

THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLYMEN OF 1907: A COLLECTIVE STUDY OF THEIR BIOGRAPHY (PROSOPOGRAPHY)

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In many books that discuss fully or partly the Filipino elite, whom the Philippine Assemblymen of 1907 were a part of, almost always the variables, such as, quality education, great wealth, and high positions in society are attributed to them. These books present how the elite members were also able to acquire those attributes and how consequently were able to acquire for themselves prestige, influence, and retinues in society.

But the discussion of the elite stop short of really qualifying their educational attainment, administrative experiences, and financial underpinnings. With regards the first variable, there are many questions that remain unanswered. What quality of education did they have? What courses and educational endeavors did they take? Up to what level of education did they reach? Where did they study? The same amount of quandary is posited to many of us with regards to the second variable. Yes, it is common knowledge that where the source of power is, there the elite surely are! Yet, what official functions precisely did they have? How high were their positions in the government? How many functions did they take? And with regards to the third one, the discussions lack perspective, especially on the elite who were active in the first decade of the 20th century. With the rising educational expectations among them, the traditional source of wealth, trade, was no longer the sole source. Occupation was the more

appropriate variable in looking into the wealth of the elite. It was with through occupation that the wealth they inherited from their parent was doubled, and made them more solvent than most Filipinos at the turn of the century. It is no wonder why these Filipinos became the Assemblymen of 1907.

From the ensuing discussion, the thrust of the paper is as follows: it will try to qualify, in the manner of answering the questions posited above, the educational attainment, administrative experiences, and financial underpinnings of the Philippine Assemblymen of 1907.

In tackling this thrust, the writer made use of a number of official documents and of secondary sources in getting his notes. Thus, information with regards the Assemblymen are based only on sources used here. These sources may not be exhaustive but this information in question is well documented. The writer limited his note taking to information of the earliest pertinent dates up to 1907 only. After taking down notes, the writer made a chart with the same headings, as educational background, official positions, and occupation, into which he put the notes pertinent to these headings. And on the basis of this arrangement, the writer wrote the text.

On October 16, 1907, the first session of the first Philippine Assembly composed of 80 delegates to represent the Christian provinces of the archipelago for two years took place.¹ Meeting at the Ayuntamiento building in Manila that October, the Philippine Assembly decided that its annual meeting would start the first Monday of February of the following year to last 90 days not counting Sundays and holidays, in addition to special ones that the Governor-General may call.² Among the Assemblymen, 34 regularly organized provinces in 1907 were represented. The arrangement in this representation was based on population, although every province was entitled to one, and City of Manila was allotted one slot.³

The creation of the Philippine Assembly was the penultimate vision of the Philippine Bill of 1902 that

pronounced the establishment of a bicameral Philippine Legislature in two years upon the creation of a Philippine Census and upon the establishment of tranquility throughout the country.⁴ The significance of the Assembly are many since it served many interests, yet two remained outstanding. According to one local historian:

Since the Assembly was to exercise co-equal legislative powers with the Philippine Commission, except over the special province, it represented a radical departure from prevailing colonial practice in the opening decades of the 20th century.⁵

In global context, the creation of the Philippine Assembly was quite phenomenal. Yet, more than this is the Assembly's importance to insular affairs. It came as the more vital *modus vivendi* between the elite's aspirations for continued domination of Philippine society and the North American ideal of establishing a democratic showcase.⁶

An initial accord had already been forged between the elite and the North Americans at the beginning of the latter's occupation of the Philippines. The elite moved away from the Revolution upon the United States guarantee of respecting property rights and local administration by the Filipinos.⁷ Their minds and emotions were diverted from where it stood before the Americans came. Naturally, their actions became more attuned to what they really wanted ever since. This point is modestly captured in the statements:

the objectives of the ilustrado modernizing elite, with their reformist orientation, were best served by active cooperation with the American regime and wholly compatible with its own modernizing and liberalizing objectives, rather than by Aguinaldo's and Mabini's revolutionary nationalism.⁸

Yet ensuing events fell short of the elite's expectations. Elite participation in local and provincial governments was factitious and limited. American checks that annoyed the elite was prevalent. At every segment of the bureaucracy American majority was the rule. Moreover, the nominal privileges given to the Filipino elite were exclusive of the Federalistas (at least before 1907). Thus, majority of the elite remained restless.

On the other hand, the Americans saw the needed facilitator and local sanction for the colonization of the Philippines in the elite. As seen from the development of the United States policy, a major consideration always pertains to the elite. Initial United States policy was established this way:

Military conquest...was certainly not a basic in which to build the benevolent colonial government intended by the early (North American) planners; nor was it an effective way to bring about the collaboration of the *ilustrados*. It therefore became the immediate task of the Americans to convince the Filipinos that their aspirations would be realized within the framework of American society. Conciliation soon emerged as the guiding spirit of the American policy toward the Philippines particularly toward the upper classes.⁹

In 1899, the policy was already envisaged by the Americans wherein measures and assurance of their ideals could be satisfied.¹⁰ To them, it was advisable to recruit the "enlightened classes" to the government before needed reform could be done.¹¹ Yet, at the same time, the Americans were inadvertently confident of their positions in the colonial setup and distrustful of the elite. In the visions they were trying to concretize, there was always that obstacle of "caciquism" and "feudal relations of dependence."¹²

In other words, the initial *modus vivendi* in the colonial setup was not quite successful. It was a stalemate. Even given the

symbolic relationship established since 1899, the elite felt disadvantaged *vis-a-vis* the American colonizer, while the latter still felt insecure of themselves and of the elite. Some qualitative change had to take place in the second half of the first decade of the 20th century that would pave the way for another accord. The change was that this time the elite was given equal opportunity in the insular government regardless of his political persuasion. Since the Americans decided to be more tolerant and less reluctant than before towards elite aspirations, the elite was made more willing to wait than agitate for reforms in the government. Thus, the Americans became more secure of their positions in the Philippines.

In 1906, therefore, the Partido Nacionalista was allowed to form even with its platform of the "attainment of the immediate independence under a democratic government."¹³ Consequently, the call for self-determination of the Filipino which they initially endorsed became diverted to their open quest for prominence in local affairs.¹⁴ At the same time, the American uncertainties about government was inch-by-inch being put to rest. It was becoming clear to them that "autonomous desires and cultural values" of the Filipinos can now be recognized after all. The Americans were now more ready to admit "that it is only through the cooperation of the Spanish-trained Filipino leaders that, with diminishing American supervision, the government of the Philippines (can be) carried out...."¹⁵ This development and its consequence is captured in these lines:

...through a combination of political tactics and republican principle, the American administration, renounced the necessary means to enforce their own conception of what the Philippine should become. The result was one odd mixture of theory and expediency, a perpetual compromise, a modern variant of

indirect rule.¹⁶

From these developments, it is understandable why the Philippine Assembly has been considered "a representation of traditional aristocracy" eagerly awaiting the use of its mandated prerogatives and official designation.¹⁷ The Assembly came as a higher and most important access for the elite to recapture its supremacy in domestic affairs, while at the same time "continuing the abortive revolution through evolution."¹⁸ Thus, seen in whatever context and angle, the Assembly could not truly be regarded as the representative of the people.¹⁹ Particularly, the Assembly represented an emerging group within the elite. The domination of the Nacionalistas in the Assembly marked the first generational shift in Philippine politics-- "[from an] older, wealthier, better educated, and more cultured [group] (with predominantly European background or orientation), [to one that is] younger, less wealthy, less well-educated, and less cultivated, but more energetic, more nationalistic, and better attuned to American ways and institutions."²⁰

The establishment of the Assembly served more than anything else the aspirations and the interests of the Filipino elite. First, "while the Assembly did serve as a vehicle of social standing and enabled the delegates to reinforce their status as regional leaders, its most important contribution to Philippine advancement was the opportunity it gave Filipinos to originate, modify or reject Insular legislation."²¹ Until 1907, the elite had little room to modify and re-direct American policy, other than the tradition of evasion in the local level. The establishment of the Assembly served as a conduit for the development of Philippine autonomy. The Filipinos gained a bigger base in the management of their government upon the installation of the Assembly.²²

Secondly, the Assembly was the first real source of political socialization for the elite.²³ Even given their educational attainment and administration experience, the needed sophistication to govern the national government was absent. Under this circumstance, even though there was the

"feeling of irresponsibility for the actual process of legislation, the elite matured and acquired experience in the Philippine Assembly."²⁴ The Assembly exposed the elite to the most vital phase of insular administration. In the halls of the Ayuntamiento, the elite all over the country meet face to face, maybe for the first time, and familiarized themselves with each other.²⁵ In these senses, the Assembly served as the school for national leaders.²⁶

Finally, the Assembly became the forum for agitation for Philippine Independence. This juncture, on face value, is laudable. Yet, seen in the context of general Philippine history, the Assembly had the "immediate effect of moderating Filipino nationalist demand."²⁷ The elite was willing to set aside "immediate independence" to some unforeseen future date since most of their goals were being realized under American rule,²⁸ especially with the establishment of the Assembly. The second point can very well dramatize all points raised above in this section. The elite concentrated its actions in the Assembly with things other than the purposes for which it was installed in the first place. This observation vividly depicts the point above that:

The result of all these factors was that...the Philippine legislature developed as an instrument for the attainment of independence rather than as a normal law-making body....Its most important function which was to serve as a background for the national 'leadership' transcended in importance its purely legislative ones. As long as it could control the political aspects of legislation primarily with reference to the next election and the independence question - the legislature was usually content to allow the executive to play the

*major part on the formulation of most laws and assume the final responsibility of killing measures obviously contrary to the public interests.*²⁹

The desired aspirations of the elite that the Assembly served can readily be seen in the numerous legislation measures the Assembly enacted. The outcome of the Assembly's legislation was to the personal interests of the Assemblymen, and not to the masses who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of the Assembly's installment. The bills were either for the personal enrichment of Assemblymen themselves or for their retinues as political pay-offs. This scheme is stated by one local historian:

*In less than a month after its inauguration...the Philippine Assembly threw its weight behind scattered efforts to secure better treatment for Philippine sugar and tobacco. This was only natural. Among its members were representatives from constituencies raising mostly sugar and tobacco. It is entirely possible that some Assemblymen had direct financial interests in some sugar and tobacco companies, or owed their elections to the material support of these two groups.*³⁰

The legislation with regard to the increase of their *per diem* pay were among the first ones to prove the points above. The blocking of four anti-slavery acts of the Philippine Commission by the Assembly also demonstrate the elite interests being guarded by the Assembly. But the most serious, perhaps, was the matter of the implementation of a cadastral survey. The insular government, municipal government, and the Filipinos would have benefitted from the implementation of a modern

cadastral survey.³¹ Yet, the Assembly did all it could to block the Act. As one American administrator contemporary to the Assemblymen stated:

The history of the Cadastral Survey Act affords an example of the holding-up of the Assembly of a measure of undoubted and undenied utility in order to attempt to force the passage of positively vicious acts... (The Public Land Act and the Cadastral Survey Act) passed by the Commission. It was clearly and indisputably designed expressly for the benefit of poor Filipinos. No legitimate objection could be made to it. The treatment accorded it by the Philippine Assembly conclusively demonstrates the irresponsibility of that body, and its unfitness to deal with great questions which vitally affect the common people...³²

The above discussion on the Philippine Assembly and the elite with special reference to the Assembly of 1907, has been presented to serve as backcloth to the succeeding discussion on the Philippine Assemblymen of 1907.

On the whole, the Assemblymen of 1907 were young. Their average age was 37.³³ Majority of them were between 30-40 years of age, while 10 were over 50, and 3 under 30 years of age.³⁴ The oldest were Francisco Alvarez, Carlos Corrales, Eugenio Daza, and Aguedo Velarde. They were born in 1852. On the other hand, Amado Avancera, Jose Clarin, and Francisco Zandueta were the youngest. When elected to the Assembly, they were only 28. Now what is significant about their ages was that the Assemblymen were witnesses to the fiery and cauldron events in Philippine history.

The dramatic events which the Assemblymen witnessed were represented by two watersheds in Philippine history: first, the turnover of Spanish rule to self-rule; second, from self-rule to American rule. In the first one, the fiery event was important; yet, it was the cauldron event interwoven within the former that was more significant to the Assemblymen and to their elections to the Assembly.

The rising economy and growing political consciousness among a nominal number of Filipinos that started in the last quarter of the 19th century were responsible for the Assemblymen's acquiring high positions in society and eventually their joining the Assembly. The mushrooming of big Manila businesses, the emergence of hacienda plantation valleys throughout the archipelago and the rise of inter-island trade created that "body-and-soul" of the emerging embryonic Filipino middle class. It was from this middle class that succeeding leaders of the Philippines emerged. By the time this nominal middle class Filipinos had grown-up children, they were already elite in status. The newly accumulated wealth gave them greater prestige and sources of various amenities. They gained higher positions in society and thus became the local leaders. Their higher position with increased wealth led to the education of their children. The wealthier they became, the better educated they become, the higher position they acquired, the further they went up and away from the majority of the Filipinos in status and class. From these developments, the education, the official positions, and the financial sources of the Assemblymen can be traced. It is these three component of "eliteness" that will be discussed now.

The Philippine Assembly was composed of relatively educated people. A breakdown in the educational attainment of the Assemblymen will show that 57 had reached university level, 14 secondary, 6 post-secondary, and 1 primary.³⁵ In the university, some had more than one degree and some studied abroad. A more thorough discussion will show how colorful the educational background of the Assemblymen were from their primary grades to their university levels.

In dealing with the primary school background of the Assemblymen, there are four groups that can be seen. The first two groups were composed of those who studied in institutions ran by the religious. These institutions were the private Catholic schools and seminaries. Most notable of these private Catholic schools attended by the Assemblymen was Ateneo. Ran by the Jesuits, the school was already a symbol of high learning for well-to-do families at the time. Jose Altavas, Alberto Barretto, Fernando Maria Guerrero, Leon Maria Guerrero, Pedro Paterno, Manuel Rey, Celestino Rodriguez, Pedro Rodriguez, Vicente Singson-Encarnacion, and Francisco Soriano had their schooling at Ateneo.³⁶ Although located in Manila, the school was not exclusive to Manila-based Filipinos. As can be seen in the list above, some of the students came from Capiz, Camarines, Cebu, Ilocos Sur, Sorsogon, etc. Manuel Quezon, for his part, studied in a Catholic school, too. In his case, the school he attended was run by the Franciscans and was located in his home province of Tayabas.³⁷

The second bulk of Assemblymen went to the seminary. Among this group, three went to the Seminary of San Carlos, a pair each to the Seminary of Nueva Caceres and the College Seminary of Jaro, and one in the Vigan Seminary. Alejandro Ruiz, Sergio Osmeña, and Filemon Sotto were those who studied in the Seminary of San Carlos. Of the three, only Ruiz started and finished out his studies in the said seminary.³⁸ In the case of Osmeña, although he started his schooling in this seminary, from which he received excellent grades,³⁹ he late transferred to a local private school within his province.⁴⁰ Conversely, Felimon Sotto studied in the seminary after having been taught his first letters privately by his father.⁴¹

Meanwhile, the first pair mentioned above were Francisco Alvarez and Vicente de Vera,⁴² while Amando Avancería and Salvador Laguda were the second pair.⁴³ They were the ones who studied through and through at the Seminary San Carlos and College Seminary of Jaro respectively. The last is Juan Villamor who studied in the Vigan Seminary where he concentrated in the humanities.⁴⁴

On the other hand, the last two groups of Assemblymen studied in institutions ran by the lay. First of these groups was composed of those who studied much of their early academic endeavors in small private exclusive schools. The most famous of these school was the school of Don Enrique Mendiola. Three Assemblymen studied in his private school. They were Pablo Guzman, Aurelio Pineda, and Macario Adriatico who started his schooling at the College of Señor Magsalin before transferring to that of Don Mendiola's.⁴⁵ In Manila, Lorenzo Fenoy studied at the school of Benidicta Luna; while in San Fernando, Pampanga Monico Mercado studied at the school of Professor Quiremon.⁴⁶ Moreover, Marcelino Aguas went to a college in Pampanga,⁴⁷ and Agustin Montilla at the college of D. Gamora.⁴⁸

The others belonging to this group of Assemblymen instead of going to colleges and similar institutions which gave small-size but sustained teaching, studied under a tutorial mode of education for their primary education. For example, Aguedo Velarde finished his primary education through the tutorship of Don Lazaro,⁴⁹ while Eusebio Orense was under the tutorship of Professor F.R. Caedo and D. Farol.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, the second group is composed of those who studied in public schools. Four of these Assemblymen specifically studied in public schools in their home town. Felipe Agoncillo went to the public school of Lipa in Batangas.⁵¹ Casiano Causin learned his first letters in a public school in Cebu.⁵² At nine years of age, Jose Clarin went to the public school of Tagbilaran, Bohol.⁵³ Pedro Jimenez finished his elementary schooling in his home province of Antique.⁵⁴ Rafael Palma studied his first letter in a public school.⁵⁵ Last of these Assemblymen, yet certainly not the least, is Isauro Gabaldon. He had an exceptional school for his primary learning. Gabaldon studied in a public school indeed but not in the Philippines. He had primary schooling at the College of *Quintana del Rey and Villanueva* in Tebar, Cuenca, Spain.⁵⁶

On the secondary level of education of the Philippine Assemblymen of 1907, new mixtures can be seen. Old ones were

dissolved and new ones were created. The first of these is the one composed of those who either continued or transferred their studies in the Seminary. The rest of the Assemblymen, two of them, went to secondary courses other than those mentioned above. The biggest group here was composed of a new conglomeration of Assemblymen. Seventeen of them went to San Juan de Letran College for their Bachelor of Arts. These were: Ariatico, Aguas, Alcaez, Melecio Cojuango, Fenonoy, P. Guzman, Ireneo Javier, Jimenez, Cayetano Lukban, Mercado, Orense, Osmerfa, Pineda, Quezon, Sotto, Vicente, Jaime C. de Veyra, Villamor, and Zanduetta.

Most of these Assemblymen were those who came from the private exclusive schools or had private tutorials. Thus, although Velarde finished his secondary course at Letran, he started his first two years under the private tutorials of Catalino Sanchez.⁵⁷ Among them, the earliest to graduate were Mercado and Jimenez, who graduated in 1889 and 1893, respectively,⁵⁸ while those who graduated the youngest were Fenoy, Mercado, and Orense. Fenoy, like Mercado, obtained his *Batsiller de Artes* at the age of 14,⁵⁹ while Orense obtained his as a *capista* from the same school at the age of 15.⁶⁰

Next to San Juan de Letran College in the number of its alumni in the secondary level among the Assemblymen was Ateneo. Most of these Assemblymen were those who studied in the same school earlier. They continued their studies there for their batsiller and/or some other degrees. Agoncillo,⁶¹ Altavas who graduated in 1894,⁶² L.M. Guerrero,⁶³ S. Paterno who graduated in 1871,⁶⁴ Rey,⁶⁵ C. Rodriguez who graduated in 1892,⁶⁶ Singson-Encarnacion who graduated in 1894,⁶⁷ and Soriano,⁶⁸ took their batsiller's course at Ateneo. In addition to them were two who transferred to the school during their secondary schoolings. From their public schools in their home provinces, Agoncillo and Palma transferred to Ateneo.

The others either had other or more than one degree taken. F. M. Guerrero aside from receiving a batsiller's also received degree in Mechanics.⁶⁹ Palma, aside from a batsiller's

which he finished in 1891, took *Perito Mercantil* that he finished a year later.⁷⁰ P. Rodriguez, on the other hand, not only took *Perito Mercantil* but also *Perito Agronomo*.⁷¹

The second group was composed of those who went to the Seminary. Three of them had been studying in these seminaries since their primary schoolings, while the rest just transferred. Avancerfa continued to study for his secondary course in the College Seminary of Jaro, obtaining his *batsiller's* degree in 1897.⁷² Ruiz also continued his studies from the primary to the secondary schoolings in the Seminary San Carlos, on the other hand.⁷³ Another case is that of de Veyra who continued his studies in the Seminary of Nueva Caceres.⁷⁴

In addition to them were the transferees. These were Casiano Causin, Jose Clarin, and Pedro Chavez. Causin and Chavez studied at their hometown's public provincial schools before studying for their secondary courses in the Seminaries. Causin went to the Seminary of San Carlos as Ruiz did, although he transferred to the University of Santo Tomas.⁷⁵ Clarin, on the other hand, studied in the Cebu Seminary where he was *una manera sobresaliente* in many subjects and *una manera especial* in Philosophy.⁷⁶ The last one among these Assemblymen was Chavez who did not only study in a seminary to obtain his *batsiller's*. In addition, he later took theology in the Seminario Conciliar de Nueva Caceres.⁷⁷

Moreover, a nominal number of Assemblymen studied elsewhere. One of them was Montilla. From the College of D. Gomora, he went to the Nautical School to obtain from it his secondary degree. Another was Gabaldon. He pursued his secondary schooling first in the Philippines and finished it in Spain at the Colegio Incorporado de Instituto de Cuenca in 1893.⁷⁸

In the tertiary level, a reshuffling of the earlier groupings of the Assemblymen is visible again. This time, it is more appropriate to see them not only by their school but also by the courses they took in the universities they attended. Prominent of

the courses that the Assemblymen took in the university was Law and most of them took it at the University of Santo Tomas. Majority of them that belonged to this group started and finished their law course before the turn of the century. This group included among others: Agoncillo,⁷⁹ Aguas who was licensed in 1898,⁸⁰ C. Lukban who was licensed in 1892,⁸¹ Orense,⁸² Soriano who was licensed in Civil Law in 1898,⁸³ de Veyra who was licensed in 1898,⁸⁴ Velarde, and Villamor. The most distinguished among them were the last two.

Velarde's distinction was simple. He was the earliest among this group to be licensed as a lawyer. He was licensed to practice law in March 1885.⁸⁵ For his part, Villamor distinguished himself while still in law school. First, he finished his law course in three years; but moreover, he specialized in three fields in law: civil, penal, and mercantile.⁸⁶

Associated with this group were those who for one reason or another were not able to finish their law course at the University of Santo Tomas before the turn of the century. Causin and Jimenez were both in their fourth year of their study when they stopped. When the Revolution erupted, Causin was forced to stop, only to resume his studies in 1902.⁸⁷ Jimenez, who entered the university in 1895, was forced to drop out and return to his home province of Antique.⁸⁸

Four of the Assemblymen, instead of continuing studies in the University of Santo Tomas, transferred to other law schools. Two of them went to the Manila Law School. These were Zandueta and Pineda who graduated in 1901 and 1905 respectively.⁸⁹ The other one Carlos Imperial, continued his studies in the Escuela de Derecho de Manila.⁹⁰ Next to these Assemblymen was Fenoy who finished his law course at the Universidad Cientifica-literiudad Filipinas,⁹¹ the short-lived university of the Republic of Malolos. The last of the Assemblymen who took up law was Quezon. But unlike them, Quezon did not finish his law course.⁹²

A bigger conglomeration of Assemblymen, with regards

to their tertiary or post-secondary education, was composed of those with more than average academic endeavors. These Assemblymen took either more than one course at university or took graduate courses, here or abroad. The first group among this conglomeration was composed of those who took up the combined courses of Law and of Philosophy and Letters. Included were Altavas, Osmena, de Veyra, and Singson-Encarnacion. Altavas,⁹³ Osmerña, and de Veyra took this combined course at the University of Santo Tomas. With regards Osmerña, he finished his degree in Philosophy and Letters in 1898 and five years later was licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court. His case was the same as that of Quezon.

Like the rest, de Veyra took the above-mentioned combined courses but more than them, de Veyra finished them before the turn of the century. From 1895-1898, he took up his law; while from 1896-1898 he finished his Philosophy and Letters course. Last of the Assemblymen included here was Singson-Encarnacion. In his case, he pursued his law course in two schools: the University of Santo Tomas and the Liceo de Manila.

Associated with the group of Assemblymen were those who studied law and another course but the second course this time was other than the course of Philosophy and Letters. Those included here took their course at the University of Santo Tomas. Among this group were L.M. Guerrero and Pablo Guzman both of whom took up the science course other than law. L.M. Guerrero finished his licentiate degree major in Botany from the University as well; while P. Guzman obtained a pharmaceutical degree in 1894. Another one was Cojuanco. Aside from entering the university for his law, he entered the Normal School where he obtained his title as teacher.⁹⁴ Javier, on the other hand, also received the title *notario* from the university.⁹⁵ Last of these Assemblymen was Sotto. He also pursued medical studies at the University which unfortunately he did not finish due to the Revolution of 1896.⁹⁶

In addition to these groups, there were still other Assemblymen who pursued more than one course for their

tertiary education. Those included here were those who took up courses not mentioned above. One of them was Mercado. Mercado earned his title in Secondary education and his degree in *Canones y Teologia* in 1890 from the University of Santo Tomas, long before he was licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court in 1903.⁹⁷ On the other hand, Rey studied at the same University for his preparatory medicine after which he went to the University of Valladolid in Spain where he received his license in Medicine and Surgery.⁹⁸ Clarin studied Political Science from the Escuela Derecho de Manila until he graduated in 1901, three years before he was licensed. And lastly, there is C. Rodriguez. For his law, he went to the University of Barcelona and the University Central de Madrid, from where he was licensed in 1900.

Also part of this conglomeration was the group of Assemblymen who took graduate courses. These were Gabaldon and Paterno. After his secondary studies, Gabaldon pursued higher learning also in Spain. He took up law and obtained his degree from the Universidad Central de Madrid. After finishing his law Gabaldon enrolled at the University of Santo Tomas, this time pursuing a graduate course in Law and earned it eventually in 1900. Second was Paterno. He, like Gabaldon, did graduate work in law, receiving a Doctor of Law degree.

Turning now to the official positions, political, societal, or even religious, that the Assemblymen had before their elections to the Philippine Assembly of 1907, a colorful and dramatic discussion of their career appears. From the pre-revolutionary period, to the Revolutionary Period, and finally, to the American Period before 1907, the Assemblymen had been in various positions in government and other Philippine institutions.

A nominal number had already been designated to various functions since the late 1880's. In fact 21, or roughly 21% of the Assemblymen were in various positions of varying importance during the latter part of the nineteenth century either for the Spanish Colonial Government in the Philippines or for the

Republic of Malolos. Among them, 11 served in the Malolos Republic, including 2 in the Revolutionary Army. Overall, 75% of the Assemblymen of 1907 served either in the civil or military capacities in the Malolos Republic. And this did not stop many of them from serving during the first years of American domination of the country. In fact, of the 80 Assemblymen, 73 had held office under the Insular Government of the North Americans in the Philippines, from 1899 to 1906. This will be discussed fully in the succeeding parts.

During the period previous to the Revolution, a number of the Assemblymen were already quite mature. Accordingly, some of them were already established personalities in their respective fields of endeavor, making them already prominent members of Philippine society prior to the Revolution. This made it possible for them to get or be placed in positions of high calibre and status. Included among them were Barretto, C. Lukban, Velarde, and L.M. Guerrero. The first three had positions that were political in nature. Barretto, although licensed in law only in 1903, had already served the government of the Spaniards in various capacities that necessitated a law background. For example, Barretto became the acting *Promotor Fiscal* of Batangas in 1894. The following year, he became Fiscal lawyer of the Audencia in Manila and sub-secretary of the Obras Puertas of Manila. Finally, he became the Justice of Peace in Binondo in 1897.

Meanwhile, C. Lukban in 1894, two years after he was licensed to practice law, was named *Promotor Fiscal* of the province of La Union which he held until 1896. Next was Velarde. Earliest among the Assemblymen to practice law, he indeed had a long period of law practice. In this endeavor, Velarde started as a substitute notary public in the Juzgado de Ascenso of Tayabas. Finally, just before the Revolution, Velarde was again assigned to Bulacan. This time he was appointed temporary judge in the court of the First Instance of Bulacan province.

On the other hand, L.M. Guerrero held positions of an

academic capacity. Due to his exceptional background in Botany, and presumably with chemicals, he was given various titles and positions in academic institutions and organizations. For example, the Real Audencia named him the chemical expert of its tribunal. He was also named President of the Examination Council for Pharmacy in the College of Medicine and Pharmacy of the University of Santo Tomas. And finally, he was elected Director of the United Farmaceutica Company.

The rest who had official positions before the Revolution, although they were not as prominent as these Assemblymen already cited were Alcaez, Chavez, and Ruiz. Alcaez, who was among those early graduates of law, held two positions. In Camarines, he was a Councilor, and later in Lagonoy, he became the Justice of Peace. On the other hand, Chavez, aside from being a priest, held some official positions after his ordination. He was Coadjutor of Libog, Albay and San Jose, Camarines simultaneously. Last, there was Ruiz. At the age of 12, Ruiz had already entered the service of the Administracion de Hacienda y Aduana y Gobierno Militar, in Cebu. Later on, he became a Capitan Municipal in which he was awarded *Merito Civil* for his exemplary service.

From the pre-Revolutionary Period to the duration of the Revolution, the number of would-be Assemblymen of 1907 that would take positions given by the Republic of Malolos would increase. This was initially due to the fact that by this time the Assemblymen were older, thus more had graduated from college. Moreover, the turnover of events made it more attractive for the Assemblymen to join the newly formed government. With the revolutionary fervor spreading almost throughout the archipelago, the Assemblymen sought the allegiance and eventually become part of the government that the Filipinos established. This occurred more precisely during the second phase of the Revolution. Many of the Assemblymen during the Revolutionary Period saw themselves in the side of the Filipino revolutionaries. Due to their status prestige and wealth, it was easy for them to be appointed to many functions established by the revolutionary forces and afterwards by the Malolos

government.

Prominent among them were those who had more than one designation of different capacities. Barretto topped this list. In 1898, he took charge of the Court of First Instance of Binondo. From civil service, he got afterwards a legislative function in the Malolos Congress in which he represented Masbate. In addition, he had two more functions of different nature. He was named *Teniente Coronel Auditor de Guerra* of Northern Luzon and was appointed *Directorio de Diplomacia* and *Secretaria de Estado* in February 1898, his last two posts being a military and a diplomatic function, respectively.

Next to him was Fenoy. After his election to the Malolos Congress, Fenoy was appointed Captain in the Revolutionary Corps. After this stint with the establishment of a school in Batangas, he again became active in the revolutionary government when selected as Vice-President of the Gobierno Departamental de Sur de Luzon. Last was Velarde. After his release from jail in January 1898, he represented Albay in the Malolos Congress. Upon the installation of the Baterno Cabinet, Velarde was appointed as one of its secretaries. In addition, he was appointed one of the seven members of the Commission of Justice established in September 17, 1898 and of the three members of the Consejo de Guerra. In effect, he had civil, military, political capacities all in all.

Other with more than one function, yet not as prominent as those mentioned above were: F. M. Guerrero, P. Guzman, Montilla, and de Vera. All of them had politico-military designations. During the revolution, F.M. Guerrero was named Secretary of the Audiencia government or the Tribunal Supremo Filipinas after representing Leyte in the Malolos Congress. After this, F. M. Guerrero was appointed Secretary of War. Congruently, not only Montilla represented Negros at the Malolos Congress, but he was also appointed chief of the First Instance in his home province of Negros Occidental. P. Guzman was appointed Provincial Treasurer of the Province of Cagayan and became a member of the Junta Rexasora de Antillaramente, for

his part, de Vera had two designations. First, he was appointed Secretary of the revolutionary government in Albay from 1898-1900, after which he was named *Consejero de Justicia* in Sorsogon.

The last grouping is composed of Assemblymen who had one nature for their designation. Among them were those whose function was solely diplomatic, civil, or military. Those with designated diplomatic duties were Agoncillo and P. Rodriguez. Agoncillo was named *Embajador del Gobierno Filipino* in Europe. He lobbied in Paris and Washington for the Filipino cause during the hearing for the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898. When he arrived from Europe, Agoncillo stayed in Hongkong where he worked in the *Comite Central Filipinas*. Since P. Rodriguez was in Spain when the Revolution broke out, he was named secretary of the Revolutionary Committee that was formed there, where he worked closely with Gabaldon. He transferred later to Hongkong as Agoncillo and there became part of the Central Revolutionary Committee where this time he was with Lukban.

Those who functioned as in civil capacities as administrators or officers were L. M. Guerrero, J. Lukban, Orense, and de Veyra. L. M. Guerrero and J. Lukban were members of the Malolos Congress. Mercado, during the Revolution, was the Justice of the Peace in Sexmoan, Pampanga. Meanwhile, Orense was delegate to the Court of his Province. And de Veyra, from 1898 to 1899, was secretary to General Moxica.

Last of this group were those with military designation. Some were high in the ladder of revolutionary leaders while others were just ordinary soldiers. A nominal number, in fact, was with the army of the Spaniards. The most prominent of these was Adriano Hernandez. Hernandez was a General in the Revolution. At one time, he led the installment of the fortifications and trenches in Jaro, Leganes, La Paz, and some other strategic places in Iloilo. Also, Aguas, who was appointed in the Revolutionary Army, was designated *Capitan de Estado*

Mayor del Ejercito Filipinas by the Aguinaldo government. Galicano was a revolutionary leader in Cebu. The remainders were just soldiers. These were Avancera and Quezon. Rey, who was licensed in medicine by the start of the Revolution, joined the Revolutionary Army. He served in Samar as part of the major forces of General Lukban.

The Assemblymen with the most exceptional functions during the Revolution were Paterno and Villamor. Paterno started as a mediator between the Filipino revolutionaries and the Spanish colonizers during the Biak-na-Bato Treaty. Later on, he became part of the Malolos government. In fact, his signature, amongst Marinao Lingap and Chuidian, was imprinted in the paper money that the Malolos government issued. Yet he was, with Felipe Buencamino, upon the outbreak of the Philippine-American war, working for the capitulation of President Emilio Aguinaldo and of the President's eventual acceptance of American sovereignty. Congruently during the initial stage of the Revolution, Villamor worked with the Spanish for the Spanish army upon the agitation of a Spanish priest in December 1896. In his capacity, he helped formed a unit in the Spanish army which he led with the rank of Infantry Commandant. But, later on, he went to the revolutionary's side. In 1899, after a defeat in Tarlac, Villamor went over to northern Luzon and offered his service to General Tinio.

The growing numbers of Assemblymen in official positions from the pre-Revolution to the Revolutionary Period would continue with the establishment of the American Insular Government that offered various positions to the Filipinos. Most of these positions, at least before 1907, were political in nature. Ironically, most of these Assemblymen had taken part in the Revolution against a colonizer and in the Philippine-American War. Many of them started from the lowest political positions in the local government in their home towns and climbed or push themselves up the bureaucracy some ending-up as Governors even before 1907.

Those who became Governors, among other designations,

were P. Guzman, Osmeña, Villamor, and de Veyra. P. Guzman, after becoming a member of the Junta Rexasora during the Revolution, was elected Governor of Cagayan in 1904. On the other hand, Osmeña started his political career in 1904. Upon the establishment of the complete control of Cebu by the Americans, Osmeña was named Governor of Cebu. He served as provincial fiscal of Cebu and later of Cebu and Negros Oriental until 1907. Finally, Osmeña was elected Governor of Cebu in 1906, before being elected to the Assembly the following year. Another example was Quezon. After being licensed to practice law in 1903, Quezon instantly became the Provincial Fiscal of two provinces, first of Mindoro and second of Tayabas in 1906. A year later, before being elected to the Assembly, he was elected Governor of Tayabas. For his part, Villamor started as Secretary of Abra in 1902. Later, he was elected Governor of Abra from 1902 to 1904 when he was designated Honorary Commissioner to the United States. De Vera too became a Governor. Starting as a Vice-President of the Municipality of Sorsogon in 1904, he later became Governor of the Province of Sorsogon.

Next to these Assemblymen were those who did not become Governors yet held more than one positions before being elected to the Assembly of 1907. These were Altavas, Cojuangco, Sotto, and de Veyra. Altavas' position in the government was as Councilor of Capiz in 1903 which he held twice. He later became Third member of the Provincial Board of Capiz. His political status in his province did not improve and was not quite established until the establishment of the Nacionalista Party which he joined after his Modernista Party had been defeated by the Progresista and Federalistas parties.

Another was Cojuangco. Cojuangco held various positions in society. He first held the position as member of the Local Board of Public Schools, and member and later Vice President of the Board of Sanitation. In addition, he became President of the Municipality and later third member of the Provincial Board. All of these he held in his province. Next was Sotto. He was elected into and then became Vice president of Cebu. And lastly, he became Court Fiscal of Cebu and Negros Oriental only to resign

in 1907 when he was elected into the Assembly.

The last of these Assemblymen held only one position until 1907. A number of them were from Cebu. P. Rodriguez was practicing his profession in Cebu when elected as Municipality President of Cebu. But his deteriorating health necessitated his going to Europe to recuperate. Also from Cebu was Ruiz who became Municipality President. From 1904 to 1907, on the other hand, Leopoldo Rovira was Register of Deeds head in Negros Oriental. Meanwhile, Soriano was Provincial Fiscal from 1901 to 1907 of Iloilo. Last among them was Mercado. Mercado became a clerk in a court in Pampanga from 1892 to 1903 when he was licensed to practice law.

The official function of the Assemblymen from the pre-revolutionary period to the American period until 1907 had been presented. It is their occupational background that will be discussed now. Those with the most sources of income, other than their official functions, will be discussed here first.

According to the official directory of the Philippine Assembly of 1907, the breakdown of the Assemblymen's occupational background is as follows: 48 lawyers, 6 Agriculturists, 5 Secondary Professors, 4 Businessmen and Agriculturists, 4 Businessmen and Property Owners, 4 Doctors, 2 Journalists, 2 Property Owners and Agriculturists, 2 Pharmacists, 1 Primary School Teacher, 1 Agriculturist and naval officer, and 1 Businessman. This breakdown seems clear. Yet, it is only true at face value. A more thorough study into the Assemblymen's occupational background will show a distinct form rather than a discrete one that the official directory of the Assembly depicts. Majority of them had more than one career. Some of them even had occupations of different natures simultaneously. In fact, a number of them had four occupations.

F.M. Guerrero, Mercado, and Montilla were those who had four occupations and careers. Their economic endeavors varied from each other. F.M. Guerrero was a lawyer, a journalist, a poet, and an educator. He was recruited by General Luna to the

revolutionary newspaper and became a founding writer for *La Independencia* on September 3, 1899. Later on, he wrote for other publications. He wrote for newspapers such as *La Patria*, *La Fraternidad y Filipinas*; and magazines such as *Manila Domus Area*, *Renacimiento Filipino*, and *Feria de Novadades*. Finally, F.M. Guerrero became the director of *El Renacimiento* in 1903 and *Liceo de Manila*.

Meanwhile, Mercado was a lawyer, writer, secondary school teacher, and one time a clerk. Before he was licensed to practice law he worked as a clerk for the Court of Pampanga from 1903 to 1903. Right after he was licensed in 1903, Mercado became connected with the law office of Rafael Palma. Last among them was Montilla. He was a naval officer, property owner, an agriculturist, and a professor. When the Institute of Rizal in Bacolod, Negros was established, he was appointed professor there.

The second major grouping was composed of Assemblymen with three occupations. They were de Veyra, Palma, Adriatico, Singson-Encarnacion, Velarde, Orense, Villamor, Avancera, L.M. Guerrero, and Cojuanco. The first three had the triumvirate careers as lawyers, professors, and journalists. De Veyra started as a lawyer since he graduated early in his law studies. By 1904, he was connected with publications such as *El Nuevo Dia*, *Nuevo Era*, and *Tungo sa Lungsod*. In fact he founded together with Osmeña and Palma the *El Nuevo Dia* in 1901. In the same year, he became director of *Liceo de Manila*, a position which he held for a year. Before his term ended as director of the school, de Veyra became the editor of *El Renacimiento* in 1905.

On the other hand, Palma and Adriatico started as journalists. Palma started much earlier in journalism than Adriatico. He started his writing career during the heyday of General Luna. When the General founded the revolutionary newspaper *La Independencia*, Palma was appointed to be its editor-in-chief at first and later its director, from the death of the General until the Philippine-American War. Adriatico, on the

other hand, started his career as a writer for *La Moda*. And even when he started law school, he continued with his writings. At this time, he wrote for *Diario de Filipinas* and *El Renacimiento*, newspapers that expressed the "desires for peace and acceptance of American sovereignty."

The next three were also lawyers and professors, but not journalists as those mentioned above. In the cases of Singson-Encarnacion, Velarde and Orense, they were also businessmen. Singson-Encarnacion was admitted to the bar in 1901. He was also one of the founding professors of Escuela de Derecho in Ilocos Sur. And as a businessman, he was President of the Insular Life Assurance Company and was a stockholder of the Balintawak Estate.

Velarde managed a tailoring shop that supplied the military suits and uniforms of the regiment stationed in Manila. A professor of law, he taught Civil Law at the Escuela de Derecho and Economics at the Colegio Mercantil and at the Liceo de Manila. On the other hand, Orense started as a professor since he obtained his secondary school teaching degree first in 1891. In 1898, he obtained his license to practice law. By this time, he was not only practicing his law profession but teaching as well. In fact, he was a teacher at the time at the El Nino de Jesus. And in 1900, he worked with Del Pan, Ortigas, and Fisher, from where he started his business endeavors.

Associated with these first two groups were Assemblymen who were also lawyers and journalists. Yet, their careers were different from those mentioned above. Villamor for example, was an interpreter at one time, and Avancen a an agriculturist. But between them, they were journalists more than anything else. Villamor was the Spanish-Ilocano interpreter of the Courts of First Instance of Abra and Ilocos Sur from 1896 to 1898. As a journalist, he did not only write but edited and published newspapers. He was editor of *Heraldo de la Revolution*. And as founding publisher and editor, he was responsible for the creation of the first Philippine newspaper in Vigan, Ilocos Sur named *El Nuevo Era*.

Avancera, on the other hand, was an established journalist before becoming a lawyer. As a journalist, he worked in various newspapers especially in *La Revolution* and *El Pais*. And as an agriculturist, he became the President of the Federation of Sugar Planters of Negros.

The rest of the Assemblymen in the group had different careers all throughout from those mentioned above. The most prominent of them was L.M. Guerrero. This Guerrero was a journalist, a pharmacist, and a professor. As a journalist, he was director of *La Republica Filipina*. As a pharmacist, he was a chemical expert of the Royal Audiencia and Director of the Union Farmaceutico Company. And as a professor, he had many assignments. In 1887 he was appointed professor of Pharmacy at the University of Santo Tomas. When a university was established in Malolos by the Malolos government, L.M. Guerrero was appointed Dean and Professor of Pharmacy. At this newly established Universidad Cientifico-literiudad Filipinas, he was also founding faculty of its School of Medicine. Finally, he was a founding member and the founding director of Liceo de Manila. Next to him was Cojuanco. This last Assemblymen in this group was secondary school teacher, a businessman, and an agriculturist.

The majority of the Assemblymen had two careers. Among them three groups can be seen. Among these Assemblymen law was one of their careers. The first group was composed of those who were lawyers and educators. They were Aguas, Barreto, Javier, and Fenoy. Aguas became a lawyer first before becoming a professor. In fact, after he obtained his license to practice law, he became a professor in the College of Pampanga. Around the same time, Barreto was already a lawyer and a professor. When the Universidad Cientifico-literiudad Filipinas was established in 1898, he was appointed Roman Law Professor. Paterno too was founding faculty of the same university where he taught Roman Law as well. Much later on in 1910, Javier taught law at the Liceo de Manila when he was already a licensed lawyer. For his part, Fenoy was a builder of educational institutions. In the latter part of 1898, he opened

Filipino Libre, a primary school in Taal, Batangas. Later, he built a primary and a secondary school in Pampanga which he named the Benedicta Luna Institute in honor of his teacher. Lastly, there was Clarin who was licensed to practice law in 1904. And while he was practicing law, he also taught for a while before going back to Cebu where he again concentrated with his law profession.

The second group of Assemblymen with two careers were those who were lawyers and agriculturists. They were C. Rodriguez, Jimenez, Causin, and Gabaldon. Both Jimenez and Causin's rendezvous with agriculture occurred when both of them were interrupted in their law studies by the Revolution. Jimenez, was fourth year in law school when the Revolution broke out. Due to the hostilities, he went home to his province of Antique where he devoted much of his time to agriculture, from this time until 1903 when he continued his law studies. Like Jimenez, Causin began to be engaged with agriculture when he was interrupted in his law studies by the Revolution. When it broke out, Causin returned to Cebu and devoted his time to the management of the haciendas of his parents. On the other hand, Gabaldon practiced law before becoming an agriculturist. Associated to these Assemblymen were those who were lawyers and landowners at the same time. They were Soriano and Zandueta.

Another group composed of lawyers and businessmen. They were Imperial and Quezon, among others. Before becoming a lawyer, Imperial was at first a merchant. In fact, he used this career to obtain the other: he was so "determined to carve his own destiny in life, [that] he made his way in college by becoming a merchant." When he became a lawyer, it paved the way for him to become a legislator and a jurist. Next to Imperial was Quezon. It was not surprising for Quezon to belong to this group since he came from a rich family. His background gave him the necessary support for his law studies and his business endeavors. During the early American Period, Quezon became a stockholder of the Manila Railroad Company that was established with American capital.

Next to them were those who were lawyers and journalists. These included Alcares, Laguda, Clarin, and Osmeña. Alcares was a member of the Federalista Party and as a journalist, he founded the party's official newspaper *La Paz*. Laguda as a journalist worked as editor of *El Tiempo* which was published in Iloilo. Lastly, Osmeña started as a freelance writer and later publisher of *El Nuevo Dia*. Where he wrote for during the Revolution. When he was licensed to practice law in 1903, he devoted much of his time to this career.

The other Assemblymen with two careers were Chavez and P. Rodriguez. Chavez was an agriculturist and an ordained priest, while P. Rodriguez was a businessman and propertyman.

The remaining Assemblymen were those who had "one" career (or source of income) before becoming elected to the body in 1907. Many of them were lawyer. They are Altavas, Agoncillo, C. Lukban, de Vera, and Pineda. Meanwhile, J. Lukba was a faculty at the Universidad Cientifico-literiudad Filipinas where he taught *anatomina, topografico, operaciones querugicas, apositos y vendajas*. Last among them was Sotto who was a journalist and used the pen name Juan Querilla in his writings. Even when he was still studying, he collaborated in various newspaper and founded with others the *La Moda Filipino*. He also wrote for magazines such as the *Revista Mercantil, El Resume*, and *El Boletin de Cebu*, and was publisher of the *El Nuevo Dia*. Lastly, he founded and directed *El Importad, La Opinion*, and *La Revolucion*.

After discussing all of these, one can see in details the substance that made up the Philippine Assembly of 1907 and one can conclude that indeed the Assemblymen were elite in status and in class. Whatever description and definition pertaining to their rank in Philippine society of the 1900's that were made by the writers cited at the beginning of this paper, they have been substantiated by the discussion made in this paper above. Being elite, the Assemblymen surely had different interests and aspirations from the majority of the Filipino people. Although this paper lacks a more detailed and indepth analysis of what

came between their status and class and their specific actions and decisions in the Assembly, one can deduce from this paper the general outcome of elite performance in a national institution like the Philippine Assembly of 1907.

But as a closing remark this is what the author of the paper wants to state. The educational background, official positions, and financial underpinnings of the Philippine Assemblymen of 1907 had been presented. How rich and colorful their backgrounds were can be seen in the preceding discussions. Rich were their backgrounds--in the sense that the Assemblymen had an outstanding education, a long experience in administration, and a substantial source of wealth. And colorful their background were--in the sense that at whatever period, place, and camp one could see their prominence in society, in organizations, in the government. Temporal, spatial, and loyalty considerations were immaterial to them.

What is the key to the understanding of their endeavors up to 1907 in Philippine society and history is not based on self-interest *per se* but self-fulfillment. As seen above, the activities the Assemblymen were engaged in were pursued to the fullest. What was problematic about these pursuits was that the Assemblymen were exposed to individualistic modes of fulfilling their endeavors, which short-changed them or themselves to function as individuals and/or as a grouping from which the will and needs of the majority was supposed to be met.

This explains contrary movements in the lives of the would-be Assemblymen when at one time they seemed to be in the side of the righteous and at an other seemed to be in the side of the iniquitous. As long as their self-fulfillment could be answered by exemplary action they would attempt to carry it out. But when it was not, they would go contrary to it. What was lamentable was that, more often than not, the Assemblymen were in the side contrary to the majority. Thus, where they could be prominent, they were there, where they could use their experience and knowledge to the fullest. And where they could acquire wealth the more, they would be surely there, too. That

was why many of the individuals mentioned here were in the Philippine Assembly of 1907,

NOTES

1. Glenn May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (London: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 59.
2. Bonifacio S. Salamanca, *Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1984), p. 53
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Michael Cullinane, "Implementing the New Order: The Structure and Supervision of Local Government During the Taft Era," in *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines Under American Rule*, ed. by Norman G. Owen (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1971), p. 14.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Luois Gleeck, Jr., *The American Half-Century, Vol I: General History of the Philippines* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1984), p. 52.
9. Cullinane, p. 13-14.

10. Norman G. Owen, "Introduction: Philippine Society and American Colonialism," in *Compadre Colonialism: Studies on the Philippines under American Rule* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1971), p. 4.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Bernardita R. Churchill. *The Philippine Independence Missions to the United States: 1919-1934* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983), p. 3.

14. Frank Jenista, "Conflict in the Philippine Legislature: The Commission and the Assembly from 1907 to 1913," in *Compadre Colonialism: Studies in the Philippines under American Rule*, ed. Norman G. Owen (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1971), p. 88.

15. Joseph R. Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 30.

16. Owen, p. 6.

17. Jenista, p. 81.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Salamanca, p. 56.

20. Gleeck, p. 97.

21. Jenista, p. 82.

22. Churchill, p. 4.

23. Salamanca, p. 52.

24. Hayden, p. 169.
25. Salamanca, p. 52.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Churchill, p. 2.
28. Salamanca, p. 154.
29. Hayden, p. 173.
30. Salamanca, p. 108.
31. Dean Worcester, *The Philippine Past and Present* (2 vols., New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914).
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 773-774.
33. Se Appendix I of May.
34. Jenista, p. 82.
35. See Appendix I of May.
36. Data do not explicitly tell that they studied in the school for their primary. But cross-reference of data on other Assemblymen give a strong indication that these other Assemblymen actually studied in Ateneo. The absence of information as to where they studied early is a strong point. Also, they obtained their Bachelor of Arts degree in the same school with others who studied earlier in another school. Unlike these Assemblymen, this second group are said to have studied explicitly in another school earlier. The sources used here assumed that since they also studied at Ateneo earlier, there was no need tell state it.

37. Evelyn Ansay Miranda, "Early American Imperialism and the Development of the Philippine Oligarchy: The Case of the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Legislative Elite, 1899-1916." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of the Philippines), p. 193.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Philippines, Fourth Philippines Legislature, *Official Directory of the Senate and the House of Representatives*, First Session (Manila: Manila Bureau of Printing, 1917), p. 148.
40. Zoilo Galang, *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, ed. by Camilo Osias (15 Vols; Manila: P. Vera and Sons Co., 1936), Vol X, p. 457.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Miranda, pp. 200-201 (199-200).
43. Miranda, p. 205; Galang, p. 83.
44. Miranda, p. 196-197.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Esperidion, Arsenio Manuel, Dictionary of Philippine Biography (2 vols., Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1955), p. 165.
47. Miranda, p. 199 (198).
48. *Ibid.*
49. Manuel, p. 471.
50. Galang, p. 457.
51. *Ibid.*

52. Miranda, p. 208.
53. Philippines, Fifth Philippine Legislature, Directory of the Philippine Senate, Second Session, Document No. 920.3-5 (Manila: Manila Bureau of Printing, 1921), p.35.
54. Miranda, p. 204.
55. Fifth Philippine Legislature, 47.
56. Galang, p. 225.
57. Manuel, p. 471.
58. Miranda, p. 204, 206.
59. Manuel, p. 165.
60. Miranda, p. 206 (205).
61. Galang, p. 29.
62. *Ibid.*, p.56.
63. Miranda, p. 211 (210).
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*
66. Fifth Philippine Legislature, p. 49.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
68. Miranda, p. 209 (208)
69. Fifth Philippine Legislature, p. 49.
70. *Ibid.*

71. Miranda, p. 213 (214).
72. Galang, p. 83.
73. Fifth Philippine Legislature, p. 63.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Miranda, p. 200 (201).
76. *Ibid.*
77. Fourth Philippine Legislature, p. 80.
78. Miranda, p. 212.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
80. Galang, p. 29.
81. Miranda, p. 200 (199).
82. Galang, p. 337.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Miranda, p. 209 (208).
85. Fifth Philippine Legislature, p. 63.
86. Manuel, p. 471.
87. Fourth Philippine Legislature, p. 471.
88. Miranda, p. 203 (202).
89. *Ibid.*, p. 204 (203).
90. *Ibid.*, p. 208 (207).

91. Galang, p. 301.
92. Manuel, p. 165.
93. Quezon was third year when interrupted in his law studies and was only able to practice law when a rule was made by the Second Philippine Commission of licensing third and fourth year student of law interrupted by the Revolution to practice law.
94. Miranda, p. 203 (202).
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*, 204 (203).
97. *Ibid.*, p. 204 (203).
98. Fifth Philippine Legislature, p. 33.

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