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Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*: Scholarship or Imperialist Propaganda?

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Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* Scholarship or Imperialist Propaganda?

The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, a multivolume compilation of documents published from 1903 to 1907 has become a basic reference—almost a *creed*—for scholars interested in the Spanish Philippines. This work has fostered the construction and spread of factual inaccuracies and deep-seated but mistaken assumptions about Spanish colonial rule. James Alexander Robertson and Emma Helen Blair were the authors of the preface and the translators of most of the documents. However, in 1903 James A. LeRoy became its architect in penumbra, marginalizing key documents in order to highlight some events and suppress others, as well as compounding mistranslations. This article explains through the personal correspondence of James A. Robertson and Emma H. Blair with James A. LeRoy how *The Philippine Islands* emerged and developed, becoming an indispensable tool of historical propaganda in the service of U.S. colonial administration.

KEYWORDS: JAMES A. LEROY · CLEMENTE J. ZULUETA · HISTORIOGRAPHY · AMERICAN IMPERIALISM · CACIQUE

The year 1898 is crucial in order to understand some facts that would define the future of three main actors: Spain, the Philippines, and the United States. The year also marked for Spain the end of a magnificent past. In 1898 Spain lost its last three colonies—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The so-called Spanish Disaster resulted a priori in the gradual disappearance of the Philippine archipelago from Spanish textbooks and the Spanish academy. However, the same year was quite different for a new actor in the imperialist game: the United States. The revisionist history, which emerged at the close of the 1950s, defends the argument that Roosevelt and McKinley specifically recommended that “we take and retain the Philippines” (Williams 1959, 43). This argument is improbable considering that the United States could hardly have mapped the Philippines when they decided to occupy the archipelago. Nevertheless, the United States would conceal its true intentions, introducing itself to some Filipino insurgents with a warm, generous, and humanitarian impulse to help expel the Spaniards and so obtain independence.

For its part, the Philippines welcomed the Americans by believing they had come to liberate the Philippines from an “oppressive” and “despotic” colonial master: Spain. The first struggle for independence was short-lived because the Americans decided to conquer the Philippines to become the guardians of the “poor,” the “ignorant,” and the “weak.”¹ I use these epithets deliberately because such terms—used in conjunction with the story that Americans liberated Filipinos from the medieval Spanish yoke, that the United States had to carry out international duties to the Philippines, and that the natives were unfit for self-government—played a crucial role in all the narratives that would emerge from American universities.

From 1900 onward, the altruistic aims of the Americans became a tautology. At the opening of the twentieth century, the American administration started to build up a perfect machinery where all pieces would fit perfectly. Becoming involved in colonial administration were career scholars, publishers, publishing houses, universities, journalists, collectors, and private enterprises that were to serve loyally American interests in the Philippines. Textbooks became an effective means of propaganda in order to indoctrinate the public about the necessity of occupying and retaining the Philippines, and above all to silence the antagonistic voices of the anti-imperialists. This policy was successful. The universities, by training future scholars, became institutions that spread imperialist ideas. The books that were deliberately neglected during this period continue to be ignored in present-day bibliog-

raphies. Newspapers became another powerful media to promote imperialist arguments, while dissident voices were silenced.

The American administration would follow a pattern in its imperialist career. The official version of colonial history would be fostered by the government at Washington, D.C., which would publish the reports of the Commissions that, in turn, would be sent to different institutions such as libraries and universities, thus providing “primary sources” for scholars. Obviously these materials were not intended to compromise the colonial discourse of American generosity and humanitarian impulse to help other people solve their problems. The official history was to be furnished by officials or administrators who rendered services in the Philippines. Important publishing houses emerged in order to publish the stories written by these administrators. In this context we find the Macmillan Company, Arthur H. Clark Company, or G. P. Putnam’s Sons, among others, becoming subsidiaries of the American administration and serving the establishment faithfully. For instance, Macmillan published Worcester’s *The Philippine Islands and Their People* (1898) and *The Philippines: Past and Present* (1914), and Hayden’s *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (1947); while G. P. Putnam’s Sons published LeRoy’s *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (1905c).

These propagandistic books, which surreptitiously spread the discourse about the necessity to retain the Philippines, followed a specific pattern. A book would begin with a brief history of Spanish rule that highlighted the nineteenth century. We can observe in this standard narrative the idea of a medieval Spanish government with anachronistic and despotic institutions until the end. The Philippines in this narrative was a mere appendage of New Spain. All these arguments have remained stereotypical in the American academe, and at present are still used in the guise of more sophisticated discursive, methodological, or theoretical frameworks. These stories were also patterned as ethnological studies with a definite objective: to provide the American audience a distorted view of the Philippines and the Filipinos, showing a heterogeneous country inhabited by wild tribes. From 1905 onward American textbooks would emphasize the development of local government ruled by natives, who comprised a corrupt and tyrannical government, forming an institution that was to be called *caciquismo*. Finally, these textbooks represented the altruistic ends of the American occupation of the Philippines, trumpeting the American administration since the Taft era’s implementation of benevolent assimilation in the archipelago.²

However, the Arthur Clark Company emerged a priori with a set of publishing criteria that were different from the Macmillan Company or G. P. Putnam's Sons that, initially at least, conferred on this publisher an impartial attitude and exonerated it of any personal bias, whether political or sectarian. The Arthur Clark Company decided to publish a series of Spanish documents collected from different libraries and archives and to translate them to English. Although a priori there is nothing surreptitious about the publication of primary sources, this company, as it will be explored, was to justify from the beginning this work stating that *The Philippine Islands* was offered to the public with the intention and hope of casting light on the great problems that confronted the American people in the Philippines (Blair and Robertson 1903, 1:13).

This last sentence gives us some clues about the Arthur Clark Company, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898, and the editors Robertson and Blair's implication in American colonial administration. This article explores the construction of Blair and Robertson's massive collection of Spanish documents and their English translation by looking into the editors' personal correspondence. *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898 would become the most important propaganda work, making the Philippine question as one of great importance in American national life. Since its completion in 1907 *The Philippine Islands* has been regarded as the most indispensable work for scholars.

A Brief Introduction of the Series and Its Editors

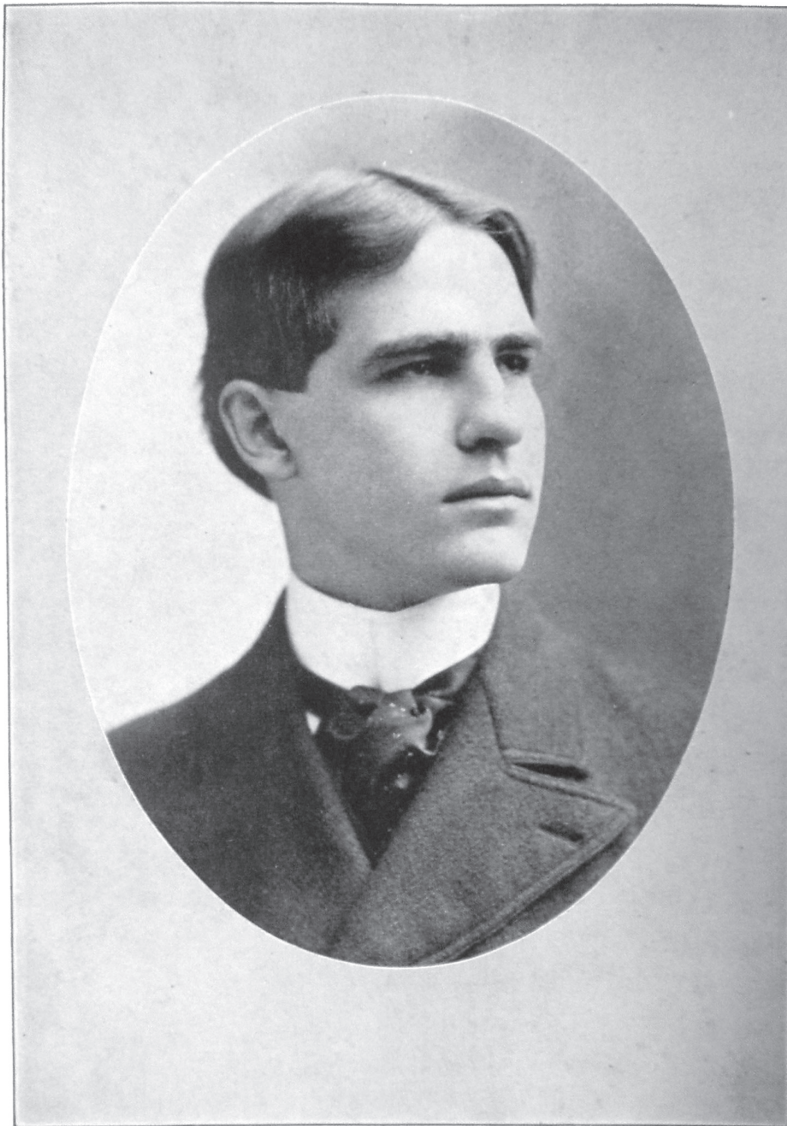
The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803, as it was first titled, was a most ambitious project by the Americans to rewrite a history of the Philippines after their occupation of the islands. Actually the project started to germinate in 1902 as a confidential enterprise. Emma H. Blair (1902), the brains behind the team, communicated to Edward E. Ayer the intention of the enterprise:³

I have just made arrangements with a publisher for the issue of a series (covering more than fifty volumes) to comprise documents relating to the early history of those islands An important feature of my series will be a full bibliography, annotated as fully as possible; in this I desire to state, for the benefit of scholars, bibliophiles, and collectors, the locations of copies of old and rare works in this country. I am not yet ready to announce my enterprise, and therefore request that you will regard this communication as confidential . . .

This letter is related to the creation in the spring of 1902 of a new company, which was to be called The Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, Ohio. The objective of this new company was “to set upon a course of seeking out and encouraging talented historians, developing individual projects, and publishing a body of works on American history, biography and narrative” (Clark and Brunet 2002, 15). Clark immediately arranged with Archer B. Hulbert to initiate a series of books entitled *Historic Highways of America*. While work began on that publishing project, Clark went to England, where large quantities of Americana were readily available, to secure stock for his store. Upon his return he met with James A. Robertson and Emma H. Blair, with whom he and Reuben Gold Thwaites had previously worked on a book project, *The Jesuit Relations*.⁴ They convinced him to undertake the publication of a second major series to be entitled *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1803. Since the Philippine islands were constantly in the headlines as a result of the Spanish-American War, all parties felt that this project had a good chance of commercial success (ibid., 29).

Because it had problems finding American scholars with expertise in Philippine history, the Arthur H. Clark Company had to rely on scholars who were experts on Spanish America, such as Herbert E. Bolton, Henry B. Lathrop, and above all Edward Gaylord Bourne (1904/1962).⁵ Bolton and Lathrop would translate some of the documents published in *The Philippine Islands*, particularly from volume 1 to volume 5. However, Bourne helped to select documents and wrote the “Historical Introduction” with a specific imprint: the encapsulation of the Philippines into Spanish America. This would be the main reason why the series starts in 1493.

There are two noticeable features in this series that are inextricably related to each other. The first one is the organization of the multivolume work, which reflects two important phases in its construction. The first five volumes published between January and May 1903 were put together according to the criterion laid down by Bourne, which was to provide the American public with “trustworthy” documents. For accuracy's sake, they even considered publishing the Spanish originals together with the English translations.⁶ These five volumes cover the years 1493 to 1583. Volume 1 is occupied with the historical introduction written by Bourne, and with documents relating to the “demarcation line” by which Pope Alexander VI sought to divide the world between Portugal and Spain. The remainder of this volume contains some documents relating to Magellan's voyage. Volume 2 contains synopses



James A. LeRoy.

Source: LeRoy 1914, 1:xii

of documents pertaining to the voyages of Loaisa, Villalobos, and Legazpi. Volume 3 gives documentary accounts of the conquest of Manila and parts of Luzon as well as some further accounts of the trouble with the Portuguese, who claimed the Philippines as within their demarcation. Volume 4 treats the matter of *encomiendas* and the beginnings of the Spanish policy of conquest among the Moro of the south of the Philippines. Volume 5 deals with the two years following the arrival of the first Philippine bishop, Domingo de Salazar, and contains the *Relación* by Miguel de Loarca of the Philippine islands and people, with both the original document and the English translation.

The critical review of these initial volumes, written by James A. LeRoy and published in the *American Historical Review* (1903–1904), led to a complete change of the work's format. It should be noted that LeRoy, who took Philippine history and Spanish classes en route to the Philippines, was secretary of Dean C. Worcester in the Second Philippine Commission. During his term as secretary he became close to Taft and became the latter's political analyst, advisor, and "brains." LeRoy kept in touch with the Filipino elite—the members of the recently founded Partido Federal who provided him bibliographical information about the Spanish period and the Filipino revolution.⁷ LeRoy would become the director of *The Philippine Islands* from volume 6, published in August 1903, onwards. The sixth volume, in fact, contains an "editorial announcement" that the compilation would cover the entire Spanish administration period.⁸ At that point the history project became part of the American administrative machinery. LeRoy would dictate which documents to publish and which ones to ignore. In this new context, from volume 6 onward, the prefaces and documents selected would have a specific purpose: to discredit the Spanish administration through the omission of certain works, the decontextualization of others, and the use of certain epithets to define the Spanish bureaucracy and the natives.

The second distinctive feature of this series is the good intention of the publication of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803*. The editors Blair and Robertson (1903, 1:13) expressed in the general preface that they were to present Spanish documents and manuscripts to the public "with the intention and hope of casting light on the *great problems* which confront the American people in the Philippines; and of furnishing authentic and trustworthy material for a thorough and scholarly history of the islands." Modern historiography has emphasized this intention, even exaggerating the conditions the

Americans found in the Philippines: “Faced with the task either of governing the Philippines or training them to govern themselves, the American people were perplexed not only by the enormity of the problem but by the clash of contradictory estimates of the culture and capacity of the Philippine peoples” (Wilgus 1942, 12).

Robertson and Blair, instead of providing material for future scholars, felt the need of the United States for a thorough knowledge of the political and social evolution of the Filipino people. *The Philippine Islands* was to be the answer to this need. By the presentation of authentic and trustworthy material, Blair and Robertson interpreted the modern Philippine scene and fitted it into its historical background. However, the “authentic” and “trustworthy” materials were not new since most of the documents, as it will be explained in this article, had been published in other collections. Blair and Robertson provided many friar accounts and a few royal decrees, mostly extracted from *La Recopilación de las Leyes de India*. In addition, they gathered many of the old manuscripts and rare books from the Newberry Library. A clear example is the personal correspondence of Edward E. Ayer with Blair and Robertson both of whom borrowed the old manuscripts and rare books acquired by Ayer.

No doubt, the material was “authentic” but highly selective. The “trustworthy” material is called into question when we found problems such as mistranslation, decontextualization, and misinterpretation of the documents and the facts they contained, especially when LeRoy collaborated with the editors. Despite these serious problems, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* became, and is still considered to be, the best and most comprehensive source of historical materials on the Philippines during the Spanish regime (Churchill 1993, 79). The praises for the work could be attributed to the editors Emma H. Blair and above all James A. Robertson, who have been considered “historians of the Philippines.” However, a hundred years after the completion of this work we hardly know anything about its editors.

Emma Helen Blair (1851–1911)

Emma Blair obtained her Bachelor of Arts probably at Ripon College. She had a mastery of French and Spanish, which paved the way for a scholarly career. Teaching did not satisfy her, and so in 1877 she joined the staff of the *Christian Statesman*, a Milwaukee newspaper. She took up graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin in 1892, and later joined the library staff of the

Wisconsin Historical Society as assistant librarian. In 1894 Blair resigned from the library staff to work as chief assistant to Dr. Thwaites (Manuel 1995, 98).

I know Miss Blair could understand French but I have not found any evidence that she could speak, read, or even understand Spanish, although she is said to have translated many of the documents. As we mentioned above, Blair sent a communication to Ayer in June 1902 in which she announced the immediate publication of fifty volumes comprising documents relating to the early history of the Philippines and covering the period from 1493 to 1803 (Blair 1902).

Blair was the first one to complain when LeRoy criticized the initial volumes of this compendium, and he it was who also drew LeRoy, then consul at Durango, into the project itself. It seems that in 1909 the University of Wisconsin awarded Blair an M.A. degree, *honoris causa*. This is practically all the information we have about her. E. Arsenio Manuel (1995, 98) adds a bit more information that is mainly hagiographic, saying for instance that the motives that influenced Blair to undertake this work were in great measure philanthropic. This philanthropy had a clear aim: to provide the main reference source for Philippine history (the only one of any value at all in the English language) and to make the Philippine question one of great importance in American national life (LeRoy 1903a). She wanted to assist in solving the problems of governing the islands. She died of cancer in September 1911, just days after having received an advance copy of volume 1 of her *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, her last contribution to scholarship (Clark and Brunet 2002, 80).

James Alexander Robertson (1873–1939)

Better known than Blair, probably owing to his commitment to the American administration, James A. Robertson is identified as an American translator, scholar, and bibliographer. In 1892 he entered Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, in Cleveland, specializing in Romance languages. He obtained his Ph.B. in 1896.

The heavier part of the burden of collecting materials for *The Philippine Islands* fell upon Robertson’s shoulders. This took him in 1902–1907 to the archives and libraries of Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, England, and the United States in search of original editions, rare prints, and manuscripts. He contacted historians, bibliophiles, and other such experts in the various countries he visited to seek help in evaluating, translating, and annotating

the works he had selected, or in writing introductions to the various materials gathered. Robertson himself did a great deal of translating and annotating (Manuel 1970, 304–13). Manuel states that Robertson contacted historians and experts in several countries. Curiously, in the case of Spain, Robertson made contact with Wenceslao Retana,⁹ Eduardo Navarro,¹⁰ Pablo Pastells,¹¹ and Giner de los Ríos. Retana and Navarro could have helped him understand the nineteenth century because they both considered the revolt of 1896 as the result of the reformist policy implanted in the archipelago. However, LeRoy advised Robertson and even Arthur Clark against consulting Retana. The Jesuit Pastells was more useful for he could provide support for the idea of a Spanish regime that was more a mission than a colony. De los Ríos, a prominent educator and philosopher, had nothing to do with the Philippines but he was one of the makers of the new educational system in Spain that eventually was transplanted in the archipelago.¹² Based on LeRoy's advice, de los Ríos would be ignored for the obvious reason that his education reforms would raise questions about the cornerstone of American rule: education.

Robertson's work was considered significant and he became a Doctor because of his achievements, although he never studied for a doctorate degree. He received praise from LeRoy, Manuel Artigas (1911), and above all A. Curtis Wilgus, who wrote *Hispanic American Essays: A Memorial to James Alexander Robertson*. While Blair went practically unnoticed, Robertson kept in touch with LeRoy, who from 1904 was virtually dictating the shape of *The Philippine Islands* from volumes 6 to 52. Recommended by LeRoy to Taft and Superintendent of Education Barrows, Robertson reached the apex of his career with his appointment as chief librarian of the Philippine Library.

When Robertson became the head of the Philippine Library he wrote a history of the library and its holdings. This account is really interesting since it demonstrates de facto the political character of Robertson. He was an imperialist. Through this history of the library he mounted a strong criticism of Spanish rule as having suffered from lassitude and decrepitude. As with the whole system of Spanish institutions, the library under the Spanish regime was criticized by Robertson as broken down and practically nonexistent.

Robertson does not mention that the Filipino *ilustrado*, Pedro Paterno, was appointed by Maura as director of the Museo Biblioteca de Filipinas in 1893 (Retana 1906, 218–19).¹³ This brings us to the issue of misinformation or the suppression of information in his history of the library. During the short-

lived existence of the Philippine republic the first Filipino library was established, with rich Spanish materials acquired or confiscated from the religious orders. Robertson deliberately ignores this topic since there is another theme running through his account: a categorical definition of Filipinos as *ignorant* and *fanatical*, traits that demonstrate their unfitness for self-government.

Robertson becomes more explicit and proud when he explains how the Philippine Library was born. The library was founded in California as a private enterprise by an association called the American Circulating Library Association of Manila. In 1901 lack of funds compelled the association to seek government assistance. By virtue of Act No. 96 of the Philippine Commission enacted on 5 March 1901, the library was acquired by the government (Robertson 1913). The management and control of the library were done by U.S. government appointment, as were all the positions in the Philippines despite the introduction of self-government during the Taft era. Needless to say, the library's board was composed of Americans, with some token Filipinos.

No doubt, the most impressive accomplishment of Robertson was his editorship of *The Philippine Islands*. However, there is a second important feature of his career, which enhanced his prestige among scholars—his acquisition in 1913 of the Filipiniana collection of La Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, considered as the best such collection in the world. Robertson explains this process in great detail since he considers the purchase a personal achievement. According to him the collection had been offered as early as 1906 to the Library of Congress for the sum of P400,000. In 1913 the offer was renewed to the Government of the Philippines to which the company finally sold the collection for P200,000.

The story is a bit different from actual fact. The Americans were really keen on buying all the books and above all rare manuscripts related to their newly acquired archipelago. The condition of “rareness” became synonymous with prestige, no matter what the content was. La Compañía decided to take advantage of this buying spree by the Americans. It started to foster and spread the idea that they were really the *maecenas* of a valuable Filipiniana collection, and no doubt it was such. In 1904 José Sánchez y Garrigós, librarian of the La Compañía collection, insinuated to Wenceslao Retana, then working for bookseller Pedro Vindel, that the company was willing to sell its collection.

In response Retana began to plan a clever strategy to attract the attention of the American government. “I really believe in the business,” he wrote, “but

to make a great deal [of money], there are two specific things to do in advance: furnish it with 'rareness' and catalogue it with absolute magnificence" (Retana 1904). This is precisely what La Compañía and Retana did from 1904 to 1906. In fact, during these years La Compañía increased its collection, buying at Retana's request Vindel's collection, which included *algo de deshecho, impreso y manuscrito* (rubbish, printed and manuscripts) and quite "useless papers," but they were "rare."¹⁴ This purchase predictably attracted the attention of American private collectors and above all experts such as Robertson.

The strategy would take full shape in a scientific and erudite way. Retana put together an important catalog that appeared in three volumes in 1906—*Aparato Bibliográfico de la Historia General de Filipinas deducido de la colección que posee en Barcelona La Compañía General de Tabacos de dichas Islas*. He made an excellent job of cataloging the collection of La Compañía, making references to many other works. He built up a bibliographical masterpiece that would be emulated in the two last volumes of *The Philippine Islands*, but unfortunately Blair and Robertson lacked the rigor and above all the knowledge that Wenceslao Retana possessed. His *Aparato Bibliográfico* was subtly spread in prestigious academic circles.

Edward Ayer of the Newberry Library and the Library of Congress itself became immediately interested in acquiring this collection, but one of the most explicit wishes of La Compañía was to sell the collection to the Philippines. This is the reason why in 1906 La Compañía asked for P400,000 from Washington. They knew beforehand that the Library of Congress would not pay that large sum. Then in May 1907 Retana and Sánchez devised a new strategy—a powerful campaign to mobilize opinion in Filipino newspapers. Finally, the Filipiniana collection was acquired by the Philippine Library as La Compañía had wished, expecting someday to witness the birth of La Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas.¹⁵

James Robertson never checked carefully the works included in Retana's *Aparato Bibliográfico* (1906) and took for granted that he himself had acquired all the rare materials, which gave him prestige. But in fact many of the books listed—really important ones—were at Yale University from 1902. It was part of Retana's *marketing* strategy to make references to many other works not actually in the La Compañía collection.

There is one last important feature of Robertson's career not included in his biographies. During his term as librarian of the Philippine Library, Robertson became embroiled in a controversy regarding documents that he had

acquired, translated, and later published. These documents were purported to be pre-Hispanic, but were later proven to be fraudulent. This document is the pre-Hispanic Criminal Code of the Philippine Islands entitled "Social structure of, and ideas of law among early Philippine peoples; and a recently discovered pre-Hispanic code of the Philippine Islands," published in *The Pacific Ocean in History* edited by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (1917) under the Macmillan imprint. The publication of this book was the result of a big and important congress called the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, which took place in July 1915.¹⁶ Two important aspects of Robertson's contribution need to be emphasized. On the one hand, the fake document enabled Robertson to put forward the persuasive argument, prevalent in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, in support of the black legend of the Spaniards: that they consciously destroyed Philippine native institutions and customs such as in Latin America. This idea did not originate with him. He owed it to his friend James LeRoy (1904f) who had told him, "I must still believe that the Spaniards, at least the friars, did consciously endeavor to destroy native institutions and customs, as they certainly did in Mexico, and as they did wherever else." Robertson was paying tribute to the de facto architect (by 1904) of *The Philippine Islands*.

The second aspect of Robertson's chapter worth mentioning is that the document he used ultimately got him stuck in contradictions. In explaining the constitution of the native institutions and mode of government he used the classical terminology found in the Spanish documents: chief (*dato*) or petty king (*regulo/reyezuelo*). But suddenly Robertson (1915, 168) changed his argument, made an isomorphism between past and present, and began to infer that "[v]ery early the Spaniards began to employ the American word cacique when speaking of the leaders, and this word has survived even to the present time and is in constant use. Indeed, the power of the leader among the ignorant people is still almost as great, if not actually as great, as at the time of Spanish colonization."

Since there was nothing in the documents that proved this, Robertson was simply spreading the discourse of caciquismo built up by his friend LeRoy.¹⁷ His assumption that the term cacique was spread to the Philippines flew in the face of his own translations of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Plasencia,¹⁸ and other Spanish authors from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who never used the term cacique to define the native "leaders." Even the term "leader" in this context is an anachronism.

Robertson should have used the term “chieftain” since he was presenting a retrospective account of Spanish rule. The second part of Robertson’s paragraph above is a clear allusion to the decontextualization of the Laws of the Indies that has enabled Philippine caciquismo to have a deep lineage. LeRoy (1904i) had told Robertson to use Book 6, Title 7, Law 16, by which the Spaniards gave “caciques in the Philippines their former governing status.”¹⁹ He was reading back into the past the notion of an evil caciquismo that was being constructed and deployed by the American colonial administration. Robertson concluded his argument about caciquismo by asserting that this bad trait of the past was doomed with the advancement of education. In sum, his contribution to the Stephens and Bolton book was designed to promote the emerging colonial discourse about Filipinos being unfit for self-government and therefore needing American tutelage.

Another more important facet of Robertson’s paper deserves our attention: his data related to caciquismo as the consolidation of native despotism during the pre-Hispanic era. Robertson presented caciquismo as a strong institution before the arrival of the Spaniards. Without any discussion of debt bondage or forms of dependency, he emphasized the common practice of “slavery” in Filipino communities or barangays. The context of this bold assertion was the new bill just passed by the U.S. Congress condemning peonage and slavery in the Philippine territory. Robertson at this point was mobilizing history to support the efforts of another American scholar-official, Dean C. Worcester. In fact Robertson (1915, 168) invites the readers to see “the recent pamphlet by the former Secretary of the Interior for the Philippine Islands, Dean C. Worcester.”²⁰ Ultimately Robertson’s historical contribution buttressed the notion that tyranny, despotism, and corruption were endemic features of the Filipino ethos since time immemorial.

Despite these distortions and even the use of a fraudulent document, Robertson kept his reputation intact. In fact, modern historiography lays the blame for this forged document on a Filipino, José E. Marco, curiously omitting the fact that Robertson had enthusiastically spread the contents of this document without questioning and doubting its authenticity.²¹ Perhaps Marco had simply furnished the Americans with the kind of authentic past that they badly needed to bolster their policies. In any case Robertson escaped being tinged by this scandal. He continued a hectic life, teaching in North Carolina and becoming the editor of the *Hispanic American Histori-*

cal Review. He continued to contribute to the writing of a new Philippine history with some articles related to Spanish colonial rule.

The First Criticism of *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898

In 1904 the *American Historical Review* published the first critical review of *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1803, which by that time had run to five volumes covering the years 1493 to 1583. As mentioned previously James LeRoy was the reviewer of this work.²² According to him, “Five volumes have now appeared of this, the most extensive undertaking ever made in Philippine history. Volume I . . . though entirely pertinent (the desire to reach spice islands by a western route led to Magellan’s famous voyage of discovery), one feels that it was not strictly necessary to go so in detail into the documentary history of this never-settled controversy” (LeRoy 1903–1904, 149).

LeRoy was right; it was unnecessary to be so detailed, but above all the documents presented by Blair and Robertson were not new. They were relatively easy to access since they had already been published in the previous century. An example is the *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía* or the *Colección de Documentos y Manuscritos compilados por Fernández de Navarrete*.²³

The problem with LeRoy’s criticisms above is they seem more a justification than a true critique of the Blair and Robertson volumes. He says that “the editors of this series found themselves confronted at the very outset with a vast amount of such material which was all the more confusing in that it was so ill-assorted and undigested” (ibid., 150). This assertion is untenable. As I have stated, the documents in those five initial volumes had already been published in different Spanish and Portuguese collections and anyone who had actually used these collections would immediately have realized that LeRoy’s depiction of them as a “vast amount of ill-assorted and undigested material” was simply inaccurate. Blair and Robertson were not experts in Philippine history, and they used documents already published by other authors. All these documents were “well-assorted, digested, and well-edited.” The problem is that the editors did the research too much in a hurry, they did not have time to form a fair judgment on the content and value of the material they found in the Archivo de Indias or the Archivo de Simancas. There were many books and accounts about

the Philippines. Blair and Robertson would have needed at least four or five years to know all of them and arrive at acceptable criteria for selecting documents. Therefore the research in this work was deficient. As LeRoy (1903e) would explain to Barrows, the work of Blair and Robertson was “of small value” because what scholars needed were “unpublished and unedited Philippine data, as these editors are not doing.”

The real problem with Blair and Robertson’s volumes is the lack of royal decrees. These decrees were compiled by Spanish clerks in *cedularios* (collections of royal decrees), which dealt with matters of government, administration of justice, the treasury, and war. These royal decrees are important in order to understand the nature of Spanish colonial rule until 1853. These *cedularios*, which have been largely overlooked by scholars, reveal to us the nature and extent of secular power in the Philippines. Blair and Robertson’s volumes do not contain any of these royal decrees, only the instructions for governors.

It would not have been very difficult for Blair and Robertson to access the *cedularios* since Robertson went to different archives. Why the neglect of such material? Was it more important, perhaps, for them to ignore the royal decrees and thus be able to conclude that the Philippines was more a mission than a colony? For this purpose Blair and Robertson would have had to depend on the friar missionaries’ accounts, which they did. LeRoy even complained about the abuse of the friar accounts, even inferring that Blair and Robertson were being misled by someone who had been a “hireling of the friars.” At this point he was surreptitiously attacking Retana.

However, LeRoy (1903–1904, 151) fell into a contradiction in terms since he accused Blair and Robertson of depending on these friar sources and then a few lines later he stated categorically that Philippine history had been written almost exclusively by friars. Therefore, it seems that the accusations made by LeRoy about the deficiency in the selection of documents were more a criticism of those who were then advising Blair and Robertson—for instance, Wenceslao Retana and Edward G. Bourne²⁴—rather than the lack of skill on the part of the editors. One can sense reading this mild rebuke that LeRoy was offering himself as an alternative adviser for the project!

The other criticism made by LeRoy (*ibid.*, 152) concerned the annotations, or lack of them: “Herein particularly are the volumes thus far issued weak [in addition to minor mistakes caused by a too servile following of Retana and other fallible authorities].” This sentence is a clear discrediting of Retana. But let us pursue this matter of annotations further. In volume 5

Blair and Robertson published a document titled “Fray Salazar on Affairs in the Philippine Islands.” This was extracted from the *Archivo del bibliófilo Filipino* (1895–1905) in the preface to which the compiler, Retana (1897, 8) affirms that Bishop Salazar had become the Las Casas of the Philippines by protecting the natives. Blair and Robertson (1903, 5:9) quote Retana’s words in their preface, adding that the interference of Bishop Salazar in civil affairs provoked hostility between the ecclesiastical and secular powers. LeRoy coopted this argument to infer that this hostility was prevalent from the time of conquest *up to the very end* of the Spanish regime. He suggested that the editors write this kind of annotation. Blair and Robertson were correct in illustrating this controversy between the two powers, religious and secular. This hostility erupted because the religious orders during the decade of the 1580s had lost their initial dominance in the archipelago’s affairs. This was the historical view that the knowledgeable Retana was pushing, but LeRoy had to neglect or dismiss it since it was antagonistic to the American discourse about the perpetual reign of the bad friars.

LeRoy (1903–1904, 154) concluded his critique by justifying the deficiencies of *The Philippine Islands*: “That the editors of this work have launched it without time for sufficient preparation is the criticism to be made upon it, and a serious criticism it is. But it cannot fail to be a most valuable series, from every point of view, at this moment in our national history, and especially in view of the almost total lack of available publications on Philippine history in the English language.” LeRoy was right and Blair and Robertson’s multivolume work has indeed become the most valuable reference of its type despite its inaccuracies. This was the only time that LeRoy would criticize *The Philippine Islands*, although he continued to review the work. That was because LeRoy himself would become the most important architect of the documentary series after volume 5.

LeRoy corresponded with David Barrows and Clemente J. Zulueta about his criticisms of the first five volumes. He told Barrows that the editors were trying to do things too much in a hurry: “This series will be of great value as the only fairly satisfactory means of reference in our libraries to the main already published data of Philippine history. But the editors have not had time to survey the field and form a fair judgment on the content and value of the material with which they have to work. The editorial sources on the subject are all poor and for the scholar, their work will be of small value” (LeRoy 1903e). LeRoy confessed to Barrows that the work was ambitious and that ten or twelve volumes would have been enough. It is interesting to en-

counter LeRoy's statement that the work was poor and of small value, since after a hundred years of its existence Blair and Robertson's multivolume is still considered as the most valuable compendium of primary sources on the Spanish period. But LeRoy's statement is based on the standpoint that Blair and Robertson did not have time to analyze their work and that they were translating sources already known.

Barrows (1904a), for his part, felt disappointed with the series "taking it on the whole." "It does not publish the originals untranslated," he complained, "and its resume of documents, as it calls it, is absurd." The originals were not published for two reasons. The first is that most of the documents were already in published form, meaning to say they were not primary manuscript sources. The second reason is that Blair and Robertson had problems with the transcription of primary sources, misunderstanding and misinterpreting their content. Although Robertson (1904–1908) said to Ayer, "our transcript is in many cases better than the original now," the fact is that the transcriptions were poor and inaccurate.

An example of the editors' problems is their handling of the *Bando para que se manifieste el oro sacado de las sepulturas de los Indios* (Blair and Robertson 1903, 2:172–73; Robertson 1903–1907). The transcription made by Robertson is deficient and the translation suffers because of the faulty transcription. Here is an excerpt:

El muy ilustre Miguel Lopez de Legazpi Gobernador y Capitan General por su Majestad de la gente armada del descubrimiento de las Yslas dixo que por quanto a su noticia ha venido que muchos soldados españoles y marineros han abierto en esta Ysla de "Cuba . . ." (Blair and Robertson 1903, 2:172)

The most illustrious Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, his majesty's governor and captain-general of the people and fleet of the discovery of the Western Islands . . . many Spanish soldiers and sailors have opened many graves and burial-places of the native Indians in this island . . .

By comparing the above transcription and its translation we see that the Spanish document makes clear that Legazpi was both the governor and captain of those who traveled with him. However, Robertson translates "governor" and "captain" of the people and fleet by making a clear distinction

between the two. We note also that Robertson's transcription of the original document is confused by "Çubu" (as in "Cebu") and was rendered in the first documents as "Cuba." It seems that Robertson doubted his transcription as well since he decided to omit the problematic name of the island and to render it instead as "this island."

The *bando* (proclamation) concludes as follows: "se hecho vando en forma de derecho por voz de 'pito atambor' . . ." ("the contents of this edict were proclaimed in the form prescribed by law, by the voice of Pito Atambor . . .") (Blair and Robertson 1903, 2:173). Robertson here confuses the ritual of the proclamation, or *obedecimiento*, with the name of a person. In fact the transcription should say "se hecho bando en forma de orden 'a voz, a pito y atambor'" (the bando was proclaimed by voice, by whistle, and by drum).²⁵ This was the Spanish ritual in all the towns. However, Robertson thought that this expression was the name of the person who proclaimed the order and he added in a reference "this name is given as ypolito atanbor" (ibid.).

Probably the most valuable comment on *The Philippine Islands*, which has passed unnoticed, was made by the Filipino scholar Clemente J. Zulueta.²⁶ In October 1903 Zulueta (1904) wrote to LeRoy: "He leído su crítica de los cinco vols. de la colección filipina de los Sres Blair & Robertson y la encuentro algo benigna. No pueden quejarse de Ud.; no tienen razón para ello. Seguramente que sus editores podrían perfeccionarla si tuvieran menos prisa . . ." ("I have read your criticism of the five volumes of the Philippine collection of Blair and Robertson and I find it mild. They cannot complain to you [about the review] and they are not justified to do it. The editors could have perfected it if they were not in such a hurry . . .").

Zulueta had met Robertson in Seville and offered him some important observations about the documentary collection (cf. Robertson 1902–1906). But Robertson did not want to listen to a Filipino. Zulueta considered the collection useless since most of the documents had been published already and transcribed in Spanish and Portuguese collections.²⁷ He observed that *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* would be only useful for those scholars who did not know anything about Philippine history and could not read Spanish. Besides, Zulueta thought that there were important omissions in the work and mistakes in the selection of the documents. Zulueta in fact pointed out several mistakes such as the publication of Pigaffeta's account. He told LeRoy that Blair and Robertson had taken Pigaffeta's manuscript from the National Library of Paris. This manuscript was an inaccurate copy.

Zulueta (1903) clarified that: “El original de Pigafetta fue ya publicado por C. Amoretti (Milan, 1800). Últimamente Walls y Merino tradujo al español la edición de Amoretti. Todo esto lo hice notar al Sr. Robertson cuando le ví aquí en Sevilla y no sé si querrá tener en cuenta mis observaciones . . .” (“The original of Pigaffeta was published by C. Amoretti (Milan 1800). Walls and Merino translated into Spanish Amoretti’s edition. I gave notice of all these issues to Robertson . . .”) Robertson followed Zulueta’s advice and in volumes 33 and 34 (1905–1906) reproduced the Italian edition of Pigaffeta in Italian and English. But Robertson never recognized that Zulueta was right. In fact Robertson (1905) wrote Ayer saying he had copied the Pigaffeta from the Bibliothèque in Paris and he intended to use it: “but becoming convinced that the MS in Milan is better, I have copied the latter . . .”

Zulueta brought to LeRoy’s attention other mistakes in Blair and Robertson’s initial volumes that to him rendered the work inaccurate. LeRoy (1903b) responded to these observations by Zulueta as follows:

Lo que Ud. me dice sobre la obra “Philippine Islands” de Blair and Robertson es de sumo interés. Estoy escribiendo críticas de la obra para “The Nation” y “The Evening Post” y para “The American Historical Review.” El publicador Mr. Clark de Cleveland Ohio, cree que he sido un poco duro con los colaboradores en una revista: sin embargo admite que mucho de lo que he dicho es justo . . .

(What you tell me about *The Philippine Islands* of Blair and Robertson is extremely interesting. I am writing the reviews of this work for “The Nation” and “The Evening Post” and for “The American Historical Review.” The publisher Mr. Clark of Cleveland Ohio thinks that I have been a little bit hard with the collaborators; however he admits many things I have said are certain . . .)

Zulueta was willing to write down all his observations and publish them in the newspapers. But it seems that LeRoy (1903d) intended to prevent Zulueta from carrying this out by justifying the alleged mistakes; he replied to Zulueta:

Miss Emma Helen Blair, uno de los colaboradores, admitiendo la verdad de todo lo que he escrito criticando la obra pero explicando algu-

nas dificultades que han tenido que encontrar ellos. Confiese ella que no han tenido tiempo para penetrarse en los documentos de la historia filipina ni para preparar una obra que sirviera a los estudiantes. Dice que la idea fue suya . . .

(Miss Emma Helen Blair, one of the collaborators, admitted my criticisms and explained to me some of the difficulties they have had. She confessed that they did not have time to check the documents of Philippine history nor to prepare a useful work for the students. She says that the idea [sic] was hers . . .)

We do not know if Zulueta—somewhat of a purist scholar—ever accepted these excuses. He died unexpectedly in 1904. His command of Spanish bibliography is reflected in volume 52 of the compendium, where LeRoy uses Zulueta’s knowledge, shared through their correspondence, to write *The Philippines, 1860–1898: Some comments and bibliographical notes*.

Arthur Clark and Emma Blair were offended by LeRoy’s criticisms. Blair wrote him a letter stating categorically that she and Robertson were not influenced by anyone in the selection of the documents and that the inaccuracies or mistakes were the fault of translators unable to give uniformity to the work. Be that as it may, being the object of LeRoy’s critical pen did not stop Blair and Robertson from inviting him to join the project. From August 1903 to 1907 LeRoy was the architect of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, turning it into a work of historical propaganda in the service of U.S. colonial administration.

LeRoy as Collaborator in the Penumbra

Volume 6 (August 1903) changed completely the shape of the compilation. Suddenly the editors announced that “So many and urgent requests have come to us, from subscribers and reviewers, for the extension of this series as shall cover the entire period of Spanish domination” (Blair and Robertson 1903, 6:8). This announcement is a bit surprising after reading LeRoy’s criticisms. As far as I know, the only review of the series was written by LeRoy.²⁸ Therefore, he must have been the one who requested coverage of the entire period of Spanish rule. Blair and Robertson (ibid.) informed readers that “for the history of the nineteenth century we will present various important decrees, reports and other official documents; and provide a clear, careful and

impartial synopsis of some of the best historical matters.” As a matter of fact, the editors did not publish important decrees, reports, or official documents pertaining to the nineteenth century. These would have been the official documents that would explain nineteenth-century Spanish rule.

However, in the series the history of the nineteenth century was to be written by LeRoy, who was to provide crucial explanations of the problems that the Americans were facing in the Philippines. This sudden change from the declaration made by Blair and Robertson is inextricably related to the collaboration of LeRoy in the making of the new *The Philippine Islands*, 1493–1898. In fact the materials of the first five volumes that were said to be “ill-assorted” and “undigested” now became “digested.” If the series was of small value because the materials were already published, now “the almost total lack of acceptable material on Philippine history in English gives this undertaking an immediate value . . .” (LeRoy 1903–1904, 360). The influence of LeRoy is not immediately perceptible in the work. He collaborated, as did Bourne, in writing an essay. The conclusive evidence about LeRoy’s involvement is found in the correspondence of James Robertson, which shed light on LeRoy’s role in the making of this work, and above all in volume 52 (June 1907), which was entirely constructed by him.

Emma Blair was the first one to write to LeRoy in relation to the latter’s critique. LeRoy (1903a) apologized and showed his predisposition to make suggestions relative to materials on the nineteenth century. “You will understand,” he wrote, “how my experience in the islands helps me to visualize even early events in the Philippine history. I shall feel free to write you at any time when an idea occurs me.” Here he was introducing himself as an expert in Philippine matters. This aura of authoritativeness made Blair depend on LeRoy not only regarding the material to publish but also about translation issues.

A letter exists which shows *de facto* and *de jure* the incapacity of the editors to properly transcribe and translate the documents. Blair wrote LeRoy seeking his assistance in the translation of some documents related to the instructions for the laws regarding navigation and commerce and the *encomiendas*.²⁹ Blair sent him an inaccurate transcription and LeRoy predictably rendered a deficient translation. In fact Blair asked him what *tae* or *pesos muertos* meant. LeRoy (1904a) replied: “I should guess that the expression *tae* or *pesos muertos* meant something like a ‘gratuity.’” It appears that there was some difficulty in translating the term *pesos muertos*. Blair would

not have found the expression “*peso muerto*” in the dictionaries from 1775 to 1899,³⁰ since this phrase appears for first time in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española (RAE) in 1984, meaning “maximum goods freight expressed in metric ton which includes besides the weight of commercial freight that of food, water, etc.” (RAE 1984, 1052). Blair therefore could not have found this expression in any royal decree or document from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Probably what Blair could have found was *pesos gruesos*, a new coin which had a value of ten *reales* of silver. This expression appears in the RAE in 1737.

I have found in royal decrees interconnected with *encomiendas* and *repartimientos* the expression *plazas muertas*, which means “to occupy a position left by another soldier.” This expression was quite usual in old documents. Be that as it may, LeRoy interpreted this expression in monetary terms and even said that in the Academy’s dictionary there was an entry for *muertas*—indicating that money comes without it having been earned (LeRoy 1904b).³¹ This entry does *not* exist in the Academy’s dictionary. Nevertheless, LeRoy’s interpretation of the sentence inferred some corruption on the part of the Spanish bureaucracy.

“My guess at the expression *limpios de coste y costa sobre el principal coste* would be ‘charges or deductions’” (LeRoy 1904c)—here LeRoy continues with his politically-charged translations of apparently faulty transcriptions. *Coste y costa* is an adverbial locution that means price and expenditures without any benefit: *nullo lucro sine lucro*. Instead LeRoy separates both terms as if they were different concepts. *Coste y costa* mean the same but together conform to a new meaning. Practically all the doubts presented by Blair related to the “laws regarding navigation and commerce” and *encomiendas* were interpreted and translated by LeRoy according to some similar terms that appeared in *La Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*. Actually most of the official documents used by Blair and Robertson belong to the *Leyes de Indias*. This fact led to LeRoy’s (1904d) conclusion, as indicated to Blair: “It seems quite plain to me that Philippine revenue and expenditures were closely regulated from Mexico.”

Because LeRoy could not sort out all the problems, he used generalizations in order to respond to some questions posed by Blair. Finally, he asked for Blair to look for the term *tepuzque* or *tepusquez* (copper). This term appeared in the first royal decree regulating trade on 11 January 1591. Blair and Robertson took this law from the *Recopilación*, making a mistake

in the date and assuming that this law was enacted on 11 January 1593. The sentence by Felipe II in Spanish was “he mandado, que de ninguna parte de las dichas Yndias vaya a la China navio alguno . . . y que en ellos no puedan llevar mas de doscientos cinquenta mill pesos de ‘tepusquez’ . . .” Blair and Robertson (1905, 17:31) omitted part of the royal decree and translated this sentence as “from New Spain not more than two hundred and fifty thousand pesos de “tipusque” shall be taken in the vessels . . .” The editors did not make any reference to the word tepuzque, which they transcribed as tipusque. This was an Aztec term, referring to a coin of scant gold mixed with copper, which disappeared in 1591. Thus, it is difficult to find this term after that year.

After this initial exchange LeRoy no longer wrote Blair, who was to be relegated to a secondary role. LeRoy instead commenced a frantic correspondence with Robertson, advising and warning him about the documents that were to be published. This relationship started in January 1904 when LeRoy wrote a significant letter to Robertson advising him as the editor of the series, to publish certain documents and warning him about certain unreliable scholars such as Retana, Paterno, Isabelo de los Reyes, and Leon Ma. Guerrero. This type of exchange cumulatively turned *The Philippine Islands* into a compendium with interpolations that provided historical explanations and excuses for the problems of the United States.

This “purpose” behind LeRoy’s involvement is illustrated in his advice to Robertson about a royal *cedula* of 1751: “You will find this mentioned more particularly in an article of mine on the friars in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December 1903. My authority for it is simply *La Democracia*, the Federal Party organ of Manila” (LeRoy 1904a). Robertson included this royal *cedula* in volume 48 (January 1907) entitled “Usurpation of Indian lands by friars,” and the influence of LeRoy can be found in his reference to the fact that “these abuses which occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century . . . have been repeated in our own time (up to 1897) with an outcome favorable to the friars” (Blair and Robertson 1907, 48:28).³² Robertson was extrapolating the problems from 1751 to 1897 in order to demonstrate that the revolt of 1896 was an insurrection against the power of the friars. Practically all of volume 48 is devoted to the role of the friars in the Philippines. This volume highlights documents on Augustinian and Dominican parishes. This was a key argument of LeRoy’s, intended to bolster his construction of the dark Spanish past.

It would not be the only time that LeRoy would sway Robertson to publish documents related to the religious orders in order to emphasize that the Philippines was an evangelizing mission until the total collapse of Spanish colonial rule. In fact LeRoy constructed the entire volume 28 (July 1905), which covers the years 1635–1638 and presents two documents on friar affairs and a long appendix written by LeRoy (1904a), entitled “Religious Conditions in the Philippines during the Spanish Regime.” “Replying briefly to yours of the 16th, let me say that I shall be very glad to contribute the appendix on Philippine ecclesiastical conditions during and in consequence of the revolution . . .” (LeRoy 1904g). In order to write this appendix, LeRoy consulted the Laws of the Indies and different friar accounts such as the *Historia General* by Juan J. Delgado and the *Diccionario de las Islas Filipinas* by Buzeta y Bravo, among others, and the *Informe de las Islas Filipinas* by Sinibaldo de Mas (1843). Robertson did not mention in the preface or in presenting the appendix that LeRoy wrote it. LeRoy also recommended to Robertson to include a Chinese document by Chao Ju-Kua. This document can be found in volume 34 (January 1906).³³ It is worth pointing out that Zulueta gave this information to LeRoy, although the latter never acknowledged the former.

Among LeRoy’s most crucial pieces of “advice” to Robertson was that he use the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias* as the Spanish creed. Also highly significant was his sending Robertson a copy of the proceedings of the first Cortes of 1810, stating: “It would be of interest for your purposes to quote ‘part of the proceedings’ of the first Cortes of 1810 showing three representatives of the Philippines present. The objection to this on the part of a Philippine delegate himself shows the undeveloped state of the Philippine archipelago” (LeRoy 1904b). This is an important excerpt since there is a deliberate cooptation of the documents. LeRoy encouraged Robertson to show only part of the proceedings, which would display the sense of Spanish backwardness, bringing into focus the notion of an “undeveloped state” until the end of the Spanish regime. Robertson dutifully included part of the proceedings in the appendix of volume 51, giving it the title, “Representatives of Filipinas in the Spanish Cortes.”³⁴

Not only did LeRoy give advice about documents or books but he also judged the reliability of some Spanish and above all Filipino authors. He felt an animosity toward Wenceslao Retana for several reasons. Retana had access to very valuable collections and documents and he had been the most

important bibliographer and historian on Philippine matters. He was truly an authority. Robertson was in fact assisted in Spain by Retana and the first five volumes of *The Philippine Islands* contain some documents from Retana's *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*. LeRoy (1904c) tried to dissuade Robertson from using Retana's works, arguing that "Retana is charged with being a hireling of the friars . . . and his writings, so far as I have had occasion to use them, are vitiated almost on every page He is, to my certain knowledge, many times absolutely untrustworthy as some of his works are for consultation. I hold everything obtained from him as suspicious."

What LeRoy was concerned about was that Retana's views could be dangerous for the construction of an American discourse on the Philippine past. He was right in considering Retana as a hireling of the friars. Retana was a conservative. However, underneath his *frailismo* we can find a deep understanding of the nature of Spanish colonial policy in the Philippines. LeRoy specifically warned Robertson against using *La Política de España en Filipinas* because "the organ [is] subsidized for the purpose of combating the campaign of Spaniards and Filipinos for a liberal regime in the Philippines. In short, I have very little respect for his reliability" (LeRoy 1904d). LeRoy managed to convince the editors that Retana was unworthy of citation on all political or controversial matters, being "mentally despicable, a cheat, a turncoat, and hireling [of the friars]" (LeRoy 1905a).

Only two volumes of *The Philippine Islands* are devoted to the nineteenth century. These are based on secondary sources and, for the last thirty years of Spanish rule, the Arthur H. Clark Company simply relied on LeRoy's essay, which was written to discredit *La Política de España en Filipinas*. Indeed Retana's antireformism campaign in the Philippines precisely shows us the underside of the story—that the reforms were actually implemented.

The alternative to Retana would be Barrows. LeRoy (1904e) advised Robertson to "get in touch with Dr. David P. Barrows who started out as superintendent of schools for Manila, was for a time Chief of the Ethnological Bureau, and is now Superintendent of Public Instruction for the archipelago stationed at Manila. He has studied Philippine history." Barrow's imprint can be detected in several volumes of *The Philippine Islands*. Barrows recommended Argensola's *Conquista de las Molucas*. Blair and Robertson included *Conquest of the Malucas Islands* in volume 16 (June 1904).³⁵ However, Barrows (1904a) did not feel satisfied with Blair and Robertson's treatment of

Argensola's *Conquista*: "Their condensation of Argensola's 'Conquista de las Molucas,' which is now taking place in the last volume I received, seems to me unworthy of the wide treatment of the subject which they proposed to give. I don't see why Argensola ought not to be produced entire even though he was not an observer on the ground."

However, volumes 45 (October 1906) and 46 (November 1906)³⁶ particularly reveal Barrow's collaboration. Robertson devoted the appendix of these volumes to education. LeRoy (1904b) as usual made some interesting suggestions, as follows:

For your appendix on the Philippine educational system in history, I suppose you have noted the remarks of Mas on the subject . . .

As to the system of education in the islands in recent years there is no lack of material though no one good comprehensive survey of the question. See Rept. Phil. Com. 1900 (Schurman), appendix to vol. I, a survey of the system existing up to 1898 by Felipe Calderon, a keen-witted Tagalog lawyer of Manila not absolutely reliable and somewhat of a turncoat . . . Barrow's report to the Commission for 1903 . . .

Robertson follows LeRoy's dictum in these appendixes since Robertson cites Sinibaldo de Mas, the reports of the Philippine Commission, the Census of 1903, and so on. However, to conclude the appendix on education in volume 46 we face an interpolation of the past into the present since there is an exaltation of the American system under the title "Education since American occupation." In reading and analyzing this appendix one can only conclude that it was written by LeRoy, instead of Robertson. The reader gets to see clearly that *The Philippine Islands* had become a useful propaganda tool for the Americanization of the archipelago.

There are several signs that point to LeRoy's intervention in the compilation, although the most significant is Robertson asking LeRoy to write a "brief resume of education work under the American Regime" (LeRoy 1904c, cf. 1904j). A second important evidence is a praise for the cornerstone of American colonial policy. Passages such as the following are clearly *his* voice: "It is the chief glory of the American connection with the Philippines, that no sooner was their easy conquest an assured fact than attention was directed toward the education of the peoples who came under the

control of the western democracy” (Blair and Robertson 1906, 46:364).³⁷ This praise for America is also a denigration of the Spanish system of education whose methods LeRoy and Robertson considered antiquated. This backwardness is blamed for the poor condition of Spain. They must have known, however, that this was a simplistic view. In Robertson’s biography it is mentioned that he was assisted in Spain by Giner de los Ríos, the founder of Institución Libre de Enseñanza. From 1876 onward this institution was the center of gravity of a movement to reform Spanish culture and the channel for the introduction of the most advanced pedagogic and scientific theories. Rizal, Del Pilar, and other Filipino ilustrados were in touch with the intellectuals in this institution.

The third piece of evidence that this short paper was not written by Robertson is its argument that the best work on education was done by the Jesuits. LeRoy (1904f) explained this in detail to Robertson in one of his letters: “[The Jesuits] introduced chemical and physical laboratories for the first time to the islands; they conducted the new normal schools designed by the reform governments eventually to secularize at least primary education; they founded the Manila Observatory, probably the first of its sort in the Orient . . .” This account seems a contradiction since there is tacit recognition that Moret’s reforms in education were carried out in the islands—something that LeRoy denies.

The last piece of evidence LeRoy offers is surprising since there is an allusion to *El Renacimiento* and the attempt to maintain in the Philippines the Latin model. The short paragraph devoted to Leon Ma. Guerrero coincides literally with the letter sent by LeRoy to *El Renacimiento* in 1906,³⁸ in which he states that “The party which follows the intellectual leadership of Leon Guerrero (director of *El Renacimiento*) is quietly resisting what they call Anglo-Saxonization . . .” (Blair and Robertson 1906, 46:367). At this point, Blair and Robertson cite their source: “Letter from James A. LeRoy of June 27, 1906.” It is impossible that Robertson could have read and/or used this letter in June 1906 since it was written in November 1906 when volume 46 had been published already. LeRoy had started a personal battle with Leon Ma. Guerrero and *El Renacimiento*.

LeRoy concluded his letter of January 1904 by explaining to Robertson who the caciques of the Philippines were. In his private correspondence the caciques were always the collaborators—the members of Federal Party—who supported from the very beginning the Americans.

In February LeRoy (1904b) made an important suggestion that eventually became the cornerstone of *The Philippine Islands* and the historiography that followed upon it: “Referring again to your query as to the portions of the ‘Recopilación de Leyes de Indias’ worth reproducing in the Philippines series, I suggest that the injunctions from Isabella the Catholic and Philip II as to the conversion of the natives being the primary object of Spain would be worthwhile.” That this advice was followed can be gleaned in the multivolume work because the stress from the very beginning is that the Philippines was under the domination of the friars. LeRoy specifically suggested to Robertson that he draw upon only those portions of the Laws of the Indies that demonstrate that the Philippines, as with the other Spanish dominions, was more a mission than a colony. This is how Bourne had framed the initial volumes.

Perhaps the most important suggestion made by LeRoy was to devote just half a volume or even less to the events of 1896–1897, the revolt against Spain. In fact he would ultimately be the author of the essay that covers those years. He considered that, to really develop the history of this movement, one had to go back to about 1863 when the modern era began in the Philippines. It was in connection with this that he made a most paradigmatic statement, which has since become a dictum for most American and even Filipino scholars: “Of course, the various reform programs of liberal revolutionary governments in Spain must have some attention; but these, and the 1872 revolt *are really to be relegated to a secondary place*” (LeRoy 1904a).

The Spanish regime was always to be a reference point for the Americans in establishing the significance of their occupation of the islands and in positing their intervention as a necessity in order to educate the Filipinos. This reference point, therefore, would always be distorted for the sake of the present, and the reform period in the nineteenth century would have to be ignored, as it is in *The Philippine Islands* and in other textbooks. Furthermore, in order to achieve this purpose the work of Retana, Paterno, Isabelo de los Reyes, and other authors would be distorted or omitted. Instead he would appropriate Clemente J. Zulueta’s knowledge and ideas.

The pattern of the late nineteenth-century past that LeRoy (1904b) wanted Robertson to develop is contained in the following statement:

But in the eighties and nineties the propaganda for reforms, conducted on the part of the Filipinos, especially in Spain, laid the foundation for the later more radical movements in the islands themselves, though

it was itself not a separatist propaganda. I think you will find it more worth while to trace the propaganda in the writings of Rizal, Lopez Jaena, Marcelo del Pilar than to devote especial attention to the kati-punan, a sort of Filipino excrescence—a minor French revolution on the part of the more ignorant leaders of the lower classes.

Volume 52 (June 1907) is an actualization of this paragraph since the whole volume was in fact designed by LeRoy. He cast light on these years in *The Philippines, 1860–1898: Some comments and bibliographical notes*. He also presented a document that illustrated the reformist campaign: *Constitution of the Liga Filipina*. LeRoy and *The Philippine Islands* were thus giving shape to a debate, ongoing up to the present, concerning Rizal versus Bonifacio. Their emphasis was on the notion that the educated class did not really want independence, since the Philippines was not prepared, and that those who wished for independence were the masses dragged along by some caciques. In sum *The Philippine Islands* was to relegate to oblivion the Spanish reforms, highlight the ilustrado movement, and dismiss the Katipunan.

LeRoy's praise of the members of the Propaganda movement was selective. He was prejudiced against Pedro Paterno and Isabelo de los Reyes, judging their writings in the light of his political animadversion toward them. In his letter to Robertson, he describes De Los Reyes as "the merest superficial and facile user of words, a plagiarist, pretender and fakir in politics; one will hardly expect scholarly work from him in writing of other sorts. He has just sense enough not to make such an ass of himself as Paterno, but he is a bad type of superficial Filipino" (LeRoy 1904e). Despite LeRoy's criticisms of De Los Reyes and Paterno, he asked De Los Reyes to send him his works: "Estoy estudiando la historia de las Filipinas. Deseo mucho tener su memoria al General Primo de Rivera era intitulada creo 'Mi Participación en la Revolución Filipina . . .' Me gustaría tener una lista o catálogo de todas sus obras sobre Filipinas . . ." ("I am studying the history of the Philippines. I wish to have his memoir of General Primo de Rivera, which I think was entitled 'My Participation in the Philippine Revolution . . .' I would like to have a catalog of your works about the Philippines . . .") (LeRoy 1903c).

It seems that LeRoy's prejudices against these Filipinos were more related to their political trends than their work. His prejudices were also obvious in his criticism of *El Renacimiento* and Leon Ma. Guerrero. He thought that "the Guerreros," such as he called Leon and Fernando Ma. Guerrero,

"were about the choice of the young radical party of Filipinos. They were easily excitable and inclined to be petty in their criticism" (LeRoy 1905a). Besides this political criticism, LeRoy (1905b) made a value judgment by considering a chief fault: the Guerreros were egotists and they gave recognition in their paper to "demagogues, vicious liars and mental weaklings of the Sandiko, Isabelo de los Reyes sort."

No doubt, with these ideas LeRoy was warning Robertson not to admit the works of Paterno and De los Reyes and *El Renacimiento* into the compendium. His prejudices extended to other important scholars of his time such as John Foreman and Frederic Sawyer, both of whom had been critical of the American occupation.³⁹ John Foreman's 1899 edition of *The Philippine Islands* was the most controversial in affirming that there was a draft of an American promise of independence made to Aguinaldo. This edition, of course, was systematically discredited by American scholars.

The last suggestion of the year 1904 concerned the *Informe* (Report) of Sinibaldo de Mas (1843), an excerpt of which was included in volume 52, translated and abstracted by LeRoy. Mas was an Orientalist who was based in India for two years and observed closely the British colonial model in operation there. In his report Mas was encouraging the restructuring of the Spanish colonial regime in the Philippines along British lines. His projections of the transformation of the colonial model were followed by Victor Balaguer.⁴⁰ LeRoy excerpted from the voluminous *Informe* only those parts that emphasized the backwardness of the archipelago, i.e., to illustrate the idea of a Spanish dark age.⁴¹ This is an example of the decontextualization that often took place in selecting, excerpting, and translating documents for the Blair and Robertson compendium.

The hectic correspondence of 1904 continued during the following years until LeRoy's early death. We can conclude that by 1904 LeRoy had worked out the shape of the further volumes of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*. Even the last document published by the editors, *The Friars Memorial of 1898*, was included at LeRoy's request. From 1905 onward, apart from recommending to Robertson newspapers, reports, and books that conformed to the bibliographical index, LeRoy involved himself in political affairs. Robertson could carry on with the completion of *The Philippine Islands* following LeRoy's template. The multivolume work was no longer to be considered as something of "small value." LeRoy's henceforth positive reviews of the succeeding volumes are reflected in the following comment by Barrows (1904b): "I have noticed your

reviews in 'The Nation' and I think they are exceedingly wise and impartial statements of the value of these books. I think the volumes are of great value and should lead to an awakening of interest in the history of the Islands."

Barrows was not praising the task of Blair and Robertson. He was referring to the new, hidden, role of LeRoy in the making of the compendium. This acknowledgement is more pronounced in another letter Barrows (1904b) sent to LeRoy: "I have been receiving the Blair and Robertson series very regularly. I think I now have fourteen volumes from your hands. I have been enjoying them very much. There are many letters and documents which they got in Seville which I had not seen and which are certainly of value." The sentence "I think I have fourteen volumes from your hands" is quite explicit. Barrows is not inferring that LeRoy had sent him the volumes, since he was a subscriber from the very beginning. What Barrows meant was that LeRoy had become an indirect collaborator, making the compendium a serious and rigorous work.

Conclusion

The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898 was an economic failure. The Arthur H. Clark Company lost a lot of money with this enterprise, although it was a critical success. As Arthur Clark (1909) explained to Ayer, "I am sorry to tell you confidentially that my venture in the publication of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* has been a serious financial loss to me, in fact I have lost \$20,000.00 upon it." Despite this loss the company was not forced to close as Domingo Abella (1973) states in the preface to the reprint of the multivolume work.⁴² The Arthur H. Clark Company continued to publish Americana books. The American public, however, did not see the Philippines as part of "Americana" and even libraries refused to buy this multivolume work.

The work had serious defects that alienated potential readers and buyers. It was fragmented and inaccurate, with forty-three volumes devoted to the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, which are explained either through friar accounts or secondary sources; only seven devoted to the eighteenth century, also inaccurate and with lots of interpolations, such as the appendixes that sought to offset the lack of Spanish originals; and, finally, just two volumes devoted to the nineteenth century, which were tendentious, partial, and sectarian. For these and other reasons, the series could not sell on its own.

The U.S. government and the academe ultimately intervened to alter the work's fate. An important campaign was mounted to introduce the mul-

tivolume work in all the universities. American scholars began to cite *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* in all the bibliographies as the most valuable collection of primary sources. The future Filipinist would come to depend on this multivolume work and, with the Americanization (and stress on English) of the educational system in the Philippines, Filipinos themselves would need this multivolume work in order to know about their history, no matter that this history was partial, distorted, pro-American, and anti-Spanish. A work that was considered at the beginning to be of little value as far as Zulueta, LeRoy, Barrows, and Pardo de Tavera were concerned, had become, in the words of Fred Eggan, "the single greatest contribution to Philippine historiography that has yet been made, and is an indispensable source, not only to historians but for all who would know about the Philippines and their development" (Abella 1973, xi).

Because of nearly a century of using the Blair and Robertson compendium, stereotyped images of the Spanish regime, of Filipinos, and of the Philippines are difficult to deconstruct. It is hard even to try to retranslate the documents by going back to the transcripts used by Blair and Robertson, which are lodged in the Newberry Library, because even these are untrustworthy.⁴³ In any case there seems to be no end in sight to the continued use of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*.

The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898 was reissued in 1962 and again in 1973. Filipino archivist Domingo Abella's preface to the 1973 reprint is a eulogy to James A. Robertson and Emma H. Blair. Abella (1973, ix) insisted on the cultural value of *The Philippine Islands* and stressed that "it is the only collection of historical sources in English available to our scholars and students who are unable to read the originals in Spanish." To emphasize this point Abella states that even Retana recognized that there was no single Spanish work similar to the Blair and Robertson series.⁴⁴ However, Retana's (1905, 498) view was quite different: "The main sources of Philippine history in Spanish were already written; certainly [Spanish sources] can be translated, they are being mistranslated into English. But the scholar, the true erudite, the conscientious analyst of the past, could he resign himself with mistranslations?" Retana (1905, 501) encouraged Filipinos to speak and write in Tagalog, although he advised that Spanish was indispensable for scholars since "hundreds of books and documents were written in 'Castilian.'" Therefore, it seems Abella's view of Blair and Robertson is contrary to the assessments made by earlier Filipino scholars like Zulueta, Pardo de Tavera, José

Albert, and others, who had actually lived through Spanish times. Abella's perception reveals the triumph of Americanization in the Philippines.

Abella's reprints in 1962 and 1973 made available to new generations of American and Filipino students what it called "*primary sources translated into English*" (emphasis added). In spite of Abella's praises about *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, other Filipinos such as Gregorio F. Zaide noticed serious defects in this work. Zaide points out six evident defects such as fragmentary work, missing sources, little relevance of the sources, poor methodology, inaccurate translations, and obvious errors. Practically all these defects have been emphasized in this article, which explains the construction of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*.⁴⁵

Zaide considered, as Zulueta did at the opening of the twentieth century, that important sources were missing. Zaide furnished a long reference with those documents that he considered missing, above all from 1863 to 1898. Obviously, these sources were deliberately ignored. Enough can be found in Robertson's correspondence to understand the neglect of these documents. Blair and Robertson followed the dictum imposed by James A. LeRoy from volume 6 onward, by which the various reform programs of liberal and revolutionary governments in Spain, the 1872 revolt, and the Katipunan were really to be relegated to a secondary source. This strategy explains, partly, why Blair and Robertson's opus evaded the Philippine revolution. Instead the important events that took place during the years 1863–1898 were to be explained for an American audience in the long essay written by LeRoy, "The Philippines 1860–1898: Some comments and bibliographical notes," in volume 52. This essay in the compendium's final volume was supposed to cover "all the important literature" of the Philippines. LeRoy would select part of the literature in order to stress the anachronism of the Spanish system (which was what the entire documentary series was all about) and sought in the essay to "bear some evils to the present."

In sum LeRoy's objective in constructing the essay was to present to the readers of Blair and Robertson's documentary series a clear and well-ordered review of Spanish rule in the Philippines "with keen but impartial comments" (Blair and Robertson 1907, 52:13). LeRoy was anything but impartial, of course. His essay promoted American imperialism in the Philippines by establishing a binary opposition between the American present and a past Spanish regime that was cleverly stereotyped and turned into an unassailable truth.

Notes

I wish to thank Professor Bernardita Churchill for trusting me. In 2003, while I was in Manila, I shared with her my interest in Blair and Robertson's The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898. She invited me to visit her and gave me important documents that changed my initial research. Some documents Professor Churchill gave me have been included in this article. I have contracted an utang na loob with her. I gratefully acknowledge the encouragement of Robby Kwan Laurel and the two anonymous referees who made interesting comments on my submission to this journal.

- 1 Taft used this epithet to refer to Filipinos in the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Social Sciences 19 Nov. 1913.
- 2 What was then called "benevolent assimilation" to justify the occupation of the Philippines is at present called "benevolent global hegemony" to justify the Iraq War.
- 3 Edward E. Ayer (1841–1927) was a private collector interested in the early contacts between American Indians and Europeans. His acquisition of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* laid the foundation of his library (Ayer 1926). As prosperity continued and permitted him to add to his collection increasingly he became interested in possessing books and manuscripts that told the story of the North American continent from its discovery by Europeans. His collection had the figure of the American Indian as central to his entire library. After the Americans decided to retain the Philippines, Ayer wrote to the principal booksellers of both Europe and America to buy all the books related to the Philippines. In 1911 Ayer donated his collection to the Newberry Library. A member of the library's first Board of Trustees, Ayer was the library's first donor of a great collection. Moreover, Ayer was the principal benefactor and first president of Field Museum.
- 4 Reuben Gold Thwaites (1853–1913) was an American historical writer. He moved to Wisconsin in 1866 where, from 1876 to 1886, he was managing editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal* at Madison. He edited, among others, the Wisconsin Historical Collections; *The Jesuit Relations* (73 vols., 1896–1901); and *Early Western Travels 1748–1846* (32 vols., 1904–1907). In 1899 he was president of the American Library Association.
- 5 Herbert Eugene Bolton was born on 20 July 1870 in Wilton, Wisconsin. He received his bachelor's degree in 1895. Bolton was a pioneer in Spanish borderlands studies. In 1902 he undertook several research trips to Mexico to examine archival materials related to the United States. Henry Burrows Lathrop worked in Wisconsin as translator. He collaborated with Blair and Robertson in the first five volumes, that is, from 1902 to 1903. Edward Gaylord Bourne was a professor in the department of history at Yale University, and an Americanist, in fact, the first significant American scholar on sixteenth-century Latin America.
- 6 Vols. 1, 2, and 5 follow Bourne's advice to present both original documents and English translations. Vol. 1: Carta de—el rei de Castella para el—rei D. Manuel, 28 Feb. 1519, 276–79; Carta de rei de Castella a Fernando de Magalhães e a Ruy Falera, 19 Apr. 1519, 294–301. Vol. 2: Copia de una carta venida de Sevilla a Miguel Salvador de Valencia, 1566, 220–31. Vol. 5: Relación de las Yslas Filipinas. Miguel Loarca, June 1582, 34–187. These documents were the only ones published with the Spanish original along with their English translation.
- 7 LeRoy consolidated himself as an authority by publishing papers for prestigious journals such as the *Political Science Quarterly*, the *American Historical Review*, *The Independent*, and the

Atlantic Monthly. He authored the long essay in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, and two important books: *Philippine Life in Town and Country* and *The Americans in the Philippines*. A deeper analysis of James A. LeRoy is found in Cano 2005.

- 8 Vol. 6 made an editorial announcement: “The editors desire to announce to their readers an important modification in the scope and contents of this work . . . So many and urgent requests have come to us, from subscribers and reviewers, for such extension of this series as shall cover the entire period of Spanish dominion that we have decided to modify the former plan . . .” (Blair and Robertson 1903, 6: 7–8).
- 9 Wenceslao Emilio Retana is the most important Spanish historian, historiographer, and bibliographer of the nineteenth century. He was a journalist in different newspapers in the Philippines and in Spain and he wrote seminal works, such as *Archivo del bibliófilo Filipino*, *Aparato bibliográfico*, and *Vida y escritos del Doctor José Rizal*. When Spain lost the Philippines he became a defender of the Filipino cause, collaborating in *El Renacimiento* and *Revista Filipina*, which were published in Spanish and English.
- 10 Eduardo Navarro was a Dominican friar who was stationed in the Philippines. He wrote a seminal book entitled *Filipinas: Estudio de algunos asuntos de actualidad*. Navarro put the blame of the revolt of 1896 on the reforms implemented in the Philippines.
- 11 Pablo Pastells was a Jesuit priest. He compiled important documents concerning the Society of Jesus. His most important work was a general history of the Philippines in *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a la isla de Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla*. See Torres 1925.
- 12 Francisco Giner de los Ríos suffered from the university purge during the Restoration. He was one of the founders of La Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE). This institution introduced in Spain the most modern pedagogical and scientific theories that were developing around Europe (Alvar 2004).
- 13 Antonio Maura, minister for the colonies, appointed Pedro Paterno as director of the Museo Biblioteca de Filipinas in December 1893. On 12 October 1894 Paterno applied for permission to found a monthly journal about the museum library, which was granted by the governor general. On 15 January 1895 the first issue of *Boletín del Museo Biblioteca* came out.
- 14 Retana (1904), in a letter to José Sánchez, explained that the bookseller Pedro Vindel was visited in Madrid by a wealthy American called Edward E. Ayer: “Ese americano enloquece y como él los demás americanos, por tres clases de obras: historia, idiomas y costumbres. Desdeñan la literatura, las ciencias, la legislación las publicaciones periódicas etc. Vindel vendió algo de deshecho impreso y manuscrito” (That American loves and he, like other Americans, acquired three kinds of works: history, languages and customs. They neglect literature, sciences, legislation and newspapers etc. Vindel sold Ayer rubbish—printed and manuscript). Retana was right. Blair and Robertson, who consulted most of the documents from the Newberry Library, did not include “literature,” “legislation,” and “newspapers.”
- 15 ANC c1913. This letter, which concerns the history of the collection of La Compañía, is in a very bad state. I assume it was written in 1913 by José Sánchez y Garrigós, the curator of the library. In fact, it has been impossible to identify the signature.
- 16 David P. Barrows also participated in this congress with a paper entitled “The Governor-General of the Philippines under Spain and the United States.” Other participants were Charles H.

Cunningham and William L. Schurz, old collaborators of Edward Ayer like James A. Robertson, and contributors to the encapsulation of the Philippines in Latin America.

- 17 In 1905 LeRoy wrote an article entitled “Our Spanish Inheritance in the Philippines,” in the *Atlantic Monthly*. For LeRoy *caciquismo* was a corrupt and tyrannical system of the natives at the local level; however, sometimes he saw it as inherited from Spain. Caciquismo was a cancer threatening the implantation of American democracy. From 1905 onward caciquismo would become a recurrent topic, above all when Filipinos claimed their independence. This topic is carefully analyzed in Cano 2005.
- 18 Fernando Zialcita (2001, 128) observes that Blair and Robertson were tendentious in their translation of the Spanish text *Las Costumbres de los indios tagalos de Filipinas* written by Juan de Plasencia: “at times the Blair and Robertson translation is tendentious. ‘Eran estos principales de poca gente, asta de cien cassas . . . y esto llaman en tagalo un Barangay’ is rendered thus: ‘These chiefs ruled over but few people; sometimes as many as a hundred houses . . . This tribal gathering is called in Tagalog a barangay’ (Plasencia [1589b] 1973, 173–74). Nowhere does the original speak of ‘tribal gathering.’ It is unlikely that a sixteenth-century author would use such an expression from the post-nineteenth-century.” Zialcita is right since the word “tribal” was not included in the dictionary of the Royal Academy until 1947. That means it was impossible to find that word in a text of the sixteenth century. However, it is interesting to highlight the word “principales.” Robertson uses, in the presentation of the pre-Hispanic code, the word “caciques” instead of principales to define Filipino chieftains. As we can see, Morga and Plasencia never used the term cacique but they used principales.
- 19 LeRoy (1904i) correctly identifies the Laws of the Indies, Book 6, Title 7, and Laws 10, 11, 12, and others, as being devoted to the caciques, since this term was used to define the native chieftains in Latin America. Curiously, however, Law 16 is entitled *Que los Yndios Principales de Filipinas sean bien tratados y se les encargue el gobierno que solian tener en los otros . . .* (That the Yndios Principales of the Philippines shall receive good treatment and be given the government that they used to have in the others . . .). Note that there is not a single allusion to the term cacique here, the chieftains being called principales.
- 20 Worcester sent to Washington, D.C., and to individuals a report on “Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands.” On 25 August 1913, a long Associated Press dispatch went out from Washington, giving the substance of Worcester’s statement and on that very day newspapers in all parts of the United States informed the country that slavery and peonage existed in the Philippines. This report was a serious blow to any expectation of independence for the Filipinos. The passage of the law prohibiting slavery and peonage took place during the transition from Taft’s presidency to Wilson’s. For Taft and the Republicans, passage of this law meant they could advocate indefinitely for American tutelage of the Philippines. Worcester’s crusade proved successful and the Filipino nationalists were completely discredited before American public opinion, which unanimously condemned the human trafficking in the Philippines, and even before the world.
- 21 William H. Scott (1984) was the first to denounce the criminal code presented by Robertson as a forgery. Scott does not doubt the good faith of Robertson and does not question the weak arguments provided by Robertson in order to justify the authenticity of the documents. However, Glenn May (1997) made the strongest criticism, calling this code as a Filipino invention. Scott and May dismiss José E. Marco but the person who transcribed, translated, and spread this document

was James A. Robertson. However, May does not mention the name of Robertson and even less that the translation of the Pavon Manuscript was a project carried out by the Newberry Library, the Chicago Natural History Museum, and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago under the title "The Robertson Translation of the Pavon Manuscripts of 1938–1939."

- 22 I mention the *American Historical Review* because this is the only journal I have found. However, LeRoy (1903a) says to Barrows that he had written reviews of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803* for *The Nation* and *The Evening Post*.
- 23 It is important that for scholars such as LeRoy, Zulueta, Retana, Barrows, among others, the documents published by Blair and Robertson did not contribute to an understanding of Philippine history since all the documents had already been published. This statement was true. All the materials had been published in Spanish in several collections. *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* was perceived as a mere series of references as a guide to get some data. All of them agreed that scholars had to go to the original documents. Retana and Zulueta were more categorical, stating that scholars, in order to write the history of the Philippines, had to be able to read Spanish since all the sources were written in that language. However, Blair and Robertson's work has been considered and is still considered the most important series of primary sources.
- 24 LeRoy (1903–1904, 151) criticizes and discredits Edward G. Bourne, accusing him as a "literal follower of the friar writers": "Professor Bourne has done the Filipino people many injustices in his acceptance of pro-friars authorities . . ."
- 25 *Atambor* was used in old Spanish to mean the instrument as well as the person who played drums. *Atambor* and *tambor* mean the same, but the former has disappeared from modern Spanish.
- 26 Clemente J. Zulueta was born in Paco in 1876. He was a distinguished Filipino bibliographer. He studied law at the University of Santo Tomás. Zulueta engaged in different activities as journalist in the newspaper *La Independencia*, becoming well known as a historian. During Taft's term as governor of the Philippines, Zulueta was named the collecting librarian traveling to Spain. He died in 1904.
- 27 *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento* (1864–1884), with six volumes containing documents on the Philippines; *Colección de Documentos inéditos* (1889), with two volumes containing documents on the Philippines; Fernández de Navarrete (1837); Medina (1888). The three first volumes contain documents of Magellan, Legazpi, and so on; *Colleção de noticias para a histories e geografia dos naçoens ultramarinas* (1812); *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino* (Retana 1895–1905).
- 28 Some subscribers of Blair and Robertson's work were Pardo de Tavera, Barrows, Zulueta, LeRoy, and José Albert. All of them thought that *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* had many defects. Some institutions cancelled their subscriptions because they were not satisfied. Therefore, it seems that the idea to cover all of Spanish colonial rule until 1898 was at LeRoy's request.
- 29 Vol. 17 (June 1905) contains part of the Laws regarding commerce. The laws do not follow a chronological order and are not the originals but a summary of the *Recopilación de las Leyes de Indias*.
- 30 The *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española* appeared for the first time in 1729. This dictionary is the official guide to the Spanish language. I have

checked carefully the editions from 1729 to 1899, which could have been consulted by Blair, Robertson, and LeRoy. A subsequent edition appeared in 1914, after *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* had been concluded and LeRoy and Blair had died.

- 31 LeRoy (1904h) mentions that he found in the Academy's dictionary an entry for the word *muertas* "as indicating money comes without having earned it." However, I consulted the Academy's dictionaries from 1734 to 1899 but did not find any entry for "muertas" in the manner provided by LeRoy.
- 32 Vol. 48 covers the years 1751–1765, apart from publishing "Usurpation of Indian lands by friars," and the documents on Augustinian and Dominican missions, which contain excerpts of the "Memorial of 1765: Francisco Leandro Viana."
- 33 Vols. 33 and 34 contain documents related to Magellan and Pigafetta's "first voyage around the world" and Legazpi, covering the years 1519–1522. The document on "the first voyage around the world" is presented in the original Italian and translated to English. Blair and Robertson finally followed Zulueta's suggestion to publish the manuscript from Milan, although they never acknowledged him. Moreover, vol. 34 contains Chao Ju-Kua's "Description of the Philippines," a document provided by Zulueta.
- 34 Blair and Robertson include in the appendix of vol. 51, "Representation of Filipinos in the Spanish Cortes." This volume, which covers the nineteenth century, contains secondary sources: "Events in the Philippines 1801–1840" is based on Montero y Vidal's *Historia General de Filipinas*; "Reforms needed in Filipinas" is based on Manuel Bernaldez Pizarro and the abovementioned appendix suggested by LeRoy.
- 35 Vol. 15 (May 1904) includes Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. Vol. 16 (June 1904) concludes Morga's book, and includes some chapters of *Conquista de las Malucas* by Argensola.
- 36 Vol. 45 (October 1906) is devoted to "Commerce of the Philippines with Nueva España 1640–1736" (concluded) by Antonio Álvarez de Abreu. The rest of the volume presents an appendix on "Education in the Philippines." Vol. 46 (November 1906) continues with education in the Philippines, covering "Education since the American occupation." This volume also contains "Events in the Philippines 1721–1739," compiled from several sources.
- 37 Blair and Robertson (1906, 46:367) cite LeRoy's book (1905c), but there is no reference page or paragraph.
- 38 LeRoy wrote a very long letter to *El Renacimiento* in November 1906. This letter was a savage criticism of an article published by this journal. LeRoy decontextualized a subtle irony against Taft in order to attack the nationalists and the so-called *Alma Filipina* (Philippine soul). *El Renacimiento* published LeRoy's letter in several supplements of 17, 19, 22, and 24 January 1907.
- 39 John Foreman (1899) stated categorically that there was a verbal and written agreement for independence given to Aguinaldo. Foreman was denounced by Consul Pratt for publishing this and other allegations in his book. Pratt was successful in pressuring Foreman to remove the offending page and insert an apology. In the succeeding edition Foreman (1906) did not mention any agreement. Cf. Sawyer 1900.
- 40 Victor Balaguer (1824–1901) was minister for the colonies during the first Liberal government. He was a promoter of a new colonization of the Philippines. Although Balaguer furnished the new parameters of the colonial policy conceiving the archipelago as an exploitative entrepôt,

he defended the principle of a gradual native assimilation. Balaguer implemented revolutionary reforms, which were conceived as the product of the progress or exigencies of the nineteenth century. His "Memoria: Islas Filipinas" (1895) is a faithful reflection of his idea of progress.

- 41 This topic is pursued in great detail in Cano 2005.
- 42 Abella (1973, viii) states in the reprint of *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* that "*The A.H. Clark Company* was forced to close shortly thereafter for economic reasons" (italics in original).
- 43 There are twenty-four volumes of transcriptions, twenty-three of them are devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and only one to the eighteenth century. Most of these documents were mentioned in Vol. 53 and some of them published erroneously. The transcriptions are inaccurate. These transcripts are in the Newberry Library, Chicago.
- 44 Abella (1973, xxiv) states: "This circumstance prompted Wenceslao R. Retana, well-known Spanish Filipinologist during the turn of the century, to remark the following upon the publication of the Blair and Robertson *magnum opus*: They (Blair and Robertson) give us today in the English language the knowledge of things which had never been published in their original Spanish." Abella does not provide the source of this statement. Retana edited and published a series called *Archivo del bibliófilo Filipino* between 1893 and 1905, which presented Spanish originals from different archives. Blair and Robertson copied some documents of Retana's work and they tried to reproduce the same format: preface, publication of the documents, and presentation of bibliography. Therefore, Retana could not have said the words attributed to him by Abella.
- 45 I have developed in a long chapter entitled "Encapsulating Medieval Philippines in Latin America—*The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*" all the points noted by Zaide (Cano 2005). In fact, this chapter analyzes the construction of the multivolume work; the decontextualization, [mis]interpretation, and ad hoc mistranslation of two seminal documents, and the "Historical Introduction" written by Edward Gaylord Bourne and "The Philippines 1860–1898: Some comments and bibliographical notes" by James A. LeRoy.

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