Monumentalizing Memories, Memorializing Monuments: Rizal Park and American Colonial Philippines, 1898-1946

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ABSTRACT

Recent scholarship on American colonization in the Philippines has focused mostly on the conformities and disruptions that occurred during the period (Balance 2016, McCoy 2009, Abinales 2017). A scarcity of studies, on the other hand, has been done on the reconfigurations of new forms of cultural expression in the spatial realm to remember the past, such as the manipulation of the natural and built environments for cultural purposes and the re-ordering of existing spaces or architectural forms in the context of occupation, to name a few. Aiming to understand the relationship between monumentalizing memories and memorializing monuments, this thesis will examine the disparate images of the past generated by the material manifestations of Philippine society's framing of Philippine history on the urban landscape particularly by looking on the Rizal monument and Rizal Park, and in particular the processes of memory in the country.

Currently, there is a heated dispute in contemporary Philippine history and politics about the manner in which the colonial past should be remembered and treated, as well as how it should be transmitted. However, while acknowledging that various acts of commemoration are shaped and developed by debates on identity, I argue that the manner in which the Philippines' past is presented and 'packaged' for Philippine society has an impact on which historical narratives the population prefers to visually consume. For the purpose of this study, I will examine the material dimensions' of the past by adopting a perspective that considers both the exterior and interior forms of various visual representations of the past, as well as interrogating how people monumentalized their memories as is traditionally done by historians and how people memorialized monuments nowadays in order to discover the identity of a Filipino Public historian.

My study will rely heavily on archival and secondary data collection techniques. Principally, I collected various commentaries and publications from both foreign and Filipino authors. The gathered data were interpreted through historical and discourse analysis. The Rizal monument will be discussed, scrutinized, and assessed in this study.

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Jeff Mendez
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INTRODUCTION

The ways in which societies maintain monuments, physical spaces, and memorial landscapes have been a source of political confrontation since time immemorial, from statues in the ancient empires through to the contemporary #Black Lives Matter movement.[1] In countries that were colonized during the Age of Empire, there are still many individuals who are impacted by the colonial narratives of numerous monuments, and they continue to urge for greater changes to be made to the law that mandates the removal of certain monuments.[2] Because of the disputed nature of these monuments and the perceived effect they have over the historical record and public space, it is essential to investigate and review these locations. Why are they in this location? Whose narratives are they relating? What kind of influence do they have?

Numerous historians have explored the alterations in the memorial landscape that accompanied the massive transitions in global power over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Historians have studied how the construction and dismantling of monuments were used to both colonize and decolonize the landscape as a result of these transformations. Frank and Ristic have noticed that monuments work as occupying forces since they reinforce a specific history and identity to the exclusion of certain populations.[3] The impact that tourism and international aid have had on the memorialization of certain historical events has been investigated by a number of other historians.[4] Some scholars have investigated the differences between "official" memory and "vernacular" memory, as well as the contestation of state-sponsored memorialization at the local level.[5] Others, however, have examined the ways in which shifts in political regimes and governments have influenced how memorial spaces are utilized and interpreted in different times and places. Finally, some academics have investigated how the memorialization of colonial history led to

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[1] The United States witnessed the birth of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2013 as a direct reaction to the acquittal of a white police officer for the murder of a young black man named Trayvon Martin. Many activists group formed movements in order to protest the oppression of many Black lives which eventually precipitated into decolonial/deconstruction discourses of the built environment in many parts of the world.

[2] Gregory S. Schneider and Laura Vozzella, "Robert E. Lee statue is removed in Richmond, ex-capital of Confederacy, after months of protests and legal resistance", Washington Post, 8 September 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/virginia-politics/robert-e-lee-statue-removal/2021/09/08/1d9564ee-103d-11ec-9cb6-bf9351a25799_story.html

[3] Sybille Frank and Mirjana Ristic, "Urban Fallism: Monuments, Iconoclasm and Activism", City 24, no. 3-4: 557-58.

[4] See for example Sharon Seah Li-Lian, "Truth and Memory: Narrating Viet Nam", in Contestations of Memory in Southeast Asia, ed. Roxana Waterson and Kian-Woon Kwok (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012); Hamzah Muzaini and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, Contested Memoryscapes: The Politics of Second World War Commemoration in Singapore (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016).

[5] See for example John Poulter, "The Discursive Reconstruction of Memory and National Identity: The Anti-war Memorial the Island of Ireland Peace Park", Memory Studies 11, no. 2 (April 2018): 191-208; Philip Seaton, "World War II in Japan's Regions: Memories, Monuments and Media in Hokkaido", in War Memories, Monuments and Media: Representations of Conflicts and Creation of Histories of World War II, ed. Tito Genova Valiente and Hiroko Nagai (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2011); Hue-Tam Ho Tai, "Monumental Ambiguity: The State Commemoration of Hồ Chí Minh", in Essays into Vietnamese Pasts, ed. Keith Weller Taylor and John K. Whitmore (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

the erasure of the histories of indigenous peoples from official records of the past.[6] Nevertheless, despite the broad postcolonial examination of monuments, the scholarship is lacking a full analysis of monument construction during the period of time when the Philippines were under the colonial administration of the United States, which was from 1898 to 1946.

This thesis investigates monuments that were erected and inaugurated during the time when the United States ruled the Philippines as a colonial power and evaluates the degree to which US dominance altered the memoryscape of the Philippines. The time period beginning in 1898 and ending in 1946, during which the Philippines were under the administration of the United States, is the primary focus of the thesis. This period has spawned debate over whether the buildings and monuments erected during the American colonial period are part of US and/or Filipino heritage. This research is intended to shed light on the significance of these monuments. This highlights the continuous contradictions that exist between the legacy of American control and the Philippine government's declaration of the nation's independence. During and after the end of American colonial rule in the Philippines, various groups within the Philippines demonstrated significant agency in both the designing of these monuments and the use of them to promote particular agendas about what it actually meant to be "Filipino." This occurred both during and after the end of American colonial rule in the Philippines.

This thesis focuses on statues to Rizal, who was born on June 19, 1862 to a family that belongs to middle class during the peak of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. Educated in the Jesuit run Ateneo Municipal de Manila[7] and took up Medicine at the University of Santo Tomas, a Dominican run university in Manila, Jose Rizal wrote several materials that highlights the abused of power and corruption of both the church and state in Spanish colonial Manila. He then furthered his studies in Europe and received western liberal training in Spain, Austria, France, etc. that formed his maturity to write more about reforming the Philippines. In spite of the fact that a number of academics have investigated the rise in the number of monuments honoring Jose Rizal during the time US colonial rule over the Philippines, these researchers have primarily focused on the construction of these monuments as a component of the United States colonization of the landscape.[8] They have done so without taking into consideration the local drive to honor Rizal or the monuments constructed for other luminaries, as well as the effect this has had on the decision-making process. This approach has been prominent in the work of Philippine historians such as Resil Mojares and Sharon Delmendo, both of whom have emphasized the agency of the United States in shaping Philippine identity. Another prominent example of this kind of work is that which was created by the urban historian Ian Morley. Morley has conducted considerable research into the role that American planners had in the remodeling of Manila and other cities.[9] The results of Morley's study have been presented in a variety

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[6] See for example Charlotte Macdonald, “The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory”, Journal of New Zealand Literature (JNZL) 33, no. 2 (2015): 15-37.

[7] Ateneo Municipal de Manila is currently the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU) located in Loyola Heights, Katipunan Avenue, Quezon City. This was different from Rizal`s time where Ateneo Municipal de Manila was located in Intramuros district.

[8] Resil B. Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality under U.S. Colonial Rule”, Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society 34, no. 1 (March 2006): 11-32; Sharon Delmendo, The Star-Entangled Banner: One Hundred Years of America in the Philippines (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

[9] Ian Morley, Cities and Nationhood: American Imperialism and Urban Design in the Philippines, 1898—1916

of scholarly publications and was used as an early attempt to bridge the gap as well as connection between memory studies and urban history. On the other hand, this thesis not only performs a comparative analysis, but it also conducts a study of the larger commemoration that was going on around the Rizal monument vis-à-vis Luneta Park, in addition to evaluating the colonial government's use of commemorative practice and conducting a study of the wider commemoration that was taking place around the monument.

It was discovered that other commemorative entities, such as the government of the Philippines, veterans groups, the Knights of Rizal, artists, architects, as well as community and business leaders, were engaged in the development of the Rizal monument. I ask how these sometimes competing groups within the Philippines have used commemoration, both prior to and following the inaugurations of the Rizal monument in Bagumbayan now Luneta Park, in order to identify the alternative visions of Philippine nationhood that emerged during the period of US colonial rule and afterward, and how these sought to bridge and mask race, class, and religious divides. This question is asked because I am interested in how these groups have used commemoration in order to identify the alternative visions of Philippine nationhood that emerged during the period of US colonial rule. By recognizing the multiple conceptions of Philippine nationhood that evolved during and after US colonial authority, this thesis highlights the significance of island spaces and transnational study to an understanding of the role of commemoration in the geopolitical maneuverings of the United States throughout the course of the twentieth century.[10] While previous studies of US overseas commemoration have focused primarily on First and Second World War memorialization, particularly in Europe, this study highlights the significance of island spaces and transnational study of Southeast Asian history with a particular focus on the Philippines.

This thesis contributes to the research that is being done on the colonial era of the United States in the Philippines as well as the time that followed it, but it is also pertinent to the debates that are taking place around monument studies and various issues attached to public history, which are taking place right now. There has never been an effort made in the past to carry out an exhaustive study of the development of monuments and other types of commemorative activities that were prevalent in the area while the United States was in control of it. A considerable number of the original sources that are pertinent to the planning, funding, and construction of Rizal monument are being used in this study to unfold the many facets of US colonial history in the Philippines as well as the response of the Filipinos to American colonial rule. This collective examination enables a greater understanding of how commemoration developed over the nearly fifty years that the United States ruled the Philippines, how the Philippines perceived and positioned itself during this time, and to what extent colonial legacies remained after the country achieved independence. Specifically, this examination focuses on how the Philippines perceived and positioned itself during postcolonial time.

For those interested in the analysis of the building of monuments during the period of colonial

(Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018);

[10] See for example Sam Edwards, Allies in Memory: World War II and the Politics of Transatlantic Commemoration, c.1941—2001 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Lisa M. Budreau, Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919—1933 (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Brian Russell Roberts and Michelle Ann Stephens, Archipelagic American Studies (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

authority, the Philippines provides a case study that is both distinctive and intriguing to consider. In contrast to the other countries that were colonized in Asia, the Philippines were under the dominion of not just one but two different colonial empires in fast succession. These empires were the Spanish and the Americans. Shortly after the Philippine Revolution of 1896, which intended to end the country's three hundred and thirty years of Spanish colonial control, the United States established its authority over the Philippines. This occurred not long after the revolution began. On January 23, 1899, just as the United States started to extend its possession of the Philippine islands, General Emilio Aguinaldo was inaugurated as president of the Philippines. This coincided with Aguinaldo's inauguration and marked the beginning of a short era of independence for the Philippines, which took place in between these two periods of colonial authority. This freedom and General Aguinaldo's regime only lasted for just a few years In contrast to a great number of other colonial settings, such as Indonesia and Vietnam. Although short and not yet matured, Philippine independence during this time exhibited an attempt from the local to reorganize and assume local power. Because of these early attempts and nationalist maneuvers of the Filipinos, the United States promise to grant the Filipinos independence as soon as a stable government established therein. This promised was legally supported by various laws established by the Americans to develop politically and shared American democratic values to the Filipinos.[11] The Filipino elite and many high ranking local officials were the first to absorb these political policies and embraced the Americanization of the Philippines.

In addition, the administration of the United States of America made an effort to distinguish its form of colonial control from the forms of colonial authority exercised by other European powers by labeling its operations as "benevolent assimilation."[12] In essence, when he made this proclamation, the former President of the United States, William McKinley, referred to the presence of the United States in the Philippines as "the realization of the great aim of this Nation to restore order to the islands and to create a just and generous Government."[13] This was in reference to support the promises and strengthen colonial systems of the United States in the Philippines in order to create a government that appears merciful and savior of the uncivilized locals in the eyes of the world. The said positive take about American help and "benevolent assimilation" falls under the so called "White man`s burden" narrative of the colonizers. After attaining its independence in July 04 1946, the Philippines maintained a unique postcolonial relationship with the United States that is still in existence until now. This was made possible by the presence of US military bases, the continuation of US economic aid, and other agreements such as the 1946 Bell Trade Act, which granted American citizens equal access to the country's natural resources.[14] These factors all contributed to the success

[11] The first of these promises was Philippine Organic Act of 1902 enacted by the United States Congress on July 01, 1902 that mandates the establishment of American Civil government in the Philippines as well as the establishment of the Philippine Assembly. Another is the Philippine Autonomy act of 1916 also known as Jones Act enacted by the United States Congress on August 29, 1916.

[12] "Filipinos Are Informed Just What The United States Intends To Do By A Presidential Proclamation", Los Angeles Herald, 6 January 1899, https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH18990106.2.5&e=-------en--20--1--txt-txIN---------1

[13] William McKinley. 1900. "Speech Accepting the Republican Nomination" (speech). In "Presidential Speeches | William McKinley Presidency". Miller Center, University of Virginia. https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/july-12- 1900-speech-accepting-republican-nomination.

[14] Carl H. Landé, "The Philippines and the United States", Philippine Studies 49, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter 2001): 522; E. San Juan, Jr., After Postcolonialism: Remapping Philippines-United States Confrontations (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 65.

of Americanization propaganda before and after the Second World War to instill a long-lasting relationship with the Philippines and a positive outlook about American colonial rule. An investigation into the role that monuments played in both the colonial and postcolonial periods of Philippine history has the potential to test and perhaps even unsettle wider international debates about fallism, the decolonization of public spaces, and the agency of colonizers. This is because such an investigation would focus on the role that monuments played in both the colonial and postcolonial periods of Philippine history.

Even after more than a century had passed since the arrival of the US Navy in the Philippines, the US administration continued to characterize its "benevolent rule" in the same manner. In his address to the Philippine Congress in the year 2003, President George W. Bush of the United States of America made the following statement: "America is proud of its contribution to the magnificent tale of the Filipino people." Our armed forces worked together to win independence for the Philippines from Spanish colonial authority.[15] These words were indicative of the US government's persistence in shaping the historical record of the two countries, in which US colonial rule was rarely characterized as such, and in which the Philippine-American War and the atrocities committed therein remain mostly absent.

Additionally, US President George W. Bush's trip to the Philippines on May 09 2003 in order to garner support for the War on Terror was illustrative of the postcolonial relationship that exists between the two countries[16], which has remained interconnected for seventy five years since the Philippines gained its independence in 1946. This relationship was emphasized during Bush's visit to the Philippines. Indeed, many academics have used the term "semi-colony" to refer to the Philippines in the post-independence era due to the country's continued economic reliance on the United States and, more importantly, due to the presence of US military bases on the islands until 1991.[17] This is because the Philippines remained economically dependent on the United States and much of the state systems still patronize its American heritage.

An examination of commemoration in this specific context is necessary to highlight the significant contribution to the study of colonial and postcolonial monument building in the Philippines to critically analyze how the United States government's depiction of itself as liberator, in addition to the neocolonial dynamic that persisted between the two countries following independence, disrupts the traditional suppositions of monuments as a means to colonize and decolonize the Philippine

[15] George W. Bush. 2003. “Remarks by the President to the Philippine Congress” (speech). In “2003 East Asian and Pacific Affairs Remarks, Testimony, and Speeches”. U.S. Department of State Archive. https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2003/25455.htm (hereafter cited as Bush. 2003. “Remarks by the President to the Philippine Congress” (speech)).

[16] Delmendo asserts that this is particularly prevalent in contestations between the Philippines and the United States over the official narrative of the Battle of Balangiga, which took place during the Philippine-American War. The dispute relating to this battle is over whether the attack constituted a defense by Philippine forces or a Philippine massacre of US “peacekeepers”. Delmendo, The Star-Entangled Banner, 168-70.

[17] See for example Alfred W. McCoy, “Circles of Steel, Castles of Vanity: The Geopolitics of Military Bases on the South China Sea”, Journal of Asian Studies 75, no. 4 (November 2016): 990; Paul A. Kramer, The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2006), 434.

landscape. An examination of commemoration in this specific context highlights how after achieving independence, the Philippines' continued dependence on the United States meant that it could not simply erase its former colonizer from its historical record. This resulted in ongoing tensions between the need to accept and the need to reject US rule. Through this study, I will investigate the American imperial history in the Philippines through material objects such as monuments/buildings established during American colonial times. And to see how “Americanization“ process helped shape the Filipino sense of history and how Filipinos reacted in return.

This study demonstrates how the United States’ colonial history influences the Philippines' monumental, memorial, and material pasts. I'll focus on the "Americanization" of cultural and historical sites in the Philippines from 1898 to 1939. This colonial goal may account for the other side of America's imperial and colonial presence in the Pacific and the larger picture of the United States of America's contemporary history in the Philippines.

Following the establishment of the historical and theoretical context in chapter one, the second chapter analyzes the emergence of the US colonial empire in the Far East, with a particular emphasis on the Philippines, and the crucial impact of its policies, particularly the “Americanization” policy, in molding the colony's development and life. The third chapter looks at the sociocultural dimension of the "Americanization" agenda via the lens of material culture, such as the development of Rizal monument in 1913 and the rise of a modern city from various urban plans and the reconstruction of a huge park called Luneta Park in Manila. And the fourth examines the "Filipinization" of areas to reflect on the indigenous response to colonization.

CHAPTER 1: THE HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL CONTEXT

This chapter provides the historical and theoretical context for the case studies in the second half of this thesis. The focus is on how scholars have approached the topic of US colonial rule in the Philippines, how US rule has been visually analyzed through photography, topography, architecture, and urban design, and the extent to which the Philippine colonial memoryscape has been examined. The purpose of this review is to provide a context for the focus of this thesis and I will provide an overview of the theoretical underpinnings, which will include memory research as well as the role of the body and performance in the formation of memories.

US Colonial rule in the Philippines, 1898-1946

During the start of the twentieth century, America, as an imperial force in the Pacific, sought to transform the Philippines Islands into "a democratic republic in the American image."[18] The other side of America's ambiguous character pushed her to engage with a certain developmental change in conjunction with the Philippine island in the Pacific, which was plainly motivated by military, economic, and world-power ambitions throughout this colonial navigation in the Far East. This democracy experiment had a significant impact on the life and various institutions in the Philippine island, but it was unsurprisingly met with a mixed response that was distinctly Filipino in its outcomes. Those consequences reflected the inconsistencies of American colonial policies as well as the diverse responses of the Filipinos, whose indigenous culture, social system, and way of life survived and modified the American ideals and institutions that had been installed.

The establishment of the Philippine Constabulary as an instrument of control as well as a means to improve the country's communications infrastructure is one of the three main components that many historians have identified as having been utilized by the US colonial government in order to implement and embed its rule over the islands.[19] These components are the Filipino government, education, and the establishment of the Philippine Constabulary. Historians are of the opinion that these pillars of colonial administration had the goals of unifying the nation, producing the next generation of colonial administrators, and establishing English as the official language of the country.[20] The colonial influence on the political system of the Philippines has been investigated by a large number of academics, many of whom have acknowledged the enhanced democratization of society that followed greater engagement in political and civic life as a result of the colonial influence.[21]However, they have also argued that the new political system exacerbated pre-existing

[18] Abueva, Jose Veloso. "Filipino Democracy and American Legacy". The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nov., 1976, Vol. 428, The American Revolution Abroad (Nov., 1976), pp. 114-133

[19] See for example Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, State and Society in the Philippines (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017); Cristina Evangelista Torres, The Americanization of Manila 1898—1921 (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2010); Kramer, The Blood of Government.

[20] See for example the work of Diana Lemberg, "The Universal Language of the Future": Decolonization, Development, and the American Embrace of Global English, 1945–1965." Modern Intellectual History 15 (2017): 561 - 592. Ma. Mercedes G. Planta, Traditional Medicine in the Colonial Philippines, 16th to the 19th Century. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

[21] See for example Ian Morley, "Modern Urban Designing in the Philippines, 1898–1916", Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints 64, no. 1 (March 2016): 23-24; Jose Rene C. Gayo, "Shaping of the Filipino Nation: The Role of Civil Society", in Mixed Blessing: The Impact of the American Colonial Experience

societal divisions and made possible an ethnic and class hierarchy that favored the wealthy, in particular those of white European descent.[22] In other words, they believe that the new political system is to blame for the challenges and failure of the current Philippine state and its affairs during and after colonial rule. Others have argued that the strong executive branch of government that the United States established in the form of the Governor General served as a model for the expanded presidential powers of the Philippine Commonwealth, which in turn led to the extraordinary abuses of power that were carried out under the succeeding political leaders in the Philippines particularly President Ferdinand Marcos' twenty-year rule.[23] This theory is supported by the fact that the United States established the strong executive branch of government in the form of the Governor General. In addition, contemporary academics have investigated the effects of the US colonial government's bifurcated rule of the Christian and non-Christian populations, and they have argued that this rule perpetuated long-standing divisions, which led to continued violence in the southern region of the Philippines perpetrated by Muslim separatists.[24]

Following the country's declaration of independence in 1946, numerous academics have investigated the economic and military legacy left by the United States. Several people contend that the growth of an agriculturally based economy in the United States hampered the growth of the economy in the Philippines.[25] Other historians have investigated the Philippines' ongoing dependence on aid from the United States as well as the economic impact of the parity clause of the 1946 Bell Trade Act, which gave American citizens equal access to the country's natural resources.[26] This act was passed in an effort to promote international trade. Delmendo and McCoy have also investigated the impact of the Bases Agreement that was signed in 1947. This agreement allowed for the establishment of twenty-three United States military bases in the Philippines for a period of ninety-nine years.[27] McCoy argues that the presence of the bases has served to advance American military interests at the expense of true Philippine independence. He maintains that the presence of the bases, along with the US government's "constant quest for geopolitical dominion," has been what has shaped the post-independence relationship between the two countries.[28] McCoy's argument is that the bases have served to advance American military interests at the expense of true Philippine independence.

This thesis will challenge the preoccupation that the existing literature has with the imperial bond by

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on Politics and Society in the Philippines, ed. Hazel M. McFerson (Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2011), 182.

[22] See for example Abinales and Amoroso, State and Society in the Philippines, 157; Marya Svetlana T. Camacho, "Race and Culture in Spanish and American Colonial Policies", in McFerson, Mixed Blessing, 78; San Juan, Jr., After Postcolonialism, 88-93.

[23] See for example Abinales and Amoroso, State and Society in the Philippines, 153- 55.

[24] See for example Abinales and Amoroso, State and Society in the Philippines, 124- 25; Raul Pertierra and Eduardo F. Ugarte, "American Rule in the Muslim South and the Philippine Hinterlands", in McFerson, Mixed Blessing; Kramer, The Blood of Government, 208-15.

[25] Renato Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino", in The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship and Resistance, ed. Daniel B. Schirmer and Stephen Rosskamm Shalom (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1987), 48. First published 1970 by Journal of Contemporary Asia 1, no. 1.

[26] Carl H. Landé, "The Philippines and the United States", Philippine Studies 49, no. 4 (Fourth Quarter 2001): 522; San Juan, Jr., After Postcolonialism, 65.

[27] Delmendo, The Star-Entangled Banner.

[28] McCoy, "Circles of Steel, Castles of Vanity: The Geopolitics of Military Bases on the South China Sea", 981.

introducing other transnational relations that shaped the process of nation-building in the Philippines during both its colonial and postcolonial periods. These relations include ties to Mexico, Japan, and the People's Republic of China. This thesis examines the role of the Philippine government and other commemorative groups in fostering divisions in religion, class, and race. Previous scholarship has focused on the US colonial government's exacerbation of Spanish colonial societal divisions, but this thesis examines the role of the Philippine government and other commemorative groups. Although the Military Bases Agreement was dissolved in 1991, the two countries' militaries remained intertwined right up until 2020, when President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines canceled the Visiting Forces Agreement in an effort to forge closer connections with other countries.[29] In light of this, it is of the utmost significance to investigate the imperial legacy left behind by the United States of America as the Philippines works to free itself from its colonial history.

Visualization of US Colonial history in the Philippines

Despite the fact that the majority of postcolonial research conducted thus far has concentrated on the political and economic impact of the United States on the Philippines, a number of academics have also investigated the use of optical strategies to colonize the landscape, as well as the visual legacies that these strategies have left in their wake. It has been determined by Balce, Brody, and Hawkins that the colonial government of the Philippines made use of visual media such as mapping and photography in order to situate the people of the Philippines as well as the physical topography of the country within a Western knowledge framework. For instance, Balce presents the notion of the "American photography complex," which, in her view, resulted in the production of photographs of Filipinos that portrayed the country and its people in a manner that reaffirmed American racial and military superiority through depictions of American masculinity, Filipino death, and Filipina docility.[30] Balce argues that these photographs were used to produce photographs of Filipinos that displayed the country and its people in a manner that reinforced American racial and colonial heritage shared through "Americanization" over long course of period of time.

Brody analyzes US portrayals of the "Philippine body," which intended to establish American racial supremacy, as well as US mapping, which offered little information on how the environment was really utilized by Filipinos.[31] Both of these topics are covered in the book. Pagunsan has, more recently, investigated the ways in which the colonial government shaped the biological space of the country through the establishment of the Bureau of Science. The Bureau of Science was responsible for cataloging and classifying the various species of flora and fauna that are native to the Philippines. Pagunsan argues that the nation-building inherent in this activity through its demarcation of a "geo-body" remained in the post-independence period as the rebuilding of scientific institutions, such as the Natural History Museum, was intrinsically connected with the "salvaging of the national

[29] Wong, Andrea Chloe, "Duterte's back-down on US forces in the Philippines", The Interpreter published by Lowey Institute, 15 June 2022, https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/duterte-s-back-down-us-forces-philippines

[30] Nerissan S. Balce, Body parts of Empire: Visual Abjection, Filipino Images, and the American Archive (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2017).

[31] David Brody, Visualizing American Empire: Orientalism and Imperialism in the Philippines (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 89-107.

culture."[32] Pagunsan argues that the nation-building inherent in this activity through its demarcation of a "geo-body" remained in the post-independence period.

In addition, Brody and Delmendo investigated how the media and other publications in the early twentieth century attempted to normalize the United States' presence in the Philippines through a portrayal of the country as "savage" and "uncivilized," while at the same time concealing the violent conflict that followed the United States' acquisition of the islands.[33] Delmendo and Kramer have also investigated the use of the American flag in the Philippines as a method for inhabiting the landscape as well as a tool for nation-building in which the United States sought to portray itself as the protector of the Philippines.[34] In this context, the American flag was used in both of these ways simultaneously. Both Brody and Morley have examined the role that civic design had in the establishment of colonial control in various parts of the world. Both authors contend that the designs' priority was to use European architectural models rather than Philippine ones in order to improve the public's perception of the United States of America among the Philippine populace.[35] In point of fact, Morley goes even further in his argument by claiming that the very layout of streets in Burnham's plans for Manila created sight lines that exposed the new government buildings. These sight lines led from open spaces and parks with Philippine statuary, which, according to Morley, fostered a sense that a collective Philippine identity and independence could only be achieved under US rule. Morley's claim is supported by the fact that Burnham's plans for Manila were commissioned by the United States.[36]

According to Mojares, many of the symbols of Philippine nationalism that are used today can be found in art, literature, and dance. During the time when the United States was colonizing the Philippines, a large number of Filipino artists strove to construct a "nation-space." His argument is that institutions in the Philippines that were established by the United States of America, such as the University of the Philippines and the National Museum, were instrumental in the development of a national canon of art. This canon included the "collection" of traditional songs and dances and elevated the work of Filipino artists such as Amorsolo, whose typical works were depictions of rural scenes.[37] As a backlash of the rapid influence of Americanization in the Philippines Islands, local

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[32] Ruel V. Pagunsan, "Nature, colonial science and nation-building in twentiethcentury Philippines", Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 51, no. 4 (December 2020): 561-78.

[33] Brody, Visualizing American Empire; Delmendo, The Star-Entangled Banner, 60.

[34] Kramer contends that the United States also defined their territory geographically by flying the American flag, which he claims was seen by many people at the time to spread the area of Manila. He says this is evidence that the United States designated its territory spatially. He also mentions that the United States was often unwilling to use colonial language when describing its relationship to the Philippines. Instead of referring to it as a territory or colony, for instance, the United States would use the flag as a euphemism; for instance, the Philippines would fall "beneath the folds of our starry flag." He also mentions that the United States was often unwilling to use colonial language when describing its relationship with Cuba. Kramer, The Blood of Government, pages 329 and 330; Delmendo maintains that this can be seen in the United States' recognition of Philippine independence on July 4, 1946. She maintains that the visual imagery surrounding the event depicted Philippine independence as a consequence of American benevolence. The Star-Spangled Banner by Delmendo, pages 126–28.

[35] Morley, "Modern Urban Designing in the Philippines, 1898–1916"; Brody, Visualizing American Empire, 156.

[36] Morley, "Modern Urban Designing in the Philippines, 1898–1916", 19.

[37] Resil B. Mojares, "Guillermo Tolentino's 'Grupo de Filipinos Ilustres' and the Making of a National Pantheon", in "Festschrift in honor of Fr. John N. Schumacher, S.J.", ed. Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., special issue, Philippine Studies: Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints 58, no. 1/2 (June 2010): 178-79.

Filipino artists started the "Filipinization" of art movement and felt the need to counter American colonial policies that inferiorize Philippine identity.[38] In addition, Mojares proves how Filipino local artists during the colonial times resisted by still practicing their innate and indigenous craft. He also mentioned that the simultaneous emergence of a Western-Filipino amalgamation taking place in art, or as he terms it, Filipinos "localizing and vernacularizing]"[39] Western art.

Mojares' argument is that artistic practices during the occupation are not "adequately captured by a simple bipolarity of resistance and Guillermo's approach acknowledges the foreign influence but also emphasizes many others, such as protest art that was developed in response to the Marcos dictatorship and was inspired by the Chinese Cultural Revolution. While Mojares, Orig, and McFerson portray the development of Philippine art in the twentieth century as being very much informed by and responsive to the United States, Guillermo's approach contrasts this view by arguing that the United States was only one of many influences on the development of Philippine art in this century.[40]

In this thesis, I dispute the assumptions of a significant portion of this visual, cultural, and urban history, including those of academics such as Brody, Delmendo, and Morley. These methods, although illustrating the United States' influence on colonial visual culture, disclose very little Philippine agency. Instead, they merely understand such visual culture as a way by which the United States governed the Philippines, both its people, and its terrain. Similar to what was said above, other people, such as Mojares, Orig, and McFerson, characterize colonial visual culture as a result of the connection between the Philippines and the United States. This thesis reveals the agency of various official and non-official commemorative groups, as well as the US colonial government, by examining the broader Philippine colonial memoryscape, which in addition to monuments includes texts, spaces, and performances. This thesis also demonstrates the limitations of purely visual analysis. It reveals a colonial monumental aesthetic that expresses tensions between Americanization and Filipinization, but it complicates the binary of colonizer and colonized seen in the studies of Brody and Morley by uncovering associations with Europe, the Hispanic diaspora, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China. In other words, it reveals a colonial monumental aesthetic that expresses tensions between Americanization and Filipinization.

In doing so, my work aligns with Guillermo's approach to postcolonial Philippine art, which acknowledges artistic influences beyond the imperial bond, as well as emerging scholarship by historians such as CuUnjieng Aboitiz and Baluyut, who have begun to broaden the discussion of the Philippine-United States relationship and twentieth-century Philippine art by situating colonial and postcolonial Philippine identity-making within a broader Pan-Asian context.[41]

[38] Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule”, 14.
[39] Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule”, 14, 22.
[40] Guillermo, Protest/Revolutionary Art in the Philippines 1970—1990, 20.
[41] Nicole CuUnjieng Aboitiz, Asian Place, Filipino Nation: A Global Intellectual History of the Philippine Revolution, 1887—1912 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020); Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut, “Occupation, Resistance and Collaboration: Triangulating Japan, the Philippines and Singapore through Fernando Amorsolo’s Defend Thy Honor”, in Visual Histories of Occupation: A Transnational Dialogue, ed. Jeremy Taylor (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 97-119.

Although there has been very little research done on the monuments that were built when the United States was under colonial control, a number of academics have investigated the effect that the United States has had on public memory in general. According to Ileto, the colonial authority in the Philippines attempted to "reshape" collective memory after the Philippine-American War in order to "naturalize" their reign in the Philippines. This occurred after the war between the Philippines and the United States. Ileto believes that in order for the United States to keep control of the Philippines, it was vital that this conflict is forgotten, and that the Filipino people needed to think that a bright future for their nation could only be reached under the supervision of the United States.[42] He discusses four strategies that the colonial authority used in an effort to change people's memories. The first strategy was to glorify those who had fought against the Spanish government, such as José Rizal. This was done in order to draw public attention to the successful removal of Spanish colonialism, which the US colonial administration wanted to differentiate itself from. Second, Ileto claims that the United States justified its presence in the Philippines on the basis that Filipinos were not ready for self-rule. He does this by characterizing the existing leaders of the Philippines, such as Emilio Aguinaldo, as "despotic" and unfit to govern. Ileto's argument is that the United States justified its presence in the Philippines on the basis that Filipinos were not ready for self-rule. Thirdly, he claims that Filipino children were educated to believe that the Philippine-American War was the result of a "misunderstanding" by Filipinos of America's "benevolent" mission, and lastly, he asserts that the United States consolidated their rule by passing several Acts that made it illegal to oppose the occupation of the Philippines by the United States. Ileto contends that the widespread perception of the United States as a liberator is evidence that the United States has been successful in their efforts to exert influence on the nation's collective memory. While some of the monuments that were investigated for this thesis continue to perpetuate an image of the United States as a liberator, such as the Rizal Monument and the Pacific War Memorial, others, such as the monument to Bonifacio that marks a Philippine-American battle site, reveal a more contested memoryscape than what Ileto portrays.

This thesis uses CuUnjieng Aboitiz's broader conception of Philippine identity-making in the twentieth century as a guide to analyze the monuments that were produced and initiated under US colonial rule, as well as the connections and frameworks in which they operated to construct images of the nation. The goal of this analysis is to determine how the monuments contributed to the construction of images of the nation. In point of fact, Till is quoted as saying that the presence of monuments or the monumentalization of a landscape does not necessarily represent a "coherent" agenda, but rather that these "places of memory demonstrate the complex ways that nationalist imaginations, power relations, and social identities are spatially produced."[43] This thesis attempts to address the inadequate examination of the larger Philippine colonial and postcolonial memoryscape that has been done up to this point. Although a number of academics have pointed out that

[42] Reynaldo Clemena Ileto, “Philippine Wars and the Politics of Memory”, in “Against Preemptive War”, ed. Tani E. Barlow, Yukiko Hanawa, Thomas LaMarre, Donald M. Lowe, special issue, positions: east asia cultures critique 13, no.1 (Spring 2005): 217, 222.

[43] Karen E. Till, “Places of Memory”, in A Companion to Political Geography, ed. John A. Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell and Gerard Toal (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 290.

commemoration may be used as a weapon in the process of nation-building[44], there has not yet been a comprehensive investigation into the reasons why the United States and the Philippines choose to memorialize certain events. The study of US colonial-era monuments in the Philippines can provide a unique insight not only into how colonial power was negotiated and contested but also into how the country has sought to define itself at key moments in time and the transnational networks it has used to do this, such as highlighting the Philippine-United States relationship, as well as Philippine ties to Asia, Europe, and the Hispanic diaspora. This can be done by underscoring the importance of the colonial history of the US in the Philippines and locating the role of the latter in terms of the global history of the early 20th century.

Conceptual Framework

This research aims to investigate on cultures of occupation particularly how US colonial rule in the Philippines (1898 to 1946) shaped and formed structural developments such as the public monuments erected in the country throughout the twentieth century, and how the materiality of these objects have shaped the Filipino people's sense of history and nostalgic memories. The questions on how the colonial past should be remembered, and how it should be treated and disseminated, are current debates in contemporary Philippine history and politics. Most historical and cultural studies scholars are accepting public history as a subject worthy of academic consideration. Recent scholarship about American colonization in the Philippines has focused largely on conformities and interruptions. There has been a dearth of studies analyzing the reconfigurations of new forms of cultural expression in the spatial realm to remember the past. This literature review will focus on monumentalizing memory and memorializing monuments in the Philippines during the American colonial period, concentrating on the disparate images of the past generated by the spatial manifestations of the colonial rule of the Americans and Philippines' framing of local and national history, in particular the processes of memory in the Philippines.

Memory Studies are going to provide this thesis with a significant portion of its conceptual foundation. In 1925, Halbwachs was the one who first presented the idea of a collective memory. He came up with the notion that one person cannot keep their memories intact or access them on their own, but that memories may be preserved and accessible via the many social groupings in which people participate.[45] In his notion of lieux de mémoire, which he defined as places where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself,"[46] Nora established important frameworks for the study of memory and commemoration. He called these places "memory sites" and introduced profound historical documents on the history and culture of the French nation. The omniscient role of the state in French life is the topic that is explored Nora`s lieux de mémoire. Whether they are physical locations, political customs, rituals, or even national hobbies and textbooks, all of these things and more may

[44] See for example Reynaldo Clemena Ileto, "Philippine Wars and the Politics of Memory", in "Against Preemptive War", ed. Tani E. Barlow, Yukiko Hanawa, Thomas LaMarre, Donald M. Lowe, special issue, positions: east asia cultures critique 13, no.1 (Spring 2005): 217, 222.

[45] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[46] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", in "Memory and Counter-Memory", ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, special issue, *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 7.

be considered entrances into the French past that are referred to as memory sites. Erll advocates a shift from Nora's concept of sites of memory and Halbwach's collective memory which she sees as bound within a container-culture to "travelling memory": memory that exists across and beyond cultures and must be continually in movement both intellectually and physically in order to survive.[47] The purpose of this thesis is to apply Erll's theory of "traveling memory" to the study of monuments and commemoration in US colonial Philippines in order to contest the Philippine-United States dichotomy. This will be accomplished by revealing the broader networks of memory to which the Philippines connected, such as Hellenistic sculptural tropes, First World War memorialization, and Hispanicized commemoration rampant in most of the islands in the country.

It has been claimed by Emde that Halbwach's idea of communal memory misrepresents the disputed character of memory and that what is recalled is the result of this struggle. Emde contends that what is remembered is the outcome of this conflict. He also argues that these encounters generate "polyphonic memoryscapes" in which various memories exist, clash, and are recreated.[48] She utilizes the personal recollections that were acquired at former Khmer Rouge locations in Cambodia to support her argument and give further meanings to various struggle and memory of Khmer Rouge. Muzaini has defined the "memoryscape" as "the various ways in which recollections of the past are translated in, over and through space"[49] Therefore, for this thesis, the term "memoryscape" shall refer to the larger remembrances that take place surrounding the figure or people that are being memorialized but are not directly associated with the physical location of the monument itself.

In post-communist memory and history studies, physical bodies and remnants are important and used as memorials. Despite the very dissimilar geopolitical contexts of 1990s Eastern Europe and US-colonial Philippines, many conceptual paradigms from such literature are relevant to the study of Rizal monument. Verdery, for example, claims that memorials featuring a body, visible or not, may change global orders. She examines how governments in post-communist Eastern Europe (from 1989) have exploited dead corpses to reshape society and distance themselves from the recent past. "Property restitution, political pluralization, religious renewal, and national tensions connected to constructing nation states" are the post-socialist themes that Verdery believes make her paradigm unique. She also argues that although dead corpses are used to revise the past in other settings, they are essential in postsocialist world-building to reject the current past.[50] Given the peculiarities of the post socialist world, this thesis employs this framework to evaluate the reinternment of Jose Rizal`s body at the Rizal monument, of which happened during a period of regime transition, which displayed a comparable desire to break with the past.

According to Augusto Deviana's book entitled "Apples and Ampalaya": Bittersweet glimpses of the American period in the Philippines, 1898-1946, during the time that the Americans ruled the

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47 Astrid Erll, "Travelling Memory", *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (November 2011): 4-18.

48 Sina Emde, "National Memorial Sites and Personal Remembrance: Remembering the Dead of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek at the ECCC in Cambodia", in *Interactions with a Violent Past: Reading Post-Conflict Landscapes in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam*, ed. Vatthana Pholsena and Oliver Tappe (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013), 20, 26.

49 H. Muzaini, "Making Memories Our Own (Way): Non-State Remembrances of the Second World War in Perak, Malaysia", in *Geography and Memory: Explorations in Identity, Place and Becoming*, ed. O. Jones and J. Garde-Hansen (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2012), 218.

50 Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 36, 52.

Philippines, the country underwent a period of rapid transformation that leads for the preparation for modern statehood, despite mounting social and economic obstacles brought on by the Second World War.[51] De Viana was able to tell the recurring challenges in Philippine history and its consequences during and after the American colonial rule. The title of his book suggests how the Philippines managed to overcome struggle for self-government, conflicts and political intrigues in the presence of war and many of these reactions were a bittersweet experience as portrayed by the 'Ampalaya' and Apple. This bittersweet narratives of Deviana's work also reflected to other works of many scholars. For example, Warwick Anderson offers a robust framework for better understanding of continuities and ruptures between the civilizing missions of colonial American government and the growing public health need in the colony. He focused on medicine and the modernizing aims of health development programs in the Philippines during the time of the Americans. It`s about a path-breaking research on a distinctly Americanized 'civilizing process' that endeavored to change the local scene by imposing foreign rule while being defended those commended with its mission from the unhelpful effects of having to do so in a tropical setting.[52] In his book, Manila, 1900-1941: Social Change in a late Colonial Metropolis, Daniel Doeppers explains various aspect of social change and impact of American administration to Filipino social fiber. This collection of work from both local and foreign scholars highlights the huge impact of American administration in the Philippines. However, Alfred McCoy's work such as "Philippine Cartoons: Political Caricature of the American, 1900-1941", exposed the grievances and dismay of some Filipinos towards the Americans. McCoy's extensive research was complemented by his site visits in various Philippine and American archives. In this book, he provides a compelling work using cartoon or caricatures made by skilled Filipino activists who wanted to make use of their talents in exposing the turbulent period during the American administration.

To better understand these convergences, many scholars of colonialism and Philippine studies today are dealing with various forms of study to highlight postcoloniality and new types of interpretations about the past.

As stated by Jenny Woodley and Christopher J. Young, there are tensions that occur within memory construction in other contexts especially on the aspect of national to local and vice versa. "Divergent historical narratives have emerged in Manila and in the other parts of the country after the Second World War."[53] People are so interested when it comes to nationalistic and identity debates that highlight the quest for a legitimate Philippine identity.

The Rizal monument, which is my main case study located in the Luneta (Rizal) Park, was a product of various polyphonic "commemorative agents." Hamzah Muzaini and Branda Yeoh examine the use of Second World War commemoration as a toll for nation building in Singapore, but note the compromised nature of many of this memorialization because of both local and international

[51] De Viana, Augusto V. (2001) Apples & Ampalaya: Bittersweet Glimpses of the American Period in the Philippines, 1898-1946. España, Manila, Philippines: University of Santo Tomas.

[52] Anderson, Warwick. (2006) Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines. Durham (USA) AND London (UK): Duke University Press, p. 355-356

[53] Jenny Woodley, (2018) "'Ma Is in the Park': Memory, Identity, and the Bethune Memorial," Journal of American Studies, 52, 2 (May 2018), 474-502; Christopher J. Young, "Memory by Consensus: Remembering the American Revolutionary War in Chicago," Journal of American Studies, 50, 4 (Nov. 2016), 971–97.

demands[54]. Faruh Kuzuev and Helge Blakkisrud opined similar argument on their article entitled "Museums, Memory and Meaning-creation: (Re) constructing the Tajik Nation." They mentioned how a country's conceiving and memory about the past can anchor towards their national post-independence nation-building project[55].

Materials and Historiography

Under the direction of the American colonial administration, the Philippines' heritage industry underwent significant reform and democratization. This was one of the primary areas of attention during this time (1898-1946). Since the year 1901, several commemorative monuments, memorials, and sculptures have been constructed in different parts of the country in order to create a shared public history for the sake of national development and reconciliation. The Rizal monument, which can be seen in what is now called Luneta Park, is considered to be one of the most significant monuments in the Philippines. It was erected by both Filipinos and American colonizers.

Through the examination of archival sources from the United States and the Philippines pertaining to various papers and documentary letters about the Rizal monument's construction, as well as a visual interpretation of the monument itself that was carried out during numerous site visits, this study investigates the tensions that exist between remembrance and commemoration within the site and the larger Manila memoryscape. This was accomplished by visiting a number of different sites and the conduct of archival research to some key US archives last spring. Additional research was conducted at the Ateneo de Manila University's American Historical Collection, Filipinas Heritage Library, University of the Philippines library, and the National Archives of the Philippines. Interviews and human interaction also induced the worth of information from vaults of the archives and libraries. For this thesis, I conducted interviews with the members of the Order of the Knights of Rizal, the sole organization mandated by Philippine law to study and conduct research on the life and works of Dr. Jose Rizal, and with Prof. Ricardo Trota Jose, an internationally renowned scholar of US imperial and colonial history in the Pacific who is actively involved in various memorialization projects organized by both the Philippines and American governments.

One can get a better understanding of how transnational memoryscapes function within the host nation and the extent to which they continue to perpetuate colonial memory by taking a look at the Rizal monument and other forms of American colonial memorialization in the Philippines. These are examples of the Rizal monument and other forms of American colonial memorialization in the Philippines. This is possible because the Rizal monument was built during the time of American colonial rule in the Philippines. While the commemoration intended to improve the bilateral connection between the two countries, it was also used to advance the nation-building goal of the Philippines. "Like Bataan, Capas represents Filipino fortitude," President Osmenia declared in an important commemorative event about Philippine heroes held at a controversial place used by the Japanese in 1945 while calling for rapid independence from the United States. When the dead of

[54] Hamzah Muzaini and Brenda S. A. Yeoh, (2016) Contested Memoryscapes: The Politics of Second World War Commemoration in Singapore (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2016). 5-8.
[55] Blakkisrud, H., and Kuziev, F. (2019) Museums, memory and meaning-creation: (re)constructing the Tajik nation. Nations and Nationalism, 25: 997– 1017.

World War II are remembered on National Heroes Day, they are elevated to the status of Philippine revolutionary heroes such as José Rizal and Andres Bonifacio, whose pedigrees date all the way back to the Rizal national remembrance act of 1902, which was followed by the erection of a monument to Rizal in Manila's Luneta Park in 1903. The use of National Heroes Day to remember the dead of World War II integrates the dead Rizal remembrance, on the other hand, was not just a colonial tradition. On November 1, 1898, a memorial service was held in Paco Cemetery in Manila to commemorate Rizal's life and achievements. Furthermore, throughout the early years of the United States' colonial power in the Philippines, Rizal's memory was frequently used as a rallying cry for the independence of the Philippines. Consequently, while both the Philippines and the United States shared a culture of remembrance, memorialization had a nationalist function in both countries.

CHAPTER II CONSTRUCTING THE COLONY, BUILDING THE EMPIRE

Material Objects and the US Cultural Nation

In order to illustrate the shifting context in which the Rizal monument was built, this chapter provides an overview of the political landscape of the Philippines as well as the Philippine-United States relations beginning with the Philippine Revolution in 1896 and continuing through the period of US colonial rule in the Philippines from 1898 to 1946. This chapter introduces the significance of commemoration to the US colonial administration's portrayal of Philippine nationhood and traces its continued importance throughout the twentieth century, beginning with the nation-building under Japanese colonial rule during the Second World War and ending with the nationalism fostered by the post-independence "Filipinization" movements in the Philippines from various presidential administrations.

Before discussing the arrival of the United States Navy in the Philippines and the ensuing Philippine-American War, the first part of this chapter provides an overview of the early stages of the Philippine Revolution, which took place during the Spanish colonial era. The following analysis covers the period from the beginning of American colonial authority to the "Filipinization" of government and the foundation of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in 1935. The Second World War is then covered, with a focus on the key wars that occurred in the Philippines during this time, as well as the Japanese control of those islands. After this, an analysis of the United States' role in civilizing the world particularly in the Philippines is presented by means of a visualization of the past. In the final part of the chapter, an analysis is provided of the ways in which the Americans advanced Americanization policies through the use of material culture, such as the Rizal monument and the Park. These policies helped strengthen US colonial rule in the Philippines both before and after the Second World War.

After the Portuguese-turned-Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan's arrival in the islands in 1521, the Philippines had been a colony of Spain for nearly 350 years by the year 1896. The second half of the nineteenth century saw a developing notion of nationalism emerge among the Philippine elite as a result of the advent of public education in the first part of the century. This resulted in the formation of the Propaganda Movement, which was started by expatriate Filipinos living in Europe, such as José Rizal, who published books and essays in which they advocated for political change.[56]Andres Bonifacio, Deodato Arellano, Valentin Diaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, and José Dizon, along with other individuals, established a clandestine organization in the month of July 1892. This organization was called the Kataas-taasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan (The Highest and Most Honorable Society of the Children of the Nation), which is also referred to as the KKK or the Katipunan. In contrast to the Propaganda Movement, the Katipunan was an organization that advocated for the military overthrow of Spanish colonial power and the unification of the country under a single national identity.[57] Following the Katipunan's discovery by the Spanish authorities on

[56] CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*, 44-45.

[57] Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office, *The Official Calendar of the Republic of the Philippines* (Manila: Presidential Communications Development and Strategic Planning Office, 2014), 140,

August 23, 1896, the beginning of the Philippine Revolution was signaled when Bonifacio and his fellow Katipuneros tore their tax identification cards (cédulas personales). This event became known as the "Cry of Pugad Lawin" or the "Cry of Balintawak." It was the day that the Katipunan signaled the Philippines' break with Spain and the beginning of the Philippine Revolution.[58] Despite his position as leader, Bonifacio was eventually overshadowed by Emilio Aguinaldo's greater military successes. Emilio Aguinaldo, who was elected as the president of the revolutionary government following the Tejeros Convention on March 22, 1897, was seeking to replace the Katipunan as the country's primary revolutionary organization. Aguinaldo and the other leaders of the Philippine Revolution went into exile in Hong Kong after the signing of the Biak-na-Bato Pact on December 15, 1897. This pact established a truce between Aguinaldo and the Spanish Governor General, Fernando Primo de Rivera, and brought an end to the Philippine Revolution.

On the other hand, the United States Navy landed at Manila on the 25th of April, 1898, just after the commencement of the Spanish-American War. They went on to win the Battle of Manila Bay, which took place on the 1st of May. On June 12, 1898, Aguinaldo returned to Manila with the assistance of the United States Navy and proclaimed that the Philippines had become an independent country. In the aftermath of the election of a new national legislature in Malolos, a new constitution known as the Malolos Constitution was published on the 21st of January 1899. Shortly thereafter, on the 23rd of the same month, the First Republic of the Philippines was inaugurated with Aguinaldo serving as its president. Despite this, Spain, which had already capitulated to the United States on August 13, 1898, reached an agreement with the United States to transfer control of the Philippines to them on November 21, 1898, after discussions in Paris. On December 10 of that year, a peace treaty was signed, which marked the official completion of the transfer.[59]

In spite of the Philippines' proclamation of independence, in the wake of the Paris Treaty, the United States Navy started expanding its occupation to include the whole Philippine archipelago. Aguinaldo warned "hostilities" if any of the islands were seized by force, which led to the outbreak of the Philippine-American War on February 4, 1899, when the United States Navy opened fire on Philippine soldiers in Manila. There is a great deal of disagreement among historians over the length of time that the war lasted. On the other hand, the worst part of the struggle took place between the years 1899 and 1902, during which time an estimated 600,000 civilians and 22,000 military personnel from the Philippines were slaughtered.[60] With the passage of the Philippine Organic Act in 1902, which formerly established US rule on the islands, US President Theodore Roosevelt proclamation signaled the end of the war between American soldiers and local Filipino guerrillas. This established an American hegemonic narrative that would set a precedent for US-led Philippine nation building.[61] Nevertheless, in spite of Roosevelt's declaration, a powerful guerilla resistance continued

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http://malacanang.gov.ph/77043-official-calendar-ph/ (hereafter cited as *Official Calendar*).

[58] CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*, 80.

[59] Onofre D. Corpuz, "The Filipino Revolution in Our Collective Memory", in *The Philippine Revolution and Beyond: Papers from the International Conference of the 1896 Philippine Revolution*, ed. Elmer A. Ordoñez (Manila: Philippine Centennial Commission, 1998), 25-32.

[60] Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 117.

[61] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 165; Philippine Organic Act of 1902, ch. 1369, 32 Stat. 691 (1902).

to exist until as late as 1907.[62]

Invitation to US Cultural Nation

A lot has been mentioned about the military and political campaigns of the Americans in the Pacific particularly in the Philippines. But only a few studies are drowned in the discussion about the establishment of the "American nation" in the Far East and the invitation did by the colonial rulers for the local subjects to join the so-called American cultural nation. This chapter will discuss the other side of American colonial policies and administration of the Philippines in terms cultural legacies and policies initiated by the American colonizers to the Philippine island. I intend to uncover the historical development and transition of American imperialism in the Philippines using the lens of material objects. Alvita Akiboh explains the relevance of material objects such as flags, coins, and stamps in analyzing American colonial rule during the 19th and 20th century former US colonies in the Pacific such as Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines.[63] Benedict Anderson on his important book, Imagined Communities, narrated how people can visualizes national identity using print capitalism that can resulted to the expression of a nationalist identity.[64] Aside from the many aspects of US colonialism in terms of political and military rule, the socio-cultural policies such as the introduction to American flag, currency, and other material cultures, can be a good venue to explain how the Americans extended their concept of civilization to the pacific particularly in the Philippines and at the same time, how the local subjects reciprocated the colonial policies implemented by the Americans. This chapter will interrogate the notion of objects, and material cultures used such as monuments and buildings in the study of American imperial and colonial rule in the Philippines. I will primarily focus on the relevance of the Rizal Park particularly on the Rizal monument erected during the time of the Americans.

When the Americans started to administer the Philippines, they considered the former Spanish colony to be a social laboratory that aims to mimic American civilization in the Far East.[65] The long period of 19th century and the opening of the 20th century were crucial historical periods to the Americans to open its power overseas and reach out to the modern world. It was a perfect opportunity for the new imperialists to conquer the world after the deteriorating situation of many European empires particularly Spain. For this reason, Spain and the United States of America staged a mock battle in Manila the bay and with the joint forces of the local Filipino warriors and supporters, Americans defeated the old Spanish colonial ruler and promised the head of the Filipino troupes, General Emilio Aguinaldo to liberate the Filipinos from more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule. The treaty of Paris was executed on December 10, 1898 and this paved the way to the opening of Philippine borders to American control. Because of the new rules that were instituted by the new colonial administrators, the United States of America and the Philippines were able to develop a partnership that is both more robust and comprehensive. A significant number of people from the United States

[62] CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*, 81.
[63] Akiboh, Alvita. National Symbols and Constructions of Identity in the U.S. Colonial Empire, 1898-1959, Unpublished Dissertation. 2019.
[64] Anderson, Benedict R. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Rev. and extended ed. London; New York: Verso books. 2016
[65] Karnow, Stanley. In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines. New York: Random House, Inc., 1989.

go to the Philippines in order to investigate the possibilities of making contributions to the newest American colony while they are there. The American civil government and American tourists both became essential facilitators that played a significant influence in the process of "Americanization" of the Filipino population.

The policy of sharing American cultural nation to other US colonies and the idea of US as an imperialist were not entirely supported by some Americans in the mainland.[66] Since the plan to assimilate another country in the pacific was already devised by McKinley and other officials, the American invasion of the Philippines was never stopped. However, it is stated that President McKinley's religious views against American imperialism in the Philippines were formed as a result of many nights spent praying against the issue. McKinley arrived at the opinion that the United States needed to "help" the Filipinos, and he gave the order "to place the Philippines on the map of the United States" to the top military cartographer. The reasoning for McKinley's decision was that he thought it would be best for the United States to "help" the people of the Philippines on their path to advancement and prosperity before handing them independence.[67] The goal became clear when McKinley appealed to for illumination and direction. The result of this is an obvious reason for the American commission to begin their mapping activities in the new colony under the strict supervision of President McKinley.[68] Imperialism is made possible by material artifacts like maps. The production of an imagined world by maps embodies an imperial logic. Readers often think that this world was created out of a desire to correctly portray the realities. The work of mapping that the Americans carried out in the Philippines was of immense use to the Americans in determining the width and extent of the new colony as well as in determining what parts of the colony had not yet been captured. Historian Susan Schulten believes that one of the positive impacts of the Spanish-American War was the “critical changes” it brought to American “cartographic culture.”[69] Maps created by the Americans also challenges the early colonial period with the Spaniards. It gave birth to many discoveries in terms of the expansion of Philippine territories from both the colonial and local subjects.

Maps also legitimized symbols and epitomes of the Americans. On the surface, they seemed to have no function other than to tell the reader about various aspects of the early colonial era or other conflicts that took place during this time period. However, if we analyze these maps and the cartographic imperative that led to the conception and fabrication of those maps, we are able to establish the part that these pictures played in the development of the American empire. As a kind of printed media, maps cultivate an acoustically pleasing environment, both to further the goals of

[66] The US Anti-imperialist sentiments are widely covered by the work of Edwin Burritt Smith in “Republic or Empire with Glimpse of Criminal Aggression” and Amy Kaplan (2002) The Anarchy of Empire and Laura Stoler’s (2006) edited volume Haunted By Empire both specifically take culture into account with formations of U.S empire.

[67] Mckinley, quoted in John Bancroft Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines; Or Life in Our New Possessions* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1905), 71.

[68] Mckinley, quoted in Devins, *An Observer in the Philippines*.,70.

[69] Susan Schulten, *The Geographic Imagination in America, 1880-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001),7.

American imperialism and to begin the process of benign assimilation.

Fig1. "Philippine Islands," map no. 118, from The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia & Atlas (New York: Century Company, 1899), call #xspe1625.c4 1899, vol.10, Online collection

Colonial authorities held the belief that indoctrinating colonial people with a right sense of patriotism and allegiance to the United States could be accomplished by the right use of material objects, which they felt might elevate, civilize, and "Americanize" the local subjects.[70] This is the reason why many Americans affirmed on the idea of sharing their national symbols and epitomes to invite the local colonial subjects to join the US cultural nation. Print media and several outlets were used to domesticate the consumption of American culture to satisfy the hungry minds and curiosity of the Filipino local subjects. It was also used to develop support and affirmative action toward imperialism from the mainland people. The Philippines are situated between the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Which they describe in great length in volume 9 of the Cyclopedia and which also contains The Century Cyclopedia of Names. The Philippines as a tropical country is located just above the equator, and Manila is the biggest city and the capital of the country. The islands of Annam are located to the east and northeast of Borneo, and the Celebes Sea is the body of water that separates them from Borneo. After pointing out where the islands may be found, it then continues on to identify "important economic products" After determining the feasibility of this disputed site, the old colonizers such as the Americans and Spaniards, begin to learn about its history and racial makeup:

"The group was ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty of Paris, Dec.10, 1898. The inhabitants are mostly different Malay tribes (Tagals, Visayas, etc.); there are also Chinese, Negritos, and mixed races. The nominal religion is Roman Catholic. The islands were discovered in 1521 by Magalhaes, who was killed there. A settlement was commenced in 1565. A native insurrection against the Spanish rule broke out in 1896, was quelled by Jan. 1898, but again broke out under the leadership of General Emilio Aguinaldo after the battle of Manila, in May 1898. In Feb. 1899, the insurgents turned their arms against the United States. Area 114, 326 miles. Population, estimated, 7,000,000."[71]

[70] Mona Ozouf *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 197; Mona Domosh has made a similar argument about commodities doing the work of colonization: Mona Domosh, *American Commodities in an Age of Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 9.

[71] *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia: A Work of Universal Reference in all Departments of Knowledge, with a New Atlas of the World*, (New York: Century company, 1899), 9:803.

These maps published in the popular press acted as guides for colonization. After viewing a map of the Philippines and reading a caption saying that this Asian location is now in the protecting hands of the United States, the reader would feel assured in assuming that they have a lot of information about the topic. The concept that seeing was believing was reflected in the military maps created during this time period. Despite the fact that the military's maps were more focused on the operation at hand than the visuals that could be seen in the mainstream news, they were nevertheless able to help Americans better visualize the geography of the colonies. With the combined support from the American civilians and the imperial government, the United States was able to launch a massive cultural campaign to go far in the Pacific. Many Americans were thrilled to see the resources and several other maneuvers they can do in the Philippines and its people. They consider this new discovery of the territory and custom of the local subjects to connect with China and other societies in East Asia like Japan.

Obviously, this was certainly not the first time that the US had taken over new land and brought its inhabitants with them. At the start of the twentieth century, the flag of the United States included a significant number of additional stars compared to when the nation was first established. The United States regularly and openly relied upon its history of continental invasion and the oppression of Native American populations in order to justify its claims to new territories overseas. Many of the same warriors and administrators who went on to the foreign empire had their beginnings in the conquest of the continent. However, the terms of the imperialist vs. anti-imperialist debate at the turn of the twentieth century reveal that, despite the fact that the conquest of overseas territories was similar to that of continental territories in many respects, the perpetrators of the former believed that their mission was unique. The increase of European settler populations was a primary factor in the conquering of the continent.[72] Despite the fact that a substantial number of white Americans served in the foreign colonies or worked in government offices or schools, it was widely accepted that the United States would have dominion over much of the population in these colonies who were not white. On the continent, the federal government expanded its territory with the implicit idea that these areas would one day become part of the states. ‘The majority of imperialists viewed overseas expansion in a different light. This was a colony, not a future state. At the turn of the century, there were no established standards for ruling colonies indefinitely.

More than Seventy five years after the US entered the region as a colonizer, it is time to examine the dynamic nature of imperialism. Before long, it became evident that the United States was no longer an old-style imperial force as it swept into Asia and seized the Philippines from Spain in 1898. A justification for colonialism developed in the United States after a brutal pacification of the Philippines: the export of democracy and preparing the Filipino people for independent self-government. This was more than just a piece of political ploy. This rationale ensured the legitimacy of the colonial project in the eyes of the American people by aligning it with American political beliefs. U.S. imperialism was legitimized by the idealistic character of U.S. imperialism, but it also provided a source of conflict and uncertainty. There were three distinct aspects to American imperialism: cultural ideology, the rise of US political power, and the expansionist dynamic of US economic interests.

[72] James Belich, Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

In response to the failures of the Spanish colonizers throughout the more than three centuries of their dominion in most of the Philippine Islands, the United States developed a different kind of colonial system of ruling in order to pacify the entire archipelago. The Americans introduced several military, political, economic, and socio-cultural policies that made the locals especially elite fall on Uncle Sam`s benevolent trap. The Philippine archipelago is revered by Americans as the most beautiful assemblage of islands anywhere in the globe.[73] It is impossible to overestimate the significance of its location strategically since it is unlike any other spot in the world. The China Sea serves as nothing more or less than a safety moat, which is the only thing that separates it from the continent. It has a significant strategic position due to its location in the geographic center of a coastline that extends for thousands of kilometers in all directions. Its location, on the same side of the Pacific Ocean as India but opposite Japan, puts it in a more advantageous position than any of those two countries. It offers a method for preserving American interests that has the effect of a commanding position in itself to postpone enemy action while requiring the least amount of production of military power. In spite of some top Army officials in the 1930s who called for a withdrawal of American troops from the western Pacific, identifying the Philippines and other Pacific U.S. possessions as strategic liabilities against expanding Japanese strength, the Navy refused to move on the issue. This provided the framework for the early losses suffered by the United States during World War II.

Until after the conclusion of World War II, the key reason for U.S. policy in the Asia-Pacific area has been the desire to project strategic might.[74] Instead of being located along the western shore of North and South America, the strategic limits of the United States were now located along the pacific coast of Asia. This need was best emphasized by General Douglas MacArthur, who succeeded his father as US Army Asia commanding general after World War II. Whether it originated in Asia or Latin America, American imperialism was labelled as a strong undercurrent of missionary utopian enthusiasm. This is the case irrespective of the origin of the problem. Because of its past as an anti-colonial nation and its dedication to democratic political thought, it exuded a feeling of idealism that was infectious. Because of this, anti-colonialism and democracy coexisted alongside the strategic and economic imperatives of American imperialism, and as a direct result of this, they often and brutally battled with one another.

[73] Kramer, Blood of Government, 352.

[74] Gary R. Hess, The United States' Emergence as a Southeast Asian Power, 1940–1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 3

The annexation of the Philippines by the United States in 1898 typified the predicament that the nation was in at the time. Another American approach was to provide the Philippines with a full importation of democratic institutions from the United States as well as an offer to join the cultural country of the United States. This assisted in the development of a feeling of common ground about colonial expansion and the consumption of a new foreign culture that was distinct from that of the Spanish Europeans for both the Americans and the Filipinos. Soon after the conquest, formal political institutions started to be re-established on a significant scale very immediately. This was the first step. The most affluent members of Philippine society served as pupils, and their education was provided by colonists and missionaries from the United States. In all honesty, when it attained its independence in 1946, the government of the Philippines was a perfect copy of the government of the United States. This included a bicameral system and the pragmatic focus on private property as a basis for individual liberty.[75]

Metropolitanization of Manila and the City Beautiful Plan

Fig 2. Plan of Manila Staff. From left to right: Commissioner W. Cameron Forbes, Governor-General James F. Smith, Secretary of War William H. Taft, Speaker Sergio Osmenia, Commissioner Dean C. Worcester, Commissioner Luzuriaga, Commissioner W. Morgan Shuster. Archival Image Collection, Ryerson & Burnham Archives, the Art Institute of Chicago

Urban planning and development were buttressed by the polemics of US imperialism, much like other colonial programs that were carried out in the nation. The Americans created new places and public spaces in order to bring about a significant shift in the identity of the local subjects who lived in the islands. The events that led up to the Spanish-American War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris (10 December 1898), which handed over the majority of Spain's overseas empire to the United States of America[76]. This included control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Therefore, as a result of this treaty, the United States of America rose to the position of an imperial power.[77] When investigating the effects of American imperialism on events that took place after 1898, it becomes clear that colonial government in the Philippines was preoccupied with a number of different concerns. These included the growth of the public education system, the enhancement of public health,

[75] Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, American Umpire (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 272.

[76] Daniel Immerwahr, How to Hide an Empire (London: Vintage, 2019), 17

[77] Morley, Cities and Nationhood, 19–21.

the economic expansion, the political reform, the city planning, and the building of roads, trains, ports, and public edifices.[78] In this reason, urban planning and remodeling of some public spaces in Manila resulted to the creation of a metropolitan capital for US`s new imperial capital.

Architectural initiatives, political developments, and public education underpinned US benevolent assimilation in the Philippines. Morley contends that the colonial urban plans were imbued with a kind of Filipino nationalism that was intentionally crafted by the American urban planners and colonial leaders. As a result, these designs created and oriented edifices and spaces with the intention of uniting the socially and ethnically varied Filipino people.[79] The development that took place in the Philippine built environment during the early stage of American colonial rule was necessary to boost the presence of the civil government and to win the hearts of the local subjects. For more than three centuries, the Filipinos were under the Spanish regime, and the kind of services offered by the American civil government was totally different compared to what the local people experienced during the time of the Spaniards.

Before Burnham

Edgar Ketchum Bourne, a young, inconspicuous, and somewhat inexperienced American architect, was the first to work for the Philippine island's administration. Bourne came from a well-to-do, albeit not particularly well-known, family. Born to a minister and an abolitionist, Benjamin Bourne, his father was Rhode Island's first congressman and Edgar Ketchum, his mother, was an accomplished lawyer and abolitionist. He had constructed fewer than half a dozen structures before his appointment, including the Bedford Park Congregational Church, a library in Harlem (now the Greater Bethel A.M.E. Church 1891-92), and a seven-story apartment complex, all in Harlem, which he had finished in his private practice. A variety of architectural styles, including neo-Renaissance, Richardsonian Romanesque, and Shingle, were used in the construction of all of them.

On October 10, 1901, Bourne landed in the Philippines before the job had even been established. Chief of the Bureau of Architecture and Building Construction for Public Buildings was assigned an eight-person staff upon his appointment as Chief of the Bureau of Architecture and Construction for Public Buildings. In his early years, he focused mostly on renovating old structures for the insular government's immediate needs. Within a few years after the Philippine-American War was proclaimed over in 1902, the scope of the office's responsibilities began to increase.[80] As the bureau's workload expanded, so did the number of employees in the office. By the end of 1901, Bourne had employed a disburser, four draftsmen, two engineers, and a master constructor to keep up with his rising workload. The master builder, who was regarded by Bourne as "the most significant addition," was responsible for instructing and supervising the company's mostly Chinese and indigenous labor in correct construction methods.[81]

[78] Ian Morley, “The Interlacing of Disease, Death, and Colonial Discord: San Lazaro Crematorium, Manila, the Philippines,” Mortality: Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying (2021): 1–17.

[79] Morley, Cities and Nationhood, 23

[80] Though the war, then referred to as an insurrection, was declared officially over on July 4, 1902, guerilla warfare continued, which was often conducted at a more intense level than during the war itself.

[81] Report of Philippine Commission 1902. Pg .924

Bourne, who was uncommitted to a particular style, decided to educate himself in the local colonial idiom. He did this by purchasing three books: Max Junghandel's massive folio titled *Die Baukunst Spaniens*, Owen Jones' immensely popular *Details and Ornaments in Spain*, and Andrew H. Prentice's *Renaissance Architecture and Ornament in Spain*. These books were all purchased for Bourne's office. Bourne also educated himself by familiarizing himself with the local skilled labor that was already present on the islands. His initial report as a consultant architect featured numerous samples of locally created wrought iron work. This made it evident that he intended to fully embrace ways of constructing and embellishment that already existed.

The Insular Ice and Cold Storage Plant and the new Government Laboratories Building were the two most significant structures that were constructed when Bourne was in command of the project. Bourne applied a thin coating of decoration to the former, which had actually begun construction before his arrival. This ornament consisted of a brick veneer of strangely proportioned blind arches and shallow engaged columns, which he applied to the wide sides of the structure. In order to conceal the majority of the building's equipment, he also constructed a series of mirador towers. The one and only exception to this rule was a solitary black chimney that boldly protruded ten floors above the building's geographic center and was fluted to resemble something like an ionic column. The use of architectural elements functioned as a manner of dignifying the first necessary if mundane, a governmental program for American Manila, which was effectively a massive cold storage facility.

Burnham and Parson: The Arrival of Modern Imperial Tapestry

Positioning urban designs as a fundamental component of modernity projects, Governor-General William Howard Taft recruited the famed Chicago architect and municipal planner Daniel H. Burnham, who over the course of his career helped cities such as Chicago, San Francisco, and Cleveland, to transform Manila during the American administration.[82] Despite the fact that Daniel Burnham's stay in the Philippines only lasted for forty days, including Christmas in Baguio, the name of the Chicago architect has become synonymous with state-building efforts carried out by the United States throughout the archipelago. “The dive into the Orient,” he wrote in a letter, “Has been like a dream.”[83] With his City Beautiful framework, Daniel Burnham offers several suggestions on how to transform Manila, America’s newest territory in the Far East, into a global city, and said that “An unprecedented chance to build an united metropolis equivalent to the finest in the Western world with the unmatched and valuable addition of a tropical environment is at hand for Manila in the history of contemporary times.”[84]

[82] John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America. A History of City Planning in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965);

[83] Burnham to William Taft, April 04, 1905, Burnham Papers, Chicago Art Institute Library.

[84] Burnham as quoted from James M. Scott book Rampage: MacArthur, Yamashita, and the Battle of Manila. W.W. Norton & Company. Page 09.

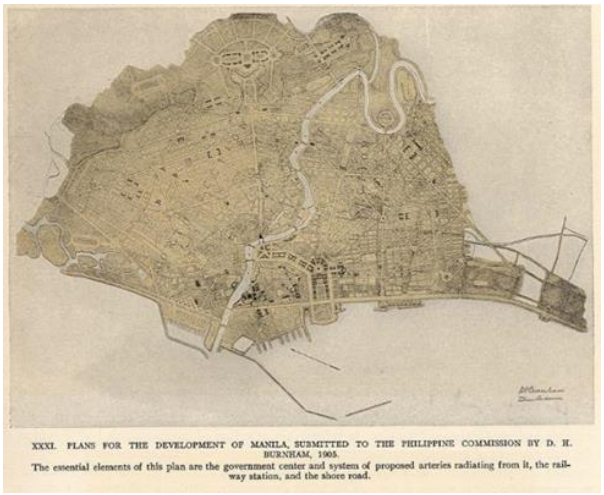

Fig 3. Manila Plan. Submitted by Daniel Burnham to the Philippine Commission. 1905 Wikicommons.

As seen from figure, Burnham modeled Manila as a key capital in the orient that can cater not only to the Americans but also to other nationalities who are very prevalent and so common to see in the streets of Manila from the 17th-19th centuries because of the Spanish Galleon trade that connects Manila to the cities of Acapulco in Mexico and Madrid in Spain. Burnham proposed a bay-front parkway (as seen from the map)-an idea he would parrot in his 1909 plan for Chicago's famed Lake Shore Drive- as well as shaded streets along the river.

Fig 4. Lake shore from Chicago Avenue on the north to Jackson Park on the south. Burnham and Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*. Online.

First, the United States began to plan for a "summer capital" in the mountains of Luzon called Baguio; second, they envisioned a second "summer" capital in the mountains of the Philippine Islands called Baguio; and third, they envisioned provincial capitals and regional centers outside of Luzon, such as in Cebu and Mindanao. City Beautiful-inspired elements and layouts of space were included into the development of these areas, including grand boulevards, classical-style capital buildings, and large green spaces – all of which were characteristics of Spanish urban planning at the time. It is Morley's contention that these designs and the constructed environment that emerged by 1916 were part of American attempts to grow the Philippine peoples into a civilized, cohesive, and self-ruling polity for the first time under American control. He adds that "modern city design was harnessed to aid

fulfill this strategy of activating higher civilization."[85]

In view of the American aim for Rizal to serve as their new colony's version of George Washington, they moved ahead and constructed Manila as a duplicate of Washington, DC. In other words, the Americans wanted to have a replica of D.C`s spatial representation of a heroic single person. This was a move away from the Filipino concept of Bayani, where two or more people who fought with the community are celebrated instead of one person. Daniel Burnham, an architect and city planner based in Chicago, dreamt of a master plan for the urban design of the capital city of the Philippines, which featured the Rizal Monument as well as the park that ringed it. This park was named after the Philippine national hero during the time of President Ferdinand Marcos Sr. the Rizal Monument was positioned as the focal point of this concept for the layout. William Howard Taft, who had been US Secretary of War and Philippine Governor-General, asked the architect Daniel Burnham to create plans for the administrative city of Manila as well as the city of Baguio, which was intended to serve as the summer capital of the powerful American elites particularly the civil governor in the Philippines.

Fig 5. Bureau Public Works Model of Philippine Capitol Manila, P.I. Jan. 1914. Luneta in the foreground, and Burnham Green beyond. Archival Image Collection, Ryerson a& Burnham Archives

Burnham collaborated with the renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., to redesign the National Mall while also leading the planning commission of a significant revitalization effort in Washington, DC. The aesthetic known as "City Beautiful Plan of Burnham," which Manila would inevitably embrace, was distinguished by characteristics that were either modifications of that style or elements that were neoclassical.

Burnham selected William E. Parsons, a French-trained architect working in New York, to supervise

[85] Ian Morley, "The Form and Meaning of the 'New Philippine City' after 1898," in Henco Bekkering, Adèle Esposito, and Charles Goldblum, eds., Ideas of the City in Asian Settings (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 107–39.

the execution of what would be referred to as "the City Beautiful Plan" which was passed in 1906. Parsons was appointed to the position of Consulting Architect for the government of the Philippines on the basis of Philippine Commission Act No. 1495, which was formalized as a piece of legislation on May 26, 1906. As a diplomat, he would continue to serve in the Philippines over the last nine years of his career. During the duration of his two-year term in office, he collaborated closely with Forbes on the urban development of Manila and Baguio. Some of the projects they worked on together were the construction of Manila's first five-star hotel and the Mansion House in Baguio's highlands, respectively. Additionally, he held this position at the same period as Forbes. Parsons was given this position as the government's Consulting Architect in accordance with Philippine Commission Act No. 1495, which was passed and signed into law on May 26, 1906. To fulfill these responsibilities, he planned to remain in the Philippines for a total of nine years. Since his term ended on the same day as Forbes', the two of them collaborated closely on urban planning in Manila and Baguio. Some of the projects they worked on together included the construction of the Philippine General Hospital, the Manila Hotel, and Baguio's Mansion House, which is located in the mountains. In addition to this, his term ran concurrently with that of Forbes.

One of the primary goals of the Burnham Plan was to create a city with a well-connected street system that would allow people to travel easily and quickly from one part of the city to another. Other goals included the development of the waterfront, the placement of parks and parkways, the positioning of building sites for various uses, and, finally, the creation of waterways. Burnham's City Beautiful Plan was an ideal manifestation of a grand urban plan of America to shape the socio-cultural dimension of the Philippine society and the local subjects. Admired and supported by many locals particularly the elite and the majority of the political leaders elected as part of the newly established Philippine assembly in 1902. Burnham's City Beautiful plan consists of elements that proposed the birth of a newly urbanized city in the pearl of the orient. Below is the detailed content of the City Beautiful plan from the National Parks Development Committee of the Philippines:

"The plan included all elements of a classic City Beautiful plan. It had a central civic core. Radials emanating from this core were laid over a gridiron pattern and large parks interconnected by parkways. In this core, which Burnham located beside the old city [of Intramuros], government buildings were arranged in a formal pattern around a rectangular mall ("mall" here refers to a linear formal open space defined by trees or buildings). This mall is reminiscent of the National Mall in Washington D.C. and is, in fact, roughly the same width and orientation. The layout differed from the Spanish "Laws of the Indies" configuration [the design adopted within Intramuros], in that the focus was civic space and government buildings and did not include religious structures.

Completing the civic ensemble was the Hall of Justice complex, located south of the mall, and semi-public buildings such as libraries, museums, and permanent exposition buildings all along a drive towards the north. The core then was not intended to be the Rizal Park we know today, although a monument to a national hero was part of the plan.

[...] In designing the civic complex, a la Washington D.C., one of the first elements the American civil government wanted to put up was Manila's equivalent of the Washington monument. For this, the Americans chose Dr. Jose Rizal; his monument was to rise at the center of the projected new civic mall. Unfortunately, the monument's location was determined not by the actual spot where Rizal was executed but slightly south of it because of the geometry and the width required of the Burnham-designed mall.

[...] As in Washington D.C., the orientation of the mall was towards a body of water. When Burnham surveyed the old Luneta site, however, he found, that the new port works had blocked the view of Manila Bay. To correct this and to create a large pleasure park, he proposed that the area in front of the old Luneta be extended a thousand feet."[86]

Because of this, the Burnham Plan, which was backed by the US, mimicked, without intent to do so, the manner in which the Spaniards established the marshes as settlements. The Americans turned a small piece of land into a memorial to a martyred individual and a focal point of the city that ousted Spanish regime in order to pleasantly welcome newcomers to Manila. The Spaniards used a small piece of land to host the *rigodon* for the promenade, while the Americans used the land to woo newcomers to Manila. An administrative and cultural center had been established on top of *Luneta's* innards under Spanish rule, and the grave of heroic man became the focal point of a complex capital

[86] From Parks for a Nation: The Rizal Park and 50 Years of the National Parks Development Committee, published by the NPDC.

restoration during the time of the Americans. By further analyzing Burnham's City Beautiful Plan and urban designs, this study informs how colonial policies made by the Americans transform to give birth to "Filipinization" movements in the public sphere.

Within the context of the City Beautiful movement, the constructed nature of the Philippines as part of the civilizing mission of the Americans in the Philippines may be historically contextualized by observing the Rizal monument as well as the Rizal Park itself. Morley investigates the precarious urban circumstances that existed in the Philippines under Spanish rule through the vantage point of the United States' "civilizing mission" narrative. He recounts the American viewpoints on these precarious urban settings. Burnham's urban planning for the colony was the first step toward the reengineering of the "backward" and "heterogeneous" Filipino society through built-up designs intended to inculcate notions of "national" progress and inclusivity.[87] This reengineering was carried out by the American architect and urban planner Daniel Burnham.

In broad terms, the creation of a metropolitan capital for the new colony and the propagation of City Beautiful planning in the Philippines signaled the beginning of a new phase of cultural and political era. Pertinent to the mission of the US colonial regime is the advancement of urban projects that 'uplift' and 'civilize' local society in order to cater for their need while in the islands and to properly supervise the local subjects too.

[87] Morley, "Modern Urban Designing in the Philippines,"11–21

CHAPTER III DECONSTRUCTING THE "AMERICAN DREAM"
Rizal Monument and the Filipinization of Public Spaces

"Do you wonder why the Filipino people now believe that they should become the chief arbiter of their national destiny? They want to drink in the new life, the new freedom, the new atmosphere."- Maximo M. Kalaw, 1925 ("Ideals of the Philippines", The Annals of the Americans Academy of Political and Social Science 122 (1925), 18.)

Both Rizal monument and Rizal Park are significant to the people of the Philippines. The monument is essentially a memorial to the death of a wonderful man who, even though he was falsely blamed, saw his predicament to sacrifice his youthful life and eternalize his ideas for his wretched and cherished country, even though the privilege did not fall solely on his shoulders. On this killing field, which was formerly known as *Bagumbayan*, from the Philippines' colonial history, the blood of many heroes like him had been spilled in this complex of land and became a center point of propaganda and events from different times. The whole slew of land was an eyewitness of the long colonization experience by many Filipino people from all the colonizers who stepped foot on the Philippine land.

Both the monument and the park are accessible to visitors. Although they are independent landmarks, they are united in that they are both components of a patriotic landscape. This landscape is a piece of earth, a location on the planet, which provides every Filipino with a sense of belonging since it is uniquely ours. This sense of place is ingrained, to a significant extent, both in the region's history and in the Filipino sense of national unity. What is the story behind the creation of the monument as well as the park? What part did they play in the formation of the nation's unified identity?

Rizal Monument

The Rizal Monument was the first national monument to be built under US colonial rule in 1913. Its purpose was to demonstrate the achievement of the colonial government and to express the country's ambitions for independence. The monument was named after the Philippine national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal. Today, it continues to hold the same level of significance thanks to the presence of a Marine guard who is on duty twenty-four hours a day, its inclusion on the schedules of visiting heads of state who lay wreaths, and the fact that almost all Philippine presidents have held their inaugurations there. After the building of a high-rise residential tower block known as the Torre de Manila in 2012, which was located to the north-east of Luneta Park, which is also known as Rizal Park[88], a public uproar ensued in the media and among the general public. The alleged encroachment on the monument's integrity was the cause of the protests. Although part of the criticism was more amusing, with the building being dubbed the "National Photobomber," other organizations were quite outraged and launched legal actions against the developers of the project.[89]

[88] For consistency, throughout this thesis I will refer to the park as Luneta Park, which was its official name until 1967, when President Ferdinand Marcos renamed the park "Rizal Park" through Proclamation No. 299. However both names are still currently used to refer to the park. Proclamation No. 299, s. 1967, (4 Oct. 1967), https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1967/10/24/proclamation-no-299-s-1967/.

[89] Tetch Torres-Tupas, "Torre de Manila developer: Photobombing not against the

Fig 6. Rizal Monument and Torre de Manila building. Photograph by author

Since the development has generated debate is evidence that the Rizal Monument will continue to be regarded as an important landmark by the general population. This chapter explores the history of the Rizal Monument, including its beginnings, the many causes that led to its creation, and the conflicting conceptions of Philippine nationhood that it was connected with. The chapter also examines the monument's enduring national importance despite its construction under US rule. It contemplates the motivations of the groups that seek to protect its integrity and the commemorative exclusivity that this engenders. Lastly, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the monument's future.

law", *Inquirer.net*, 31 July 2015, https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/709506/torre-demanila-developer-photobombing-not-against-the-law.

On June 19, 1861, José Rizal was born into a family that was considered to be quite rich in Calamba, Philippines. The Rizal Monument was built to honor José Rizal. Before relocating to Madrid in 1882 to complete his medical education, Rizal had his first medical education in Manila, where he specialized in ophthalmology. He then spent the next ten years living and traveling around Europe, writing articles on the poor conditions experienced by Filipinos under Spanish colonial rule. In 1887, he published Noli Me Tángere (Touch Me Not), a fictional story that exposed the repressive and corrupt practices of the Spanish colonial regime. In the story, he portrayed the Spanish colonial regime as being repressive and corrupt. El Filibusterismo, the sequel to the book, was released in 1891 and pushed for the independence of the Philippines. Rizal was catapulted to the position of figurehead of the Philippine revolutionary movement with the release of both of his books. Rizal's writing, despite the fact that he was not personally participating in the movement itself, often aroused the ire of the Spanish authorities who ruled the Philippines at the time. In the year 1896, he was detained on his way to Cuba to offer his services as a doctor to the Spanish soldiers who were battling revolutionaries there. On the 30th of December in 1896, after being found guilty of sedition, he was killed by firing squad on the site of what was then Bagumbayan Field, which subsequently became Luneta Park, and which is now also known as Rizal Park. On the night of his execution, he penned his last piece, a poem titled Mi Ultimo Adios (My Last Farewell), in which he said his final goodbyes to his homeland in the form of a love letter to the Philippines. This poem was his final effort.

Many historians have investigated the establishment of the Rizal Monument, as well as other monuments to Rizal that have been erected across the Philippines, and have interpreted them as being a part of a larger US colonial strategy that sought to foster a collective Philippine identity while embedding American rule.[90] This strategy was implemented during the American occupation of the Philippines. Both Quibuyen and Ileto, while admitting the many strands of Rizal's remembrance, argue that they did not dominate or fully undermine the American re-making of Rizal as an anti-revolutionary hero.[91] Quibuyen and Ileto both acknowledge the numerous strands of Rizal's commemoration. However, these conclusions do not take into account the existence of competing images of Rizal or a "polyphonic memoryscape," nor do they take into account the influence of other "commemorative agents," such as the local population, memory-oriented organizations like the Knights of Rizal, and the Filipino-founded monument committee.

This chapter seeks to fill this gap in the literature by examining the motivations of the US-run Philippine Commission, as well as other "commemorative agents" who shaped Rizal's memorialization. Additionally, this chapter considers the extent to which the Rizal Monument can be interpreted as a material culture of significance to see how the US (colonial) and Philippine (local) narratives are connected and inseparable during this significant time period. This chapter examines the remembrance that went occurred around the Rizal Monument from the time it was inaugurated until independence was declared for the Philippines. It examines the degree to which these colonial and decolonizing images of the nation persisted in the country's post-independence nation-building

[90] See for example Morley, “Modern Urban Designing in the Philippines, 1898–1916”; Mojares, “The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule”; Ileto, “Philippine Wars and the Politics of Memory”; Delmendo, *The Star-Entangled Banner*.

[91] Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted*, 342-43; Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Filipinos and their Revolution*, 141-42.

and the role that various commemorative agents played in shaping not only the portrayal of Rizal but also the image of Philippine citizenship with which he is associated.

Monument for the People, Memory of the Past

According to Verdery's research, the purpose of having national days of remembrance is to bring people together by establishing a shared historical background for their ancestors.[92] Similarly, Rizal's initial commemorations were used right away to cultivate a feeling of nationhood inside the precarious First Philippine Republic. Emilio Aguinaldo, who had just taken office as President of the Philippines, issued a proclamation in 1898 stating that the anniversary of Jose Rizal's death should be celebrated as "a day of national grief."[93] Aguinaldo also said that more victims of the Spanish dictatorship were going to be honored on that day. He said this throughout his speech. This served two purposes: first, it established a dedicated commemorative space within which those killed by the Spanish colonial government could be remembered; second, it served as a counter to US Memorial Day, which is observed on May 30; during the early years of US colonial rule, this day was specifically set aside for the remembrance of the American dead.[94]

In a similar vein, William H. Taft, who was the leader of the Philippine Commission and the Governor General of the Philippines beginning on July 4, 1901, quickly saw the celebration of Rizal as a vehicle to strengthen Philippine–United States ties while simultaneously entrenching US power. Taft wrote a letter to Elihu Root, the Secretary of War, on the 31st of August, 1900, proposing the construction of a music conservatory that he called the "Rizal Conservatory." He stated that it would "greatly touch the hearts of the people" and "materially aid in the pacification of the country." Root accepted the proposal.[95]

Taft acknowledged Rizal's value to Philippine culture; yet, his statements also highlight the necessity of spectacle to the Philippine Commission's overall purpose. In one of his important letters, Taft arrived to the conclusion that "these people are sensitive and sentimental, and such an act of charity would touch them more and affect them more than administrative changes of a far more significant nature."[96] Taft's statement was ironic given the fact that his home was suitable for the "entertainments that I hope to give for the purpose of convincing the Filipino families Not the accomplishment of a goal so much as the demonstration of one's "generosity" and "equality"[97] in Taft's view was to be the most effective method for bringing about the goals of the Philippine Commission.

The significance of spectacle emerged in the government-led commemorations of Rizal Day, the

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92 Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 41.

93 Decree No. 22, (20 Dec. 1898), *Official Calendar*, 263, 265.

94 "El 'Memorial Day' De Los Veteranos Americanos", *Renacimiento Filipino* 3, no. 143 (21 June 1913), 17, https://ustdigitallibrary.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/renacifilip.

95 William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 31 August 1900, image 94, page 6, William H. Taft Papers, Series 8: Letterbooks, 1872 to 1921, Philippine Commission, Vol. 1, 1900 – 12 October 1903, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mss4223400531/ (hereafter cited as William H. Taft Papers).

96 William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 31 August 1900, image 94, page 6, William H. Taft Papers.

97 William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 18 August 1900, image 86, page 20, William H. Taft Papers.

anniversary of Rizal's death, which had been formally legislated as a public holiday by the Philippine Commission in 1902.[98] From 1903 onwards, Rizal Day featured a "civic parade", which included politicians, union representatives, and workers from various industries, at the head of which was the US Superintendent of Schools. The parade not only served to illustrate the achievements of the colonial administration but functioned as a reminder of US cultural dominance, with the accompanying concert featuring the "Filipino Quick Step" followed by the Star Spangled Banner.[99]

Fig 7. Rizal Day parade circa 1920. Photograph courtesy of John Tewell

Furthermore, while Rizal Day was publically commemorated, so too were US specific memorial dates, including Washington's birth date, Independence Day, and 13 August, also known as Occupation Day, which was the date on which Spain surrendered to the United States. Thus, although the observance of Rizal Day indicated that the Commission recognized the date's significance to Philippine national cohesion, the institutionalization of US commemorative dates illustrates that from its earliest days, the Philippine Commission framed Philippine nation building within modern American traditions.

At the same time that Aguinaldo had established the commemoration of Rizal as an opportunity to remember victims of the Spanish regime, Rizal emerged as an important figure for veterans of the Philippine Revolution. Aguinaldo had established the commemoration of Rizal as an opportunity to remember victims of the Spanish regime. The oldest known monument to Jose Rizal was constructed in the year 1898 in the municipality of Daet in the province of Camarines Norte by two members of the Philippine Revolutionary Army. The Daet monument consists of an obelisk with three sides and an eight-rayed sun fashioned out of metal perched on top of the structure. Additionally, a raised golden star is engraved on each facet of the obelisk. On the foot of the obelisk is etched the titles of two of Rizal's books: *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. Rizal's name is stamped on one side of the obelisk. In spite of the fact that the monument is nominally erected in Rizal's honor, its primary purpose is to pay respect to the Philippine country. The eight-ray sun insignia originates from the official flag of the First Philippine Republic, which was flown on June 12, 1898, the day when

[98] An Act designating the days which shall be observed as public holidays in the Philippine Islands of 1902, Act No. 345, Second Philippine Commission (1902), https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1902/02/01/act-no-345-s-1902/.

[99] "Today is Rizal Day: Celebration on Luneta This Afternoon", *Manila American*, 30 December 1903, *Manila American* Archive, ISEAS.

Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines. Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao are the three primary island groups that make up the Philippines, and their respective rays indicate the eight provinces that were instrumental in the Philippine Revolution. The three stars represent the three major island groupings that make up the Philippines. In addition, the fact that the memorial is in the shape of an obelisk places it within a larger commemorative tradition. The obelisk was widely used as a memorial marker in the nineteenth century, notably in the British Commonwealth after the Boer War.[100] Although veterans had been largely absent from the government-led commemorations, Rizal's commemoration enabled them to memorialize their own contributions to nation while fostering an image of an independent Philippines.

The making of a Monument for Jose Rizal

In August of the year 1900, newspaper writer and champion for Philippine independence Pascual Poblete addressed the Philippine Commission with a proposal to create a monument honoring Dr. Jose Rizal.[101] It should not come as a surprise that Taft was in favor of the idea given his conviction in the significance of spectacle as well as his suggestion for the construction of a Rizal Conservatory. In a letter that he sent to Root, he expressed his conviction that the Commission ought to "provide as much support to this movement as we can, even to the extent of personal donations of the members to the fund." After the Spanish-American War, the United States began the practice of repatriation, which firmly established remembrance as "a tool of authority and unity" by the beginning of the twentieth century. In point of fact, Taft's later participation in the American Field of Honor Association, which was an organization founded in the years following the end of the First World War with the purpose of establishing memorial grounds in France for the departed service members of the United States military, reveals his personal commitment to the practice of commemoration.[102]

As a result, the chance to cultivate "positive sentiment" as well as facilitate "the pacification of the nation" was swiftly seized upon via the "immediate enactment" of laws that followed. This was done immediately after the events that occurred. "unanimously enacted" in September 1901, Philippine Commission Act 243 "gave the authority to utilize public property upon the Luneta in the city of Manila upon which to construct a monument to José Rizal, the Philippine patriot writer and poet."[103]

The language of the legislation was quite different from the passionate language that had been used in commemorations of Rizal in the Philippines. These commemorations had attempted to show Rizal in the role of a martyr, but the language of the legislation reflected the subdued image of Rizal that Taft wanted to promote. Taft was eager to "emphasize the distinction between Rizal, who never

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[100] Inglis, *Sacred Places*, 160.

[101] William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 18 August 1900, images 79-80, pages 13-14, William H. Taft Papers; Poblete had founded the pro-independence newspapers, *El Grito del Pueblo* and its Tagalog version, *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan* in 1898. Doreen G. Fernandez, "The Philippine Press System: 1811—1989", *Philippine Studies* 37, no. 3 (Third Quarter 1989): 317-44; Poblete also worked as a journalist writing articles for *Renacimiento Filipino*. "Periodistas Veteranos", *Renacimiento Filipino; numero Extraordinario*, 1913, 106, https://ustdigitallibrary.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/renacifilip/id/4137.

[102] Budreau, *Bodies of War*, 36, 69.

[103] Minutes, Philippine Commission.

advocated independence, or anything but reform of government so as to give more individual liberty, and who represents to the people their feeling of bitter resentment to Spanish tyranny, and others who are now in the insurgent ranks."[104]

It has been argued by Quibuyen that anti-revolutionaries such as Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera and Wenceslao E. Retana minimized Rizal's revolutionary leanings to the US authorities, while influential American historians also shaped an understanding of Rizal as a reformist as opposed to a revolutionary.[105] Despite this, Taft's depiction of Rizal in a calm and collected manner served to further "pacification" goals of the United States and differentiated US administration from "Spanish tyranny." The "Black Legend," a phrase that was established in 1913 and refers to the long-standing picture of Spanish authority as oppressive and violent, was tied to Taft's denigration of Spanish rule. This word was connected to the "Black Legend."

Taft nonetheless acknowledged that Rizal had the ability to stir up feelings of nationalism, and he insisted that the Commission "probably establish as a condition that no ceremony should be undertaken in relation to the installation of the monument until it is ready to be revealed." Nevertheless, in spite of Taft's objections, the memorial committee that was constituted as a result of the law had a specific vision for the Rizal Monument. This vision enhanced Rizal's religious remembrance while also positioning him as a symbol for Philippine independence.

The organization of the committee[106], which consisted of "prominent Filipinos," emphasized the exclusivity that had characterized Rizal's initial commemorations as well as the ongoing involvement of the Philippine elite in molding Rizal's memorial. However, in contrast to Taft's interpretation of Rizal, these individuals also sought to advocate for Philippine independence. They saw the monument as a demonstration "to the entire world... the legality of our aspirations to liberty and progress." In addition to this, they challenged Taft's subdued tone by claiming that the monument will also defend "the ideas expounded by the redeemer of our liberties, José Rizal."

However, the rhetoric used by the committee illuminated the contradictory character of nation-building while operating inside a colonial framework. The committee expressed a desire for Philippine independence, but their language also perpetuated a colonial hierarchy. The Rizal Monument was to stand as a signal of the Philippines' "aptitude to enter into the concert of cultured and civilized nations, and partake in their customs,"[107] Following the Malolos Congress, a significant portion of the process of constructing the Philippine state entailed travel outside of the country in order to make a plea for recognition. According to Kramer, this process was "waged in the language

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[104] William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 18 August 1900, images 97-80, pages 13-14, William H. Taft Papers.

[105] Quibuyen, *A Nation Aborted*, 43-44.

[106] The monument committee of "prominent Filipinos" included Pascual Poblete, who had initiated the monument; Paciano Rizal, Rizal's brother; Juan Tuason; Teodoro R. Yangco, businessman and philanthropist, elected to serve as the Philippine Resident Commissioner in the US House of Representatives in 1916; Mariano Limjap, who served under President Emilio Aguinaldo during the Philippine-American War; Maximino Paterno, an associate of Rizal; Ramon Genato; Tomas G. del Rosario; and Dr. Ariston Bautista, formerly a member of the Malolos Congress.

[107] Rizal Monument Committee, "To The People Of The Philippines".

of 'civilization."[108]

Indeed, in his inaugural address as president in 1899, Aguinaldo attempted to legitimize his government by distancing the state from the Revolution. He did this by referring to the Philippines as a "civilized nation... one; worthy, therefore, of being freely admitted into the concerts of nations."[109] This was Aguinaldo's attempt to establish the legitimacy of his administration. Similarly, the legitimization of Philippine independence by the committee was restricted by the colonial vocabulary of "cultured and civilized countries."

The monument committee stated that they wanted the Rizal Monument to perpetuate both "the memory of eternalize the memory of men and nations... who prove that their hearts beat to the same ideals." The committee also intended for the Rizal Monument to immortalize the unity between the United States and the Philippines. Therefore, not only was the concept of Philippine independence conceived within the confines of a colonial framework and hierarchy, but the monument that was built to commemorate the country's sovereignty was designed to inextricably link the colonizer and the colonized for all time.

Nevertheless, the word "liberty" was not only an Americanism in its use. CuUnjieng Aboitiz has argued that the term "liberty" had also been used by the Katipunan to demonstrate pre-colonial Philippine independence as well as to express a commonality with both the United States and Japan, the latter of whom they looked to as an exemplar of comparative political freedom.[110] In addition, the term "liberty" had also been used by the Katipunan to express a commonality with both the United States and Japan. Although the committee's rhetoric aligned the Philippines with the United States and sought to end "any resentment which might exist between Americans and Filipinos," in subtle ways, they also positioned Philippine nationalism within an Asian as well as a Western framework. On the other hand, the religious rhetoric surrounding Rizal contradicted the muted language of the Philippine Commission's legislation.[111] This counter-memory building and the battle between Philippine independence and colonial discourse would continue through to the opening of the Rizal Monument, in particular in the choices over the visual language of the monument and its portrayal of Philippine independence.

Global Competition for Rizal Monument

It wasn't until 1905 that a call for entries was issued for the competition to design the Rizal Monument, and this was despite the fact that the Philippine Commission had already expressed their support for the concept. Indeed, the fact that Taft acknowledged the monument's capacity to stoke feelings of patriotism may have contributed to the delay in its construction. Although Taft sent a letter to Root on September 13, 1902, he said that even if the "insurrection" was "dead," there was still movement

[108] Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, 100-1.

[109] Emilio Aguinaldo. 1899. "Inaugural Address of General Emilio Aguinaldo President of the Philippines, [Delivered at Barasoain Church, Malolos, Bulacan, on January 23, 1899]" (speech). In *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines,* https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1899/01/23/inaugural-address-of presidentaguinaldojanuary-23-1899/.

[110] CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*, 78-83.

[111] Rizal Monument Committee, "To The People Of The Philippines".

for Philippine independence because of a "desire to organize groups termed Nationalist or Independent parties."[112] Root was the recipient of this letter. In addition, a powerful guerilla insurgency lingered until as late as 1907 after the war ended.[113] But the process of gathering money for the Rizal Monument had already started, and it was a significant endeavor for the committee in charge of the monument as well as the Philippine Commission. In the years that followed the passage of Act 243, the annual Reports of the Philippine Commission included a section in the main budget of the Report that detailed the amount of money collected for the monument. This section appeared alongside figures detailing the amount of money spent on national infrastructure, education, and healthcare.[114] By 1906, the committee had already accumulated more than 100,000 pesos, which indicated a large amount of popular support for the monument in addition to political backing; the Philippine Commission contributed 30,000 pesos to the whole amount.[115]

A worldwide competition was sponsored by the committee from 1905 through 1907, during which time "renowned painters and sculptors in Europe and America" were asked to submit ideas for the Rizal Monument. The amount of prize money for the winning submissions was as follows: P5, 000 for the person who came in first place, and P2, 000 for the person who came in second place. The jury for the competition was chosen by Governor General Frank Smith[116], who was also in charge of overseeing the selection process, and the final design was also influenced by the Philippine Commission. Shipping agent John T. Macleod and the American architect William E. Parsons, who had worked with Daniel Burnham, the architect responsible for the development of the towns of Manila and Baguio during the time of the United States colonial administration, were both members of the jury.

Therefore, the Rizal Monument, from the competition all the way through to its design, perpetuated the colonial hierarchy that had overshadowed the monument committee's independence rhetoric. It also signaled that Philippine independence and nationhood could only be articulated through Western sculptural rhetoric. The paradox was brought to light by the Nation, which stated that "an American sculptor with a sense of irony and pathos could ask for no more complex and yet alluring subject than a statue of Rizal to dominate Luzon as she has been Americanized."[117] The statement was made in response to the fact that the Americanization of Luzon has been noted.

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[112] William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 13 September 1902, image 333, page 1, William H. Taft Papers cont.

[113] CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*, 81.

[114] Reports of the Philippine Commission, The Civil Governor, and The Heads of the Executive Departments of the Civil Government of the Philippine Islands, 1900-1903, image 688, page 662 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.tz1ppx.

[115] Report of the Philippine Commission, 1908, Part 2,

[116] "Appointments Made By The Governor General", *War Department, U.S.A. Annual Reports, 1907, Volume X, Acts of the Philippine Commission Nos. 1539–1800, inclusive, Public Resolutions, Etc., From September 16, 1906, October 31, 1907* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), 571, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951d032854000 (hereafter cited as Appointments Made By The Governor General).

[117] *Nation* 80, no. 2079 (4 May 1905): 343-45,

http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nih&AN=13870506&site=ehost-live.

Fig 8. Exhibition of bozetos, Ayuntamiento de Manila, Intramuros. Photograph courtesy of *Official Gazette*, https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/rizal-monument/.

By the year 1907, there had been a total of forty submissions made, from which 10 were ultimately chosen to be shown in Intramuros, the old Spanish walled enclave that is located inside Manila. In the end, the members of the jury, none of whom were artists, decided that the best design was "Al Martir de Bagumbayan" (To the Martyr of Bagumbayan), which was created by Carlos Nicoli of Carrara, Italy. His scale model featured a marble monument that was 18 meters high, and it was dominated both at the top and the bottom by intricate neo-classical sculptures. Nevertheless, despite Nicoli's success in the competition, the commission ended up going to the runner-up Swiss sculptor Richard Kissling (1848-1919). Motto Stella (Guiding Star), the design that Kissling came up with, was somewhat more subdued. It depicted a straightforward bronze statue of Rizal standing at the foot of an obelisk. Nicoli was unable to pay the construction bond required to build his monument, which explains why his design was ultimately not chosen, according to the National Parks Development Committee, who are now responsible for the monument.[118]

[118] Paul Alcazaren, ed., *Parks for a nation: The Rizal Park and 50 Years of the National Parks Development Committee* (Quezon City: Media Wise Communications, 2013), 65.

Fig 9. Carlos Nicoli`s Al Martir de Bagumbayan bozeto, 1907. Photograph courtesy of *Official Gazette*, https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/rizal-monument/.

In order to prepare for the inauguration of the Rizal Monument on December 29, 1912, Rizal's remains were moved from Rizal's sister's house to Intramuros by a group known as the Knights of Rizal. Intramuros was the location where the shortlisted competition entries had been displayed, as well as the location where Rizal had been held prior to his execution. The Knights kept "watch" over the remains throughout the night and then took them the following day, on the anniversary of Rizal's passing, to bury them in what was going to be the base of the monument in Luneta Park.[119] To remember "the execution and martyrdom" of Jose Rizal, Colonel Antonio C. Torres established the Knights of Rizal in 1911.[120] This was done with the intention of honoring Rizal. Torres had completed his education in the United States after graduating from Ateneo de Manila University, and then he had returned to the Philippines to work for the Philippine Commission. In the years that followed the 1907 election for the First Philippine Assembly, Torres held the positions of Sergeant-at-Arms and, subsequently, Social Secretary to the Speaker of the House. In 1915, he died.

Orden de Caballeros de Rizal was formally established as a private, non-stock company in 1916, and changed into its formal and current name of the Knights of Rizal.[121] Although the Philippine Commission may have been responsible for overseeing the competition and the design of the monument, the establishment of the Knights of Rizal indicated that Rizal's commemoration continued to be shaped outside of the government. This was driven by a desire to sanctify and elevate Rizal's martyrdom, which perpetuated the Christianized commemoration that had always been a part of Rizal's localized remembrance.

Verdery is quoted as saying that reburial "(re)sacralizes the political order represented by those who carry it out" and that it "may re-imbue a corpse with importance" By placing Rizal’s remains together

[119] Sandy Araneta, “Knights of Rizal to reenact transfer of hero’s remains”, *Philippine Star*, 29 December 2012, https://www.philstar.com/metro/2012/12/29/891061/knights-rizal-reenacttransfer-heros-remains; “The Centenary of the Rizal Monument”, *Official Gazette*; “PH to mark centenary of transfer of Rizal’s urn to Luneta”, *ABS-CBN News*, 29 December 2012, https://news.abs-cbn.com/video/nation/metro-manila/12/28/12/ph-markcentenary-transfer-rizals-urn-luneta.

[120] “About”, Order of the Knights of Rizal, accessed 17 July 2021, http://knightsofrizal.org/?page_id=2.

[121] “About”, Order of the Knights of Rizal.

with contemporary artefacts at what was to be the base of the monument, the Knights of Rizal not only elevated Rizal but reflected the country's move towards political independence with the 1912 introduction of the Jones Bill, as well as the election of Democratic US President Woodrow Wilson. Indeed, Ileto has observed that the interment of Rizal's remains beneath the new monument gave additional significance to Rizal Day in 1912, observing its use by the public to express Philippine patriotism and oppositional politics: "The very blessing that the colonialists gave Rizal was exploited; his birth and death anniversaries were very much the scene of the 'other politics'".[122] Reflecting persistent conflicts between Philippine nation-building and US authority, Rizal's memorialization continues to be impacted by a plurality of "commemorative actors." Despite the survival of a colonial framework, which inspired the memorial committee's hopes for independence and the physical fulfillment of the Rizal Monument, the Knights of Rizal claimed Rizal's remains and emphasized his link to the nation's political sovereignty.[123] The Kissling monument was constructed in Switzerland and transferred to the Philippines in 1913. The Rizal Monument was ultimately inaugurated on December 30, 1913, on Rizal Day.

Fig 10. Richard Kissling`s Rizal Monument circa 1913. Photograph courtesy of *Official Gazette*, https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/rizal-monument/.

[122] Ileto, *Filipinos and their Revolution*, 142-49.

[123] Edwards, *Allies in Memory*, 5.

CONCLUSION

The continuing controversies over monuments serve as a harsh reminder not only of the need of researching colonial monuments, but also of the intricacies that statues might convey when it comes to different perspectives. These sculptures, similar to the monuments that were created in the United States colonial Philippines, problematize the binary of colonizer vs colonized since they are interacted with by a variety of groups, each of whom is attempting to establish cultural agency. The comments of other scholars that monuments became static has been proven wrong with this thesis. The various monuments erected all over the world have never been static in the sense that they are continually being formed by the myriad of ways in which they are interacted. As a result, they produce developing disputes that cannot simply be settled by removing a monument.

In this conclusion, I consider the significance of this thesis to this broader dialogue on colonial monuments and how my analysis of monument building in the twentieth century Philippines contests previous colonial monument and Philippine-United States scholarship, which has simply focused on the persistence of an imperial dynamic. In addition, I discuss how this thesis challenges previous research on Philippine-United States relations and how the so called invitation to join US cultural nation narrative was reciprocated by the Filipino locals using Filipinization movements. I also summarize the most important ideas that have been discussed throughout this thesis, which are as follows: competing images of Philippine nationhood, the formation of Philippine colonial and postcolonial monuments through US rhetoric and visual iconography, and the positioning of Philippine nationhood outside of the colonizer-colonized dichotomy.

For this conclusion, both the influence of Philippine colonial memoryscape analysis on monument scholarship and the significance of monuments to the study of US colonial rule in the Philippines are discussed. The conclusion also takes into consideration the importance of monuments to the study of US colonial rule in the Philippines. Last but not least, it investigates the divergent understandings of "freedom" held by the governments of the United States and the Philippines, as well as the use of "freedom" to build hegemonic notions of Philippine nationhood.

Monumentalizing Philippine Cultural history

In this thesis, I set out to establish the extent to which the United States shaped the spaces that were constructed during its colonial rule of the Philippines and the images of nationhood that the Rizal monument projected. Specifically, I was interested in determining whether or not the United States was responsible for the construction of these spaces. I have demonstrated, through an analysis of the Rizal monument that was constructed during the time of US colonial rule, that while in some ways the Rizal monument was formed by the Philippines' ties to the United States, it was also shaped by many other groups, such as the emerging Philippine government, the Knights of Rizal, artists, architects, veterans, and contemporary Philippine Presidents, each of whom sought to establish their own hegemonic vision of the nation. This commemorative pluralism reveals a complexity to colonial-era Philippine nation building, formed in part by class, race, and religious divides. This contests previous scholarship on colonial-era monuments, such as that of Larsen and Whelan, who have interpreted monument construction and removal simply as a means to colonize and decolonize the landscape, respectively.

The emerging scholarship on Philippine cultural history with which I have engaged throughout this work by historians such as CuUnjieng Aboitiz, urban historians such as Morley and social historians such as Mojares, has done much to transnationalize the study of modern Philippine history over the last decade or so, and to encourage us to think beyond the confines of the Washington-Manila imperial bond. Such work has forced scholars of the Philippines to rethink the modern history of that country and its ideological, artistic and social connections with places as diverse as Europe, China and Japan. A study of commemoration and monuments makes an important contribution to this scholarship, even though an examination of sites so closely associated with the United States' presence in the colonial and postcolonial Philippines, as the interdisciplinary analysis of such sites has enabled the discovery of complex agendas and transnational memory networks. The Rizal monument and Park that I have examined in this thesis only emphasize the important message that such recent scholarship has started to project – that even under such intense and direct influence from the United States, which persisted following colonial rule, various groups within the Philippines were able to draw on influences and inspiration from a nexus of heritages to shape their own competing visions of Philippine nationhood.

Paul McNutt, the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines, delivered the following remarks in anticipation of the country's upcoming independence in 1945 on Rizal Day: "the people of the Philippines have indicated their desire and eagerness to erect here a monument to democracy and freedom."[124] This statement not only highlighted the significance of "freedom" to the United States government's portrayal of its role in the Philippines, but it was also indicative of the way in which the United States colonial government sought to shape Philippine national identity in its own image through commemoration. Specifically, this statement highlighted the significance of "freedom" to the US government's portrayal of its role in the Philippine Revolution of 1896. The national days of commemoration that were legislated by the Philippine Commission as early as 1902 sought to embed the remembrance of Rizal within a US heritage and position an independent Philippines as the successor to a US historical narrative that begins with George Washington, whose birth date was one of the dates commemorated. This was done in an effort to position an independent Philippines as the successor to a US historical narrative that begins with George Washington. Not only did Governor General Taft believe that the commemoration of Jose Rizal was essential to the Philippine Commission's "pacification of the country," but he also used Rizal to bolster an image of the United States as a liberator. Specifically, he asserted that "only under the sovereignty of the United States can the Filipino people acquire all those liberties which Rizal prized."[125]

An image of the United States as an emancipator was fostered via the use of commemoration for both the United States government and the Philippines. This image maintained all the way through to and after Philippine independence. Former President of the United States George W. Bush's declaration in 2003 that Americans and Filipinos "liberated the Philippines from colonial authority" was typical of the pervasiveness of this narrative over the course of the twentieth century.[126] During the time

[124] "High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt's statement on Rizal Day, December 30, 1945", *Official Gazette* 42, no. 1 (January 1946): 110-11, *Official Gazette* Archive, AHC.

[125] Report of the Philippine Commission In Two Parts, 1900/1901, Part 2, image 228, page 192 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.35112203989316; William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 31 August 1900, image 94, page 6, William H. Taft Papers.

[126] Bush. 2003. "Remarks by the President to the Philippine Congress" (speech).

when the Philippines was under US colonial rule, discussions of Philippine nationhood often included references to concepts like "freedom" and "liberty." The Rizal Monument Committee envisioned the Rizal Monument as a representation of Philippine "aspirations to liberty and development" and as a signal of the Philippines' "aptitude to engage into the symphony of intellectual and civilized countries."[127] The Rizal Monument was completed in 1973. Thus not only were Philippine expressions of nationalism shaped by an American rhetoric of freedom, but commemoration also placed the country as successor to the United States, reflecting a colonial hierarchy that persisted long into Philippine independence. The contests for the monuments were another example of how the US paradigm of Philippine nationhood presented itself. The Philippine Commission's decision to only allow European and American artists to participate in the design competition for the Rizal Monument, the first national monument to be erected after the United States assumed colonial control of the Philippines, was a clear indication of their intention to model Philippine nationhood after that of Western nations.

The Rizal Monument's visual language looks to the United States and to Europe whilst it presents an image of Rizal in the mold of the Philippine Commission's muted portrayal of him as a "patriot writer and poet". However, the plaques on the monument underline the sacrificial nature of Rizal's death, restoring a sense of martyrdom to his memory, which was significant to the commemorative aspirations of the Rizal Monument Committee and the Knights of Rizal. Additionally the plaque written in Spanish serves to contest the Philippine Commission's imposition of English as the national language

As Emde has observed, these monuments do not exist in isolation but are part of "polyphonic memoryscapes" in which memories and commemorative agendas intersect and collide.[128] Competing images of Philippine nationhood also emerged in the commemorations and inauguration ceremonies that took place around each monument. Although the Rizal Day parade in 1915 was used to demonstrate the achievements of US rule, the presence of representatives from the Philippine Assembly evidenced the country's increased political power.

The inclusion of veterans of the Philippine Revolution at the Rizal monument commemoration not only projected an image of military strength but also depicted an image of the country that had been born in spite of rather than as a consequence of American endeavor. Furthermore, the Rizal monument ceremonies reinforced the country's Spanish heritage through the presence of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce representatives at the Rizal Monument inauguration and the equal use of Spanish, English, and Tagalog at the opening ceremony. The inclusion of representatives from Chinese and Japanese communities at the 1915 Rizal Day parade and the later "National Humiliation Day" commemorations in 1930 also reflected the broader Pan-Asianism that CuUnjieng Aboitiz has noted continued well into US rule.[129] The presence of Rizal's remains has also functioned to confer meaning onto Luneta Park, supporting Verdery's observation of the significance of the body to

[127] Rizal Monument Committee, "To the People of the Philippines".
[128] Emde, "National Memorial Sites and Personal Remembrance: Remembering the Dead of Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek at the ECCC in Cambodia", 20.
[129] CuUnjieng Aboitiz, *Asian Place, Filipino Nation*.

commemorative nation-building.[130] This is evident both in the presence of Rizal's remains at Luneta Park, as well as in the absence of remains at other monument sites.

While Verdery asserts the reburial of a body marks "a change in social visibilities and values", she maintains that this is specific to post-socialist regime changes. However, this thesis has demonstrated that the process of reinternment has also been a significant part of commemorative nation-building in colonial and postcolonial Philippines. The reinternment of Rizal's remains at the base of what was to be the Rizal Monument functioned as a reminder of his death and sacrifice, contesting the serenity of his depiction on the monument and the Philippine Commission's muted description of Rizal as a "patriot writer and poet". Verdery argues that reburial "(re)sacralizes the political order represented by those who carry it out".[131] With Rizal's reinternment the Knights of Rizal underscored the country's increased political control following the introduction of the Jones Bill.

While the monuments perpetuated a particular image of the Philippine nation, they also fostered a paradigm of the model citizen. For Taft and the Philippine Commission, Rizal was the ideal commemorative figure as not only was he the peaceful "patriot writer and poet" but he had "never advocated independence".[132] Furthermore the Rizal Monument, with its image of a European-educated Rizal, both exemplified the importance of Western education, and Rizal's own *mestizo Ilustrado* heritage, underlining the value of an acculturated identity.

[130] Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*.
[131] Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, 19, 32, 36.
[132] William H. Taft to Elihu Root, 18 August 1900, images 97-80, pages 13-14, William H. Taft Papers.

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