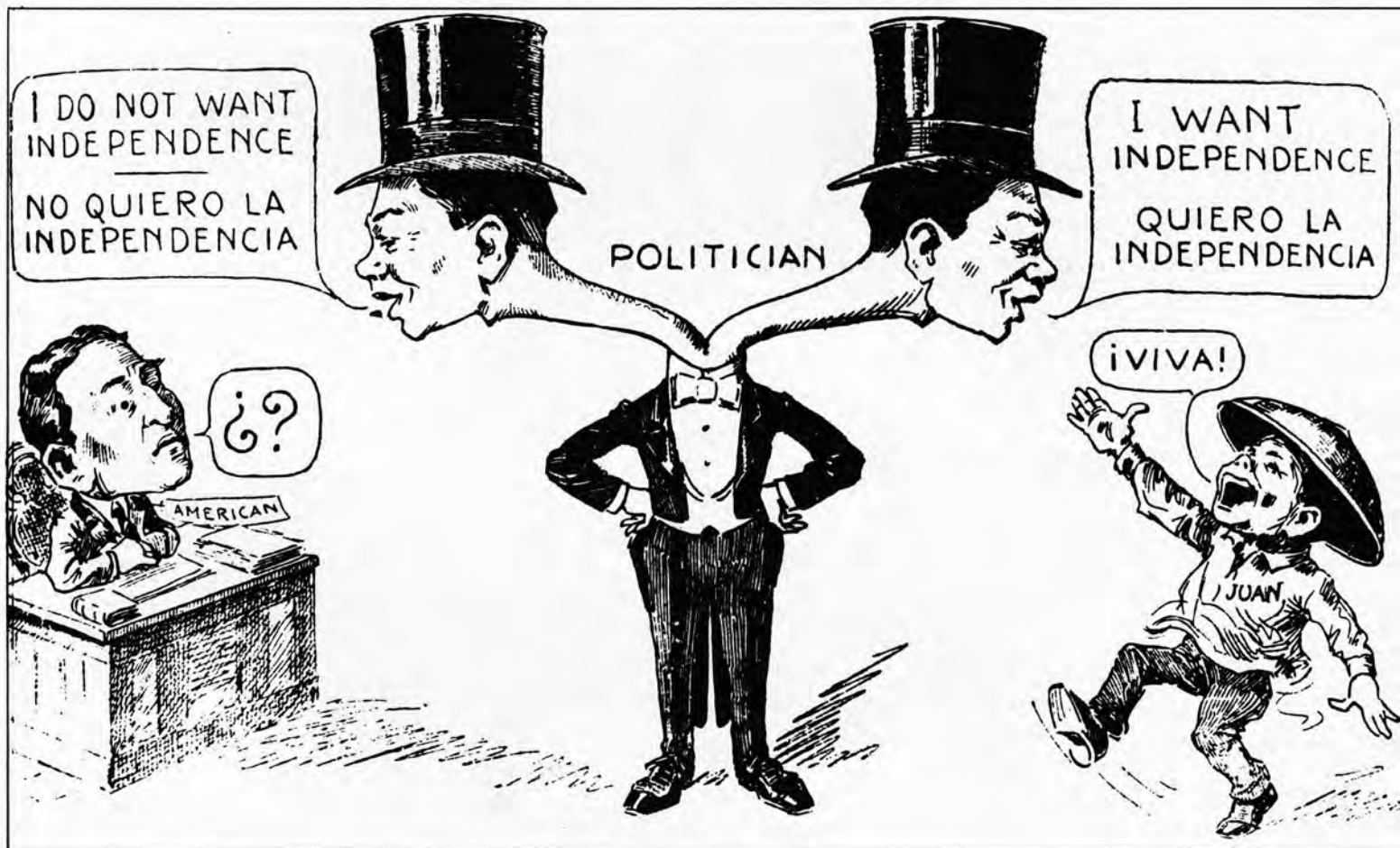
AFTER OVER A DECADE in power by 1919, the Nacionalista Party seemed, in the eyes of radical nationalists, to have developed a duplicitic policy towards independence. During elections Nacionalista speakers roused the masses with visions of immediate, unconditional independence. Often they attacked the American colonial regime in the strongest possible terms. Privately, however, the leaders cultivated close ties to American officials to win the patronage and programs they need to maintain their lien on power.

The apparent contradiction was most pronounced during the latter years of Governor-General Francis B. Harrison's term (1913-21). Convinced that collaboration was the way to independence, Speaker Sergio Osmeña lavished praise upon the liberal Governor Harrison and proved Filipino loyalty to the American war effort with massive Liberty Bond drives.

The policy of cooperation won some significant

concessions from the Americans, most importantly a free hand in the administration of the growing state sector of the economy. But for militant nationalists like Vicente Sotto, *The Independent's* publisher, the gains were not worth the price. Placated by such concessions, the nation's leaders would grow used to American dominion and become wary of independence.

Indeed, in 1924 opposition leader Claro Recto made just those charges upon return from Washington, D.C. with an independence mission led by Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon. Recto claimed that the Nacionalista leaders had proclaimed their demands for independence to the cheering Filipino masses and then whispered support for a 15 or 25 transition period to U.S. Congressmen.² As the cartoon indicates, such duplicity had become an essential part of Philippine colonial politics.



(The Independent, 23 August 1919)

La politica de dos caras

(Dibujo de Jorge Pineda)

AS INDEPENDENCE SEEMED more certain towards the end of Governor-General Harrison's administration (1913-21), nationalists began to consider the shape of their emerging nation. Among the major problems facing the future Republic was the full integration of women and minorities into the nation's political life.

Sons of the One Mother Country (below): Reacting to a report in the Cebu City press, *The Independent* denounced the formation of a "Society of Mestizos" in an unnamed Negros town. An exclusive society of mixed-race farmers and merchants, the Negros organization raised a formal Filipino color ban that could have divisive implications. Although many anti-colonial movements attacked the privileges of mixed-race elites in Asia and the Caribbean, Filipinos refused to make any distinction between mixed and full blood Malay-Filipinos. Since most Filipino politicians of the American period were Spanish or Chinese mestizo, the issue simply never developed.

Necessary Selection (upper right): Suffrage for women was another issue facing nationalists. While radicals had few reservations about the capabilities of the younger, educated Filipinos, there was grave concern over conceding the vote to religious matrons who would take their political directions from the Spanish friars. Indeed, the Philippines did not grant women the vote until 1937, late when compared to Western democracies.

There Is No Doubting The Lesson (lower right): During the 1921 tour of the Leonard Wood-Cameron Forbes mission, several delegations of Ifugao and Igorot tribesmen from Mountain Province met the mission to declare their support for a continuing colonialism. *The Independent* dismissed the delegations as "a handful of wild men and savages who have not a shadow of any notion of political and civil liberty nor of the rights of men." Such opinions weighed lightly, the paper argued, when balanced against the demands of 10 million real Filipinos for independence.

Year V

MANILA, JULY 12, 1919.

Number 223

Sons Of One Mather-Country



Hijos de una Sola Madre-Patria



The Independent, 26 October 1918)



(The Independent, 21 May 1921)

LIKE MANY RADICAL nationalists of his era, publisher Vicente Sotto was deeply concerned with the fortunes of the labor movement. A decade after these cartoons appeared in *The Independent*, Sotto established a newspaper called *Union* with the aim of strengthening the labor movement. Indeed, many prewar labor leaders of note were also prominent writers and journalists — Isabelo de los Reyes, Lope K. Santos, Jose Ma. Nava, Florentino Tecson, and Cipriano Cid.

Peeping Into The Eye Of The Key (below) reveals what *The Independent* has always suspected — labor leaders are taking bribes from the bosses. The cartoon was inspired by publication of a letter from unionist Jose T. Santiago to the Governor-General complaining of “potentates who use their wealth to bribe and buy labor leaders.” Sotto comments that the resignation of Isabelo de los Reyes from the union movement in 1902 was a crippling blow. And, having suffered a criminal conviction for libelling a labor leader, *The Independent* now feels vindicated.

Peeping in the eye of the key...



(*The Independent*, 1 March 1919)

(Dibujo de Jorge Pineda)

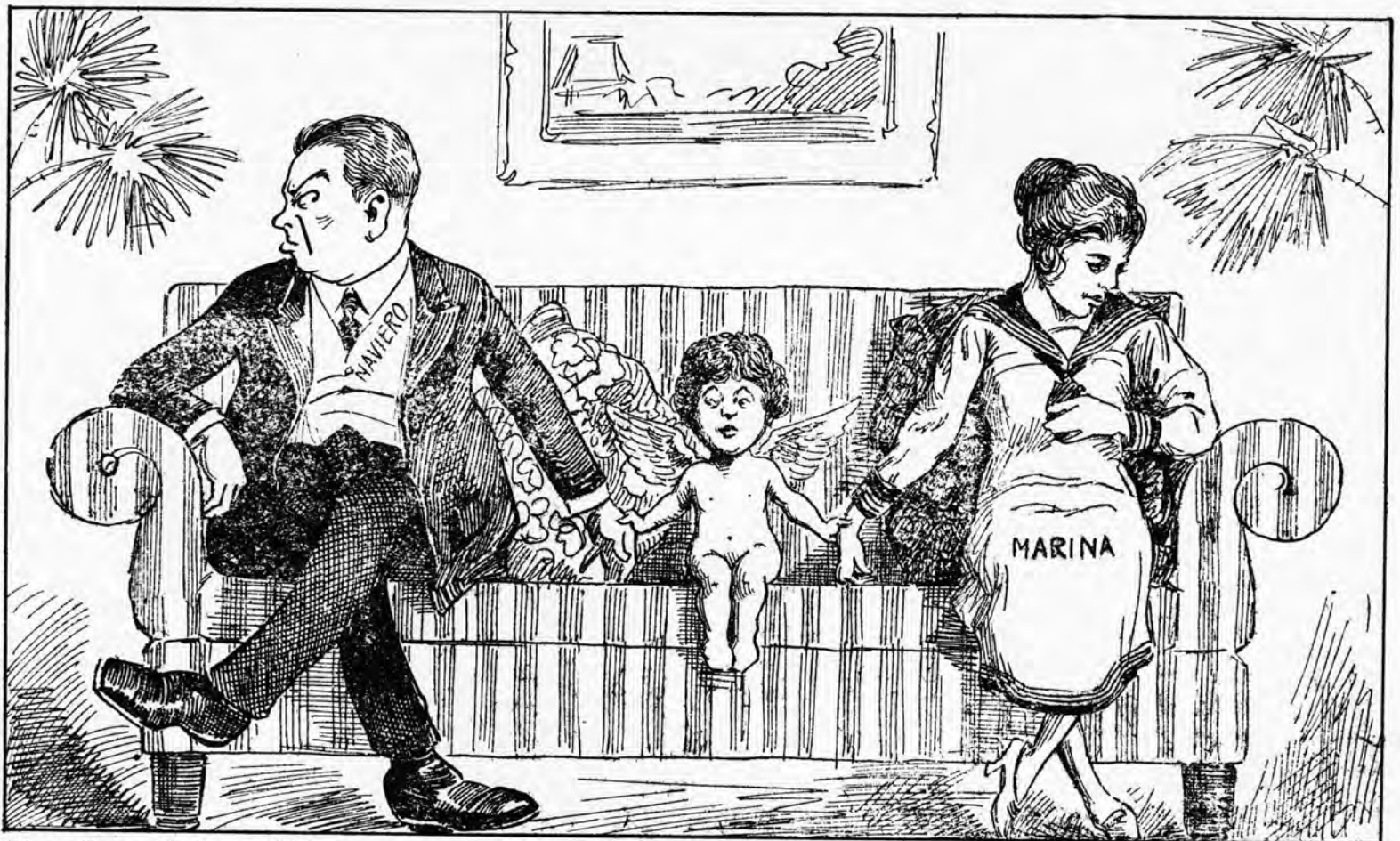
Unlike the great majority of elite nationalists who favored union moderation, Sotto advocated an uncompromising militance. When the maritime strike was settled in 1922 through mediation between shippers and sailors, *The Independent* dismissed the efforts as a **Worthless Mediation** (below)

Year VIII

Cebu, Cebu, P. I., Saturday, August 26, 1922.

No. 15

A Worthless Mediation



(Nueva Fuerza, 26 August 1922)



(The Independent, 27 March 1920)

(Dibujo de Jorge Pineda)

THE NEAR COLLAPSE of the Philippine National Bank (PNB) in the early 1920s, as illustrated in the next six cartoons, was the great scandal of the American period. By the time it was over, the PNB's first Filipino president was in prison, the country's leading politicians were tarred by association and Philippine independence had been delayed by 10 if not 20 years.

Founded in February 1916 with a capital of ₱20 million, the PNB was given a vague charter to serve as both government depository and national development bank, a near fatal combination for the Philippine economy. Riding the crest of Governor-General Harrison's "Filipinization" program, Nacionalista Party leaders Sergio Osmeña and Manuel Quezon planned the bank as a bold entrepreneurial venture to promote Filipino business. The PNB's establishment coincided with the World War I boom in commodities which saw Philippine exports double and total banking volume increase five fold from ₱63 million in 1913 to ₱399 million in 1918.

As a pioneering institution, the PNB faced enormous staffing problems. The first president, Dr. H. Parker Wills, a U.S. Federal Reserve official and a friend of Quezon's, wanted to proceed cautiously by increasing loan portfolio gradually in step with the capabilities of the Filipino staff. When the bank's senior Filipino appointees rebelled against his conservatism, Wills resigned and returned home after less than a year. The second president, Samuel Ferguson, was a lowly clerk who gained office through Governor Harrison's injudicious patronage. After his forced resignation for gross incompetence in less than a year, Speaker Osmeña arranged the appointment of General Venancio Concepcion, a political crony with no banking experience of any kind.

During Concepcion's term (1918-20), the PNB broke all banking procedures to shower Filipino farmers and traders with limitless loan facilities. Although Concepcion later

defended his policy as national development, most large loans went to Nacionalista Party allies and cronies. PNB directors also extended huge sums to their own companies, a crime for which Concepcion was later convicted and others should have been.

Investigations in 1921 to 1923 discovered a remarkable level of incompetence, corruption and mismanagement which had brought the bank to the brink of collapse. By transferring \$37.7 million of the \$46 million gold reserve fund to Manila for lending, the PNB destroyed the peso's backing and weakened its value by 12 percent. In 1919 an auditor found the bank had no central accounts, had miscalculated its reserves by ₱22.3 million and had a discrepancy of ₱5 million in its foreign exchange ledgers. The bank's Shanghai branch manager, an American, later took bribes from the city's Chinese speculators and lost some ₱12 million in currency transactions.³

Most of the PNB losses came from the mismanagement and corruption in its domestic loan accounts. Under General Concepcion's direction, the PNB made liberal loans to the sugar, coconut and hemp industries without sufficient collateral on the assumption that wartime boom prices would last forever. When prices inevitably collapsed in 1920, traders and planters pleaded poverty and left the PNB holding a vast sum in long term loans. By 1921 the bank had \$82 million in outstanding loans and only \$46 million in deposits.⁴

The greatest controversy surrounded the large loans PNB directors made to their own companies. Although it only had an authorized borrowing capacity of ₱3.5 million, Concepcion extended ₱20 million in credit to the Philippine Vegetable Oil Company while simultaneously holding a major bloc of stock in his own name. By 1920 the coconut oil company was hopelessly indebted and close to bankruptcy. Similarly, PNB directors Vicente Madrigal and

Ramon Fernandez, leading Nacionalista supporters, sat in board meetings that approved loans of ₱1.2 million to their own companies for hemp trading, a clear violation of PNB regulations.⁵ Allegations about the Fernandez loans were leaked to the press when he ran as Nacionalista Party candidate against Juan Sumulong in the special Senate election in October 1923.⁶ The revelations prompted editorial cartoons showing Fernandez being crucified by Quezon and Osmeña (page 323); bribing the two leaders with Vicente Madrigal (page 325); and being milked by the two leaders while Governor-General Wood stands guard on a PNB vault (page 324).

Ultimately, the PNB scandals brought about Leonard Wood's appointment as governor-general in 1921 with a mandate for strict control over the PNB and Filipino national enterprises.



(Bag-ong Kusog, 13 June 1924)

Pila ka mga ilaga hidakpan na; apan ang uban.....
ambut sa langaw.....



¿Kinsa ang mga kawatan sa Banco Nacional?



(Bag-ong Kusog, 25 January 1924)



(Bag-ong Kasog, 30 November 1923)



(Bag-ong Kusog, 7 March 1924)

Holding The Sack

Cogiendo El Saco



THE NATIONALIZATION OF KEY industries was the most imaginative policy and the most spectacular failure of Governor-General Harrison's administration (1913-21). Rejecting the capitalist gospel of his Republican predecessors, Harrison became convinced that government-owned corporations would provide a more stable long-term base for an independent Philippine economy. An investigation into the affairs of the Manila Railway Company in 1913 convinced him that private American development of public utilities was both corrupt and inefficient. Over half of the ₱3 million spent for railway land purchase had been wasted in graft and kickbacks with the apparent knowledge of senior management and insular government officials.

Unwilling to subsidize corporate corruption further, Harrison refused to extend more credit to the railway and, over considerable opposition from the U.S. Congress and Resident Commissioner Manuel Quezon, finally purchased the company in 1917. Speaker Sergio Osmeña and other Nacionalista legislators supported the nationalization effort by

forming the Sugar Central Board in 1915 to finance construction of modern centrifugal mills and opening the Philippine National Bank in 1916. A host of national corporations followed — National Cement Company, National Coal Company, National Development Company and others. By 1921 the Philippine government had invested ₱68 million in nationalized enterprises and most were suffering from overly accelerated growth directed by inexperienced management.⁷

After the Wood-Forbes Mission reported on gross inefficiencies in government corporations, Leonard Wood was appointed governor-general in 1921 with orders to get the insular government out of business. Although Quezon's opposition blocked sale of the Manila Railroad, Wood soon sold the National Cement Company, the National Coal Company and other small firms. Strong differences of opinion between Wood and Quezon over divestment produced some of the deepest conflicts of Wood's embattled term.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED in the Manila weekly *The Independent*, this cartoon was reprinted later in the Cebu City magazine *Bag-ong-Kusog* in 1926. The caption reads **The Cruel Enemies of the Workers.** The cartoon shows, "Ignorance" lashing the working class with "poverty," "superstition," "fanaticism," and "prostitution."

Unlike the Anglo-American style of narrow political commentary evident in most *Free Press* cartoons, this one from *The Independent* uses Biblical metaphor in the style of Spanish artist Francisco Goya (1746-1828) to comment on social morality in the broadest sense. Like many elite nationalists of his day *The Independent's* editor Vicente Sotto

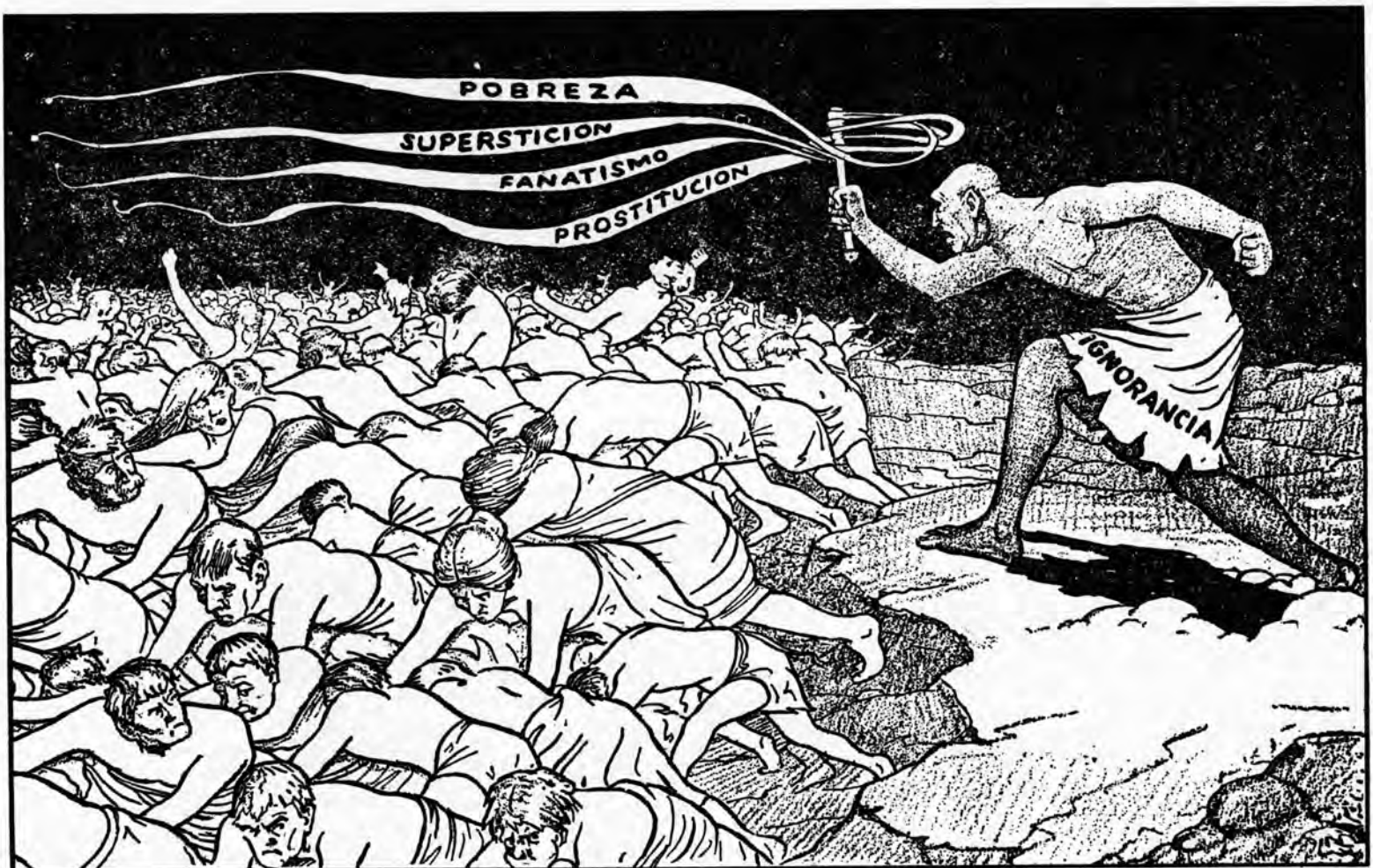
was convinced that the plight of the poor was at least partly of their own making. Often ignoring the bad wages and worse working conditions, elite radicals preached that the poor would not be poor if they would only give up gambling, drink, vice and superstition.

For elite radicals, the key to worker's salvation lay as much in moral reform and education as it did in unions and better wages. Working class radicals, by contrast, blamed bosses not workers for poverty, and hence led militant strikes and industrial campaigns when they won leadership of the union movement from the elite nationalists in the 1920s.

TUIG XI

SUGBO, BIYERNIS, MAYO 7, 1926

ISIP 1



(Bag-ong Kusog, 7 May 1926)

Ang Mapintas nga Kaaway sa mga Mamumoo

Heroes All!



(Free Press, 3 January 1942/23 February 1946)

ON 3 JANUARY 1942 the "Farewell Issue" of the *Free Press* appeared on the streets of Manila just as Japanese troops were entering the city from the north. Inspired by the surprising strength of Philippine-American resistance to the 40,000 Japanese troops who had landed at Lingayen Gulf only 10 days earlier, the newspaper dedicated its final issue to their courageous example.

"To the thousand and tens of thousands of Filipinos and Americans out there on the front lines America takes off its hat. America is thrilled by their gallant defense, by their heroic stand against tremendous odds. . .

"No wonder America, yes, and freemen everywhere, are

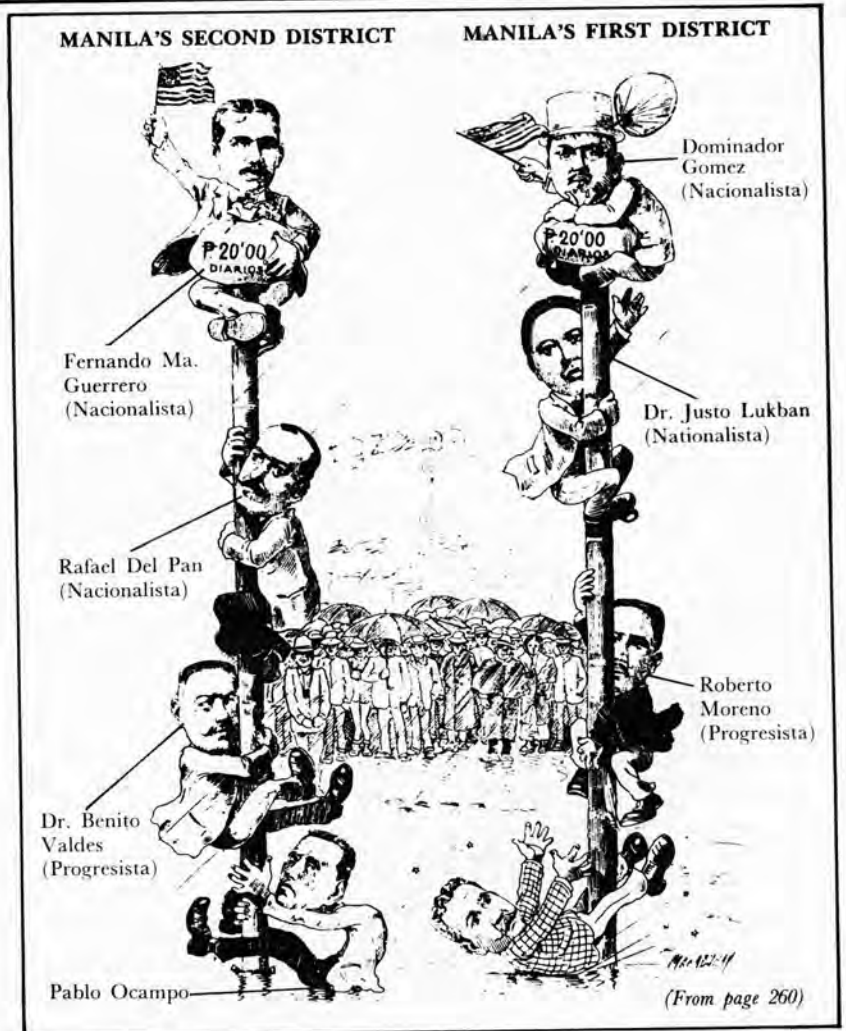
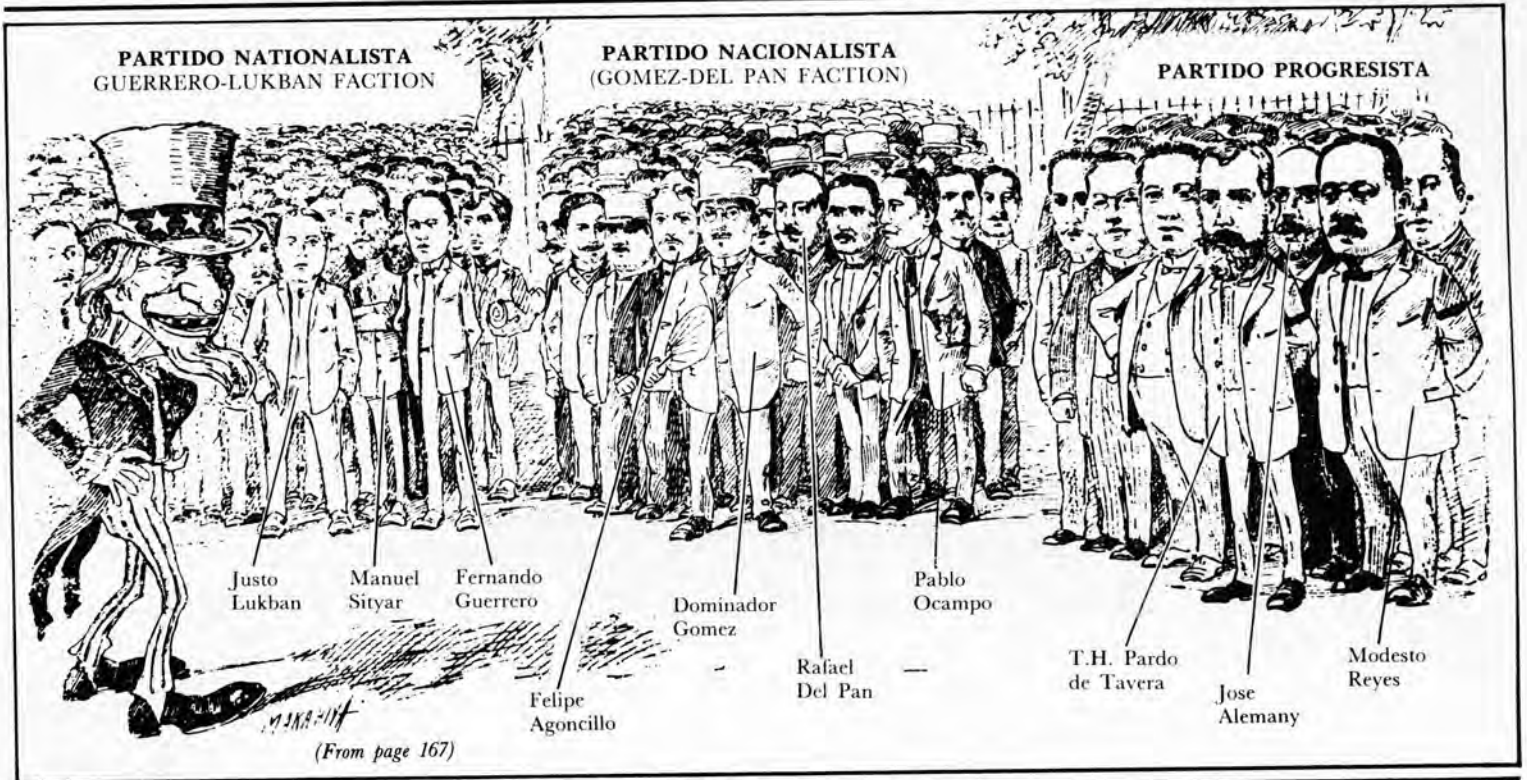
thrilled. For these our men, Filipinos and Americans. . . out there in the bloody field are writing a deathless page not only in Philippine but in world history. Heroes All!"

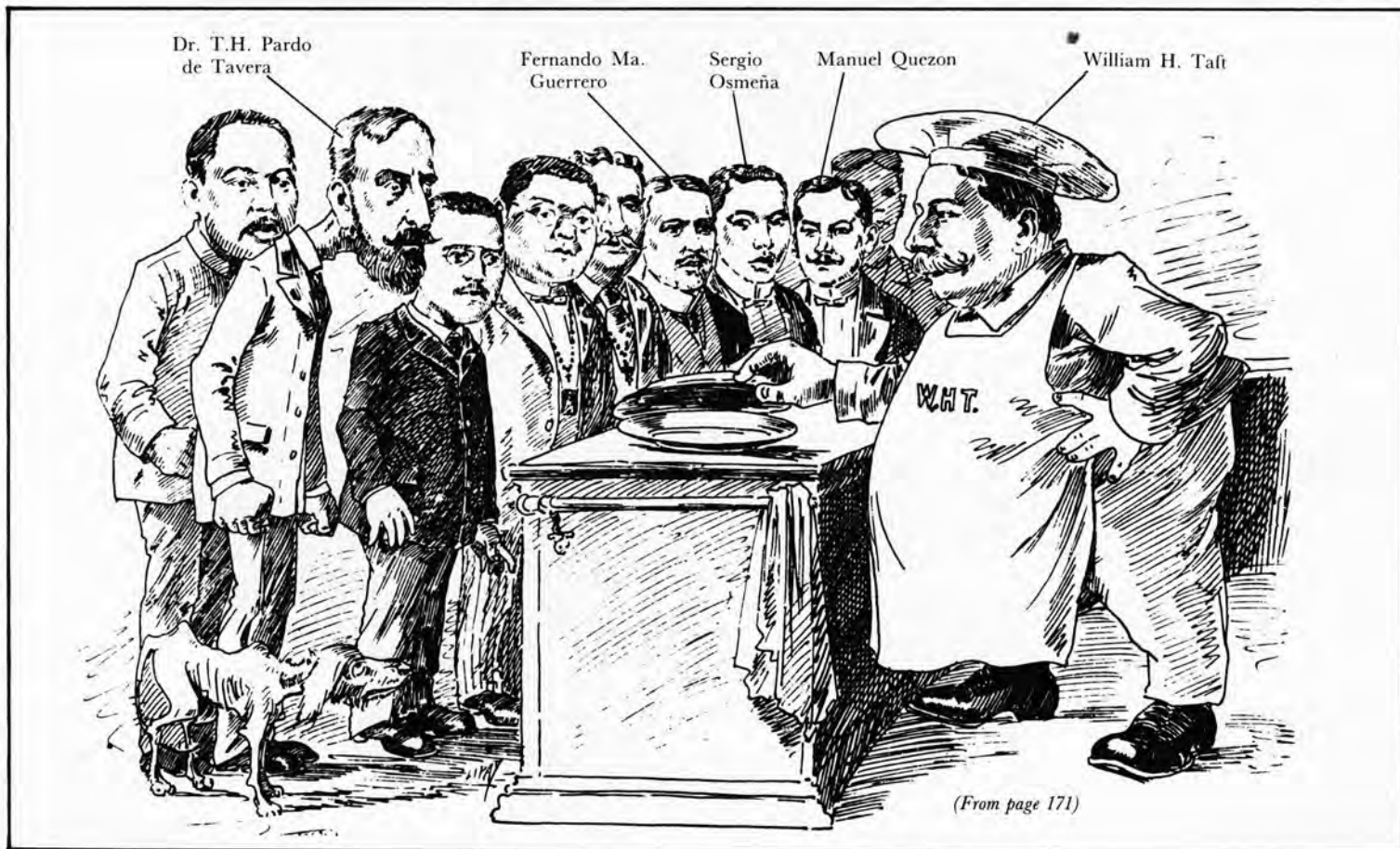
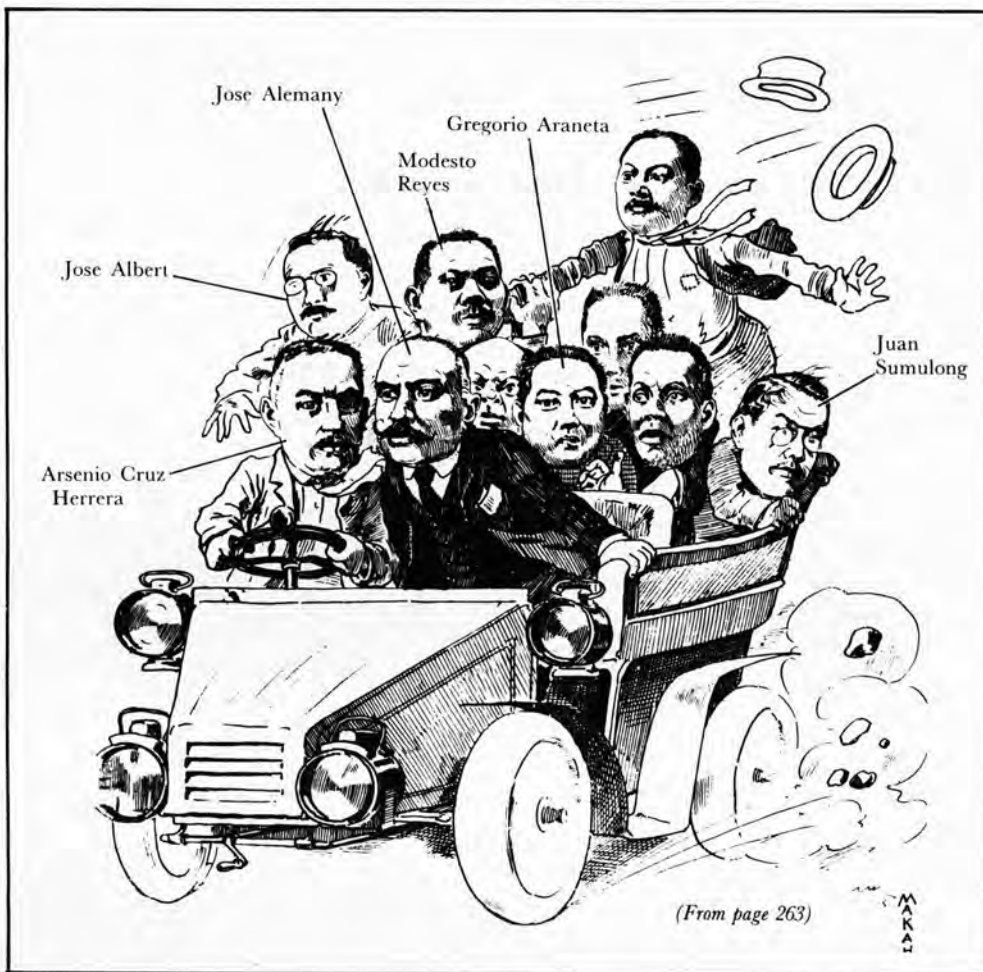
When the *Free Press* resumed publication after the war in February 1946, it reprinted this cartoon "to serve as a link with the past." And, indeed it was. After their mutual baptism of blood and fire, Filipinos assumed that they had forged a lasting bond of brotherhood with America. But the United States had fought on many fronts and its memory of the Filipino sacrifice soon faded. Filipinos were to find that their sentiment was not reciprocated and America became a forgetful friend after the war.

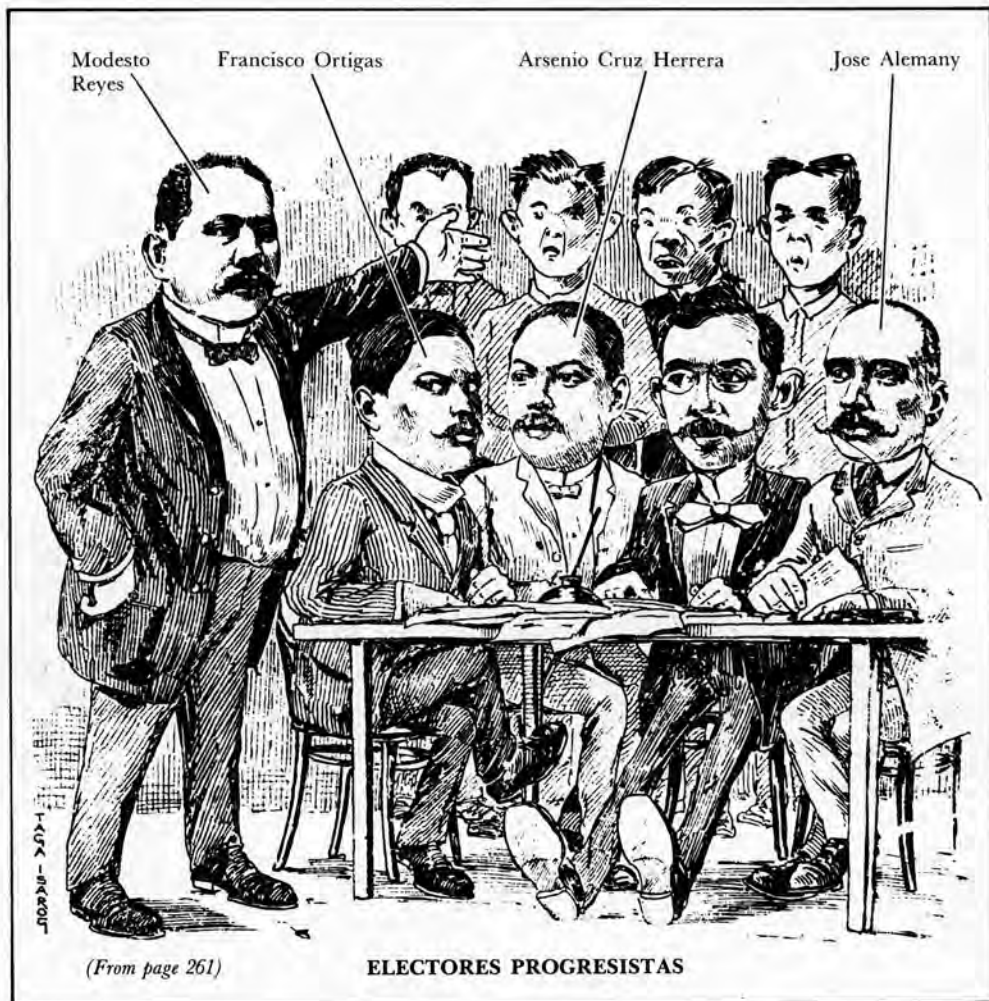
**PART THREE: NOTES
CATALOGUE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
ABOUT THE AUTHORS**



CARICATURES IDENTIFIED







(From page 261)

ELECTORES PROGRESISTAS



(From page 173)