THE

... PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

T. M. Kalaw
JORGE B. VARGAS FILIPINIANA FOUNDATION
Contributions to Philippine History
Reprint Series: I

THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION
By Teodoro M. Kalaw
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GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO
THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION
By Teodoro M. Kalaw

General Emilio Aguinaldo Centennial Edition

Kawilihan, Mandaluyong, Rizal
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1969
FOREWORD

This is the first publication issued under the imprint of the Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation.

Designed for the public good and committed to the attainment of certain goals aimed at contributing to the national growth, the Foundation has as one of these goals the promotion and encouragement of studies and research in the field of Philippine history, civilization and culture. One way to achieve this is to initiate a publication program which would retrieve from oblivion out-of-print books having a permanent reference value to scholars engaged in said studies and research. The publication of Teodoro M. Kalaw’s *Philippine Revolution*, which has remained out of print for many years, follows this pattern of approach in achieving one of the main aims of the Foundation.

The first edition in Spanish of Kalaw’s book appeared in 1921; the English translation, presumably by the author himself, appeared the following year. Reproduced in offset, this is the translation now reissued without change except for the new title-page and the addition of this Foreword. Some of the original plates have also been replaced and some new ones added. This serves to dress up the old book in a garb which gives the edition a new look.

The present edition is the Foundation’s contribution to the Centenary of General Emilio Aguinaldo, central figure in the Philippine Revolution, which we are fittingly observing this year.

August 3, 1969
In the preface to the first Spanish edition I stated the following:

"I offer to my readers this little work which is intended primarily to widen our knowledge of the PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION, its objects, its leading men, its important results, its organization, and the reverses it suffered until the fatal day of its downfall. I have endeavored to narrate the events in their chronological order, and, as far as possible, without personal comment. I have employed the very language of documents of the period, wherever necessary, especially where controversial fact or facts of questionable authenticity are concerned. I have related only the principal events that came to my knowledge, and have omitted accessory details that might unnecessarily lengthen this work which was intended to be brief and concise. I quoted the most important official utterances of the leaders, and the protests of the public in each phase of the movement, in order to reveal its trend. I endeavored to bring out the names of those who in one way or another piloted the masses, for their own exaltation; but for want of material this part of the narrative had to be left incomplete. Even in the archives of our Veterans' Association there is no record of our different engagements in battle, great or small, in which unknown and unidentified soldiers covered themselves with glory.

"For these reasons, although intended to be a historical compendium, it is inevitable that this work could not be more comprehensive; its defects, I hope,
may be corrected in future editions. In order that this may be accomplished it would be desirable that each province and each general write its or his own memoirs (as has been done by General Ricarte, General Concepcion, Colonel Villamor, Colonel Villa, and Doctor Santiago Barcelona), and that these memoirs be published, individually or all under one cover, the whole to constitute a detailed History of the Philippine Revolution."

I have taken advantage of this, the first English edition, to include in their proper places additional facts, equally important, which were not mentioned in the first Spanish edition. Thus, every chapter has been lengthened considerably, especially that on the Katipunan, which is now three times as long; the chapters on the beginning of the revolution; on the Pact of Biak-na-Bato; on the propagation of the revolution; on the Philippine Republic; and others. I have added a short biography of each of the leaders who, with more or less fortunate results, labored for the great cause. A chronological statement of the most important events is also published as one of the appendices, to help the students of our revolution in the full comprehension of facts and deeds and also to enable them to rectify some slight errors in the text with reference to dates.

I hope, therefore, that my readers will appreciate the improvement over the first Spanish edition.

Manila, May 14, 1925.

T. M. K.
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THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

THE KATIPUNAN

1. The Campaign for Reforms.—For some time before there was any indication that the Katipunan would be founded, the Filipinos had been conducting a campaign, intense in spirit and national in scope, for the concession of reforms by the Spanish Government. Under the circumstances then prevailing, the campaign was a peaceful one, in the conduct of which La Solidaridad, a bi-monthly publication rendered invaluable services. The objective was the organization of the Philippines into a regular Spanish province, a reform which would change the form of government from military to civil; give to the Filipinos the same rights and privileges as those enjoyed by the Spaniards in the mother country; restore the representation in the Cortes; involve the issuing of a decree for the expulsion of the friars or, at least, the secularization of the parishes; and, finally, recognize both the right to assemble peacefully, and freedom of speech and of the press. These rights, if freely exercised, would disclose the anomalies and abuses in the administration, and the government would be compelled to adopt adequate remedies for their abolition. Rizal, del Pilar, and others directed the campaign from Madrid, inspired, encouraged, and helped, morally and materially, by the patriots in the Islands. So the Propaganda, the Masonry, the Liga Filipina
and the Cuerpo de Compromisarios were founded to support and aid the campaign.

The Propaganda was a patriotic association founded by del Pilar, before he left for Europe, to raise funds with which to finance the campaign in Madrid and for the printing of pamphlets and propaganda literature in behalf of the Philippines. The Masonry was an outgrowth of the Spanish Masonry, or of the Grande Oriente Español, and it purposed to preach the great principles of Masonry and to help those in Spain who were committed to the task of combating oppression in the Philippines. The activities of the masons knew no bounds and were anti-clerical in tendency. The Cuerpo de Compromisarios was organized, upon dissolution of the Liga Filipina, also for the purpose of raising funds to finance the campaign in Madrid.

2. La Liga Filipina.—The patriotic spirit which was gradually developing among the Filipinos was scarcely noticed by the government, until Rizal arrived, in June, 1892, and founded the Liga Filipina. At Hongkong Rizal decided to give notice of his coming by means of a manifesto, in which he would “convince those who deny to us the virtue of patriotism that we know how to sacrifice life itself for our duty and aspirations.” On arrival in Manila, he lost no time in calling a meeting of the cultured and patriotic class; at this meeting he spoke of national solidarity, of social betterment, and of the country that pleaded for redemption. His words were inspiring, and they led to the acceptance of the fact that the
Filipinos possessed what is most needed to constitute a nationality, namely, leadership and a common objective.

After several meetings, the Liga was formally organized on the night of July 3, 1892. In front of the house where they foregathered on that memorable night, the people of Tondo caused to be erected a monument bearing a tablet with the names of those present at the meeting and the fate that had befallen each of them. (1)

(1) The inscription reads:

“REMEMBER

In front of this site and in the house on Calle Ilaya No. 176, Dr. Rizal founded and organized on the night of July 3, 1892, the Liga Filipina, a Secret National League, in the presence and with the approval of the following:

FOUNDER
Dr. Jose Rizal .......................... Executed.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
President: Ambrosio Salvador ......................... Imprisoned.
Fiscal: Agustin de la Rosa .......................... Imprisoned.
Treasurer: Bonifacio Arevalo ........................ Imprisoned.
Secretary: Deodato Arellano, first President of the Katipunan, a national revolutionary society ......................... Imprisoned.

MEMBERS
Andres Bonifacio, Supreme Head of the Katipunan, which gave the first battle cry against tyranny on August 24, 1896 ....
Mamerto Natividad, who seconded in Nueva Ecija the movement headed by Bonifacio on August 28, 1896 ........ Executed.
Domingo Franco, Supreme Head of the Liga Filipina .... Executed.
Moises Salvador, Worshipful Master of the Lodge Balagtas .... Executed.
Numeriano Adriano, Senior Warden of the Lodge Balagtas .... Executed.
Jose A. Dizon, Worshipful Master of the Lodge Taliba .... Executed.
Apolinario Mabini, Legislator .......................... Executed.
Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Patriot of '68 ................. Imprisoned.
Timoteo Lanuza, Leader of the Manifestation for the expulsion of the friars in 1888 .......................... Imprisoned.
Marcelino de los Santos, Compromisorial and Protector of the La Solidaridad, organ of the Filipinos in Madrid ............. Imprisoned.
Paulino Zamora, Venerable Master of the Lodge Lusong ........ Deported.
The Philippine Revolution

The Liga, according to its by-laws, aimed to accomplish the following:

1. Union of the Archipelago into a compact, vigorous, and homogeneous body.
2. Mutual protection in all cases of pressing necessity.
3. Defense against violence and injustice.
4. Encouragement of education, commerce, and agriculture.
5. Study and application of reforms.

3. The Government Adopts Precautionary Measures.—Rizal traveled in the provinces and made it a point to come in contact with the cultured classes; that is, with those who were called “laborantes.” The Spanish governors reported these activities to the Manila authorities and, as a result, the houses in the provinces, as well as in Manila, of the friends of Rizal, of the masons, and of those under surveillance, were searched.

This persecution reached its climax, first, in the imprisonment of Rizal in Fort Santiago and, later, in his deportation to Dapitan, as ordered by General Despujols on July 7, and in the ukase prohibiting the

Doroteo Ong-unco, Member of the Lodge Lusong ............ Owner of the House.
Arcadio del Rosario, Orator of the Lodge Balagtas ............ Imprisoned.
Timoteo Paez .................................................. Imprisoned.

The people of Tondo erected this monument to perpetuate the memory of the illustrious patriots, and the mother of Dr. Rizal unveiled it in the presence of the families of the martyred Filipinos, officers of masonic lodges, and of the associations “Samahan nang may pag-asa” and Club de Martires Filipinos.

Tondo, Manila, P. I., December 30, 1903.
importation and circulation of his writings and "of every proclamation or handbill in which, directly or indirectly, the Catholic religion or the national unity is attacked."

The decree was dictated, among other things, by the facts that Rizal "had published a number of books and had been suspected of being the author of many proclamations and handbills, in tone almost disloyal to Spain, which, if not openly anti-Catholic, are frankly anti-clerical;" that there was found among his belongings a sheaf of loose-leaf manuscript entitled *Pobres Frailes!* (Poor Friars); and that his latest book, *El Filibusterismo*, was dedicated to the memory of three traitors to the country. (1)

This decree was followed by other severe measures, such as the dismissal of public officials and the deportation of individuals suspected of sympathizing with Rizal and the tendency of his works. (2)

(1) General Despujols confessed later in Barcelona that he had been completely deceived by a plot concocted by the enemies of Rizal to do away with him (Rizal). The general admitted his error and attempted to retrieve it in some way by pardoning the deported relatives of Rizal.

(2) As an example, we may cite the Decree of September 13, which ordered—

The dismissal of Mr. Manuel Argüelles from his position as assistant in development (fomento) in the province of Batangas; of Mr. Pedro Serrano, as a teacher in a primary school in Binondo; of Mr. Antonio Consunji and Mr. Ruperto Laxamana, as *gobernadorcillo* of San Fernando and *teniente primero* of Mexico, respectively, in Pampanga; and the enforced change of domicile from Manila in the case of Mr. Doroteo Cortes and Mr. Ambrosio Salvador; from Pampanga, in the case of Mr. Mariano Alejandro; from Bulacan, in the case of Mr. Antonio Rojas; from Batangas, in the case of Mr. Leon Apacible; from Cavite, in the case of Mr. Jose Basa; and from Laguna, in the case of Mr. Vicente Reyes.
4. The Katipunan.—Andres Bonifacio, one of the founders of the Liga Filipina, seeing the misfortune of Rizal and having little faith in the work of that association (it being composed simply of members of the intelligentia), took immediate steps, together with Ladislao Diwa, Teodoro Plata and others, to found the Katipunan, a society destined to find acceptance among the humble masses of the people.

The aims of this society, from its inception, were to arouse national feeling and to work for the redemption of the Filipino race from the tyranny of Spain and from religious despotism. As a means to secure these ends, the members worked for the unification of ideals among the Filipinos that they might acquire the necessary strength “to locate and reach the true path to reason and light.” The bases of this union were two-fold: love of country and mutual aid. The poor and the rich, the ignorant and the wise, are equals and brothers, according to the Katipunan. The doctrines of this association are revealed in its Creed, and read thus:

Life which is not devoted to a just and elevated purpose is as a tree that throws no shadow; a poisonous weed.

To do good for personal gain and not in obedience to a desire to do good is not kindness.

True sanctity is charity, love for our fellow-men, and the adjustment of acts, deeds, and words to harmonize with true Reason.

Be they white or black, all men are equal: one may be more gifted than another in knowledge, in riches, in beauty... but what difference can there be between them as man to man?
He whose sentiments are noble would rather be respected than enriched; he whose sentiments are perverse would rather be enriched than respected.

To a man of honor, his plighted word is sacred.

Waste not your time: lost riches can be recovered; but time wasted never returns.

Defend the oppressed; fight the oppressor.

The intelligent are niggardly of speech, and they know how to keep secrets that should remain inviolate.

In life, so full of penalty, man is the mentor of his wife and children; and if he who thus leads them is enticed into the ways of evil they, who are mere followers, will also fall into temptation.

Do not regard woman as the object of transitory pleasure and passion, but as a helpmate and companion in life’s endeavors; respect her in her very weakness, and think of the mother who gave birth to you and cared for you in your infancy.

What you would not have others do to your wife, daughter, and sister, you should not do to the wife, daughter, and sister of others.

The greatness of man does not consist in his being a king, in having a high nose, nor in being white-skinned; nor does it rest on his being a priest in representation of God, nor on his holding a post among the great of the earth: man is great and truly noble, though born in the hinterland and his knowledge be limited to his mother-tongue, if his manners are under proper restraint, if his character, dignity, and honor are unsullied; and he is equally great and noble who neither tyrannizes over nor helps those who oppress others; whose feelings flower into love of country, whose vigils are kept that her welfare be safeguarded.

When these doctrines shall have been preached and accepted and when the Sun of Liberty shall have risen radiant over this unhappy land, anointing a united people, children of the same race and brothers in the enjoyment of an infinite bliss, the lives that were lived for us, the sacrifices of those who have died, and the sufferings of the past will be amply rewarded.
5. The Dissolution of the Liga.—The deportation of Rizal halted the organization of the Liga; but, as the result of the efforts of Domingo Franco, Andres Bonifacio, and others, the Liga was reorganized. Apolinario Mabini was named Secretary of the Supreme Council and, upon his recommendation, a short statement of policy was adopted, worded more or less thus: To support La Solidaridad and to endorse the reforms advocated by it; to raise funds not only for the maintenance of the periodical but also for the expenses incurred in the meetings in Spain and by the deputies who defended in the Cortes the cause of reforms for the Philippines.

The Liga was most active in its early days, thanks to the efforts of Andres Bonifacio and others, who succeeded in organizing the Popular Councils of Tondo and Trozo, those of Santa Cruz, Ermita, Malate, Sampaloc, Pandacan, etc., having been previously organized. After a few months the Liga betrayed no sign that it existed, because Andres Bonifacio himself, who was its most indefatigable propagandist, was firmly convinced that peaceful means were of no avail. Finally, the Supreme Council decreed the dissolution of the society in order to obviate the danger of the discovery of its existence by the authorities, in view of the difference of opinion among its members. The conservatives organized the Cuerpo de Compromisarios; but Andres Bonifacio and the other radicals concerned themselves in giving form and substance to the Katipunan.
6. The Administration of the Katipunan.—Soon after the founding of the Katipunan, its first Supreme Council was formed, called Kataastaasang Sangunian and composed of a president, a post which was offered to Deodato Arellano; a comptroller (interventor), Andres Bonifacio; a fiscal, Ladislao Diwa; a secretary, Teodoro Plata; and a treasurer, Valentin Diaz. After a short interval the following year, the Supreme Council was reorganized, with Roman Basa as president to succeed Arellano, resigned, Jose Turiano Santiago as secretary, Andres Bonifacio as fiscal, Vicente Molina as treasurer, and five others as advisers. The third Supreme Council was formed in 1894, Roman Basa yielding the presidency to Andres Bonifacio in view of certain differences between the two, and Jose Turiano Santiago being made secretary; Emilio Jacinto, fiscal; and Vicente Molina, treasurer. The fourth Supreme Council was formed in 1896 with Andres Bonifacio himself as president, Emilio Jacinto as secretary, Pio Valenzuela as fiscal, and Vicente Molina as treasurer.

When the revolution was declared, the Supreme Council was again reorganized, the executive department being as follows:

President .................. Andres Bonifacio
Secretary of State ....... Emilio Jacinto
Secretary of War ....... Teodoro Plata
Secretary of Justice ..... Briccio Pantas
Secretary of the Interior Aguedo del Rosario
Secretary of Finance ... Enrique Pacheco
In each province a provincial council (Sanguniang Bayan) and in each town a popular council (Sanguniang Balangay) were instituted. A secret chamber also functioned, a mysterious and somewhat fearsome institution, organized on the happy initiative of Emilio Jacinto to sit in judgment over those who were traitors to the Katipunan and those who were charged with acts penalized by its laws.

The flag of the Katipunan bears some resemblance to that of Japan, except that it was red with a sun whose rays are white, and that in its center was an enormous K, standing for Kalayaan or liberty. This flag was used by the revolutionists up to the signing of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato.

In its propaganda campaign, the Katipunan adopted, with marked success, a number of practices identical to those of the Masonry, such as the conferring of degrees, the initiation ceremonies, and the symbolic names. A neophyte was subjected to a series of ordeals to test his loyalty and abnegation, and was then made to sign an oath with blood taken from one arm. The towns that accepted the Katipunan doctrines were given names symbolic of the country, such as Magdaló for Cavite Viejo, Magdiwang for Noveleta, Mapagtis for San Francisco de Malabon, Magwagi for Naic, Magtagumpay for Maragondon, Walangtinag, for Indang, etc. Andres Bonifacio's symbolic name was May Pag-asa; Emilio Jacinto, Pingkian; Emilio Aguinaldo, Magdaló.

7. The Degrees in the Katipunan.—The Katipunan had three degrees. A member of the first degree
is called katipun, an associate, and at the meetings wore a black hood with a triangle formed by white ribbons and letters which corresponded to the initials Z, Ll, and B, meaning Anak ng Bayan, the sacred word of this degree. A member of the second degree was called kawal, a soldier, and wore at the gatherings a green hood with the triangle and letters in white. Moreover, he donned, suspended from the neck, a green ribbon with a medal in whose center is the letter K. The sacred word of this is Gom-Bur-Za, the first syllables of the surnames Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora. A member of the third degree was called bayani, a patriot, and he wore a red hood with a band of the same color bordered with green. The sacred word was Rizal.

Besides the sacred word for each degree, the members of the Katipunan had their countersigns by means of which to reveal themselves to one another.

The following questions were asked of every prospective member: Anó ang kalagayan nitong katagalgun noong unang panahon? (In what condition was our country in the old days?)—Anó ang kalagayan sa ngayon? (In what condition is it to-day?)—Ano ang magiging kalagayan sa darating na panahon? (What will be its future?) After answering these questions and after having submitted to the different tests at initiation, the candidate for membership signed an oath with blood taken from his left arm, in which he swore in the name of God and of country to defend with valor and integrity the aims of the Katipunan, to keep its secrets, to obey its orders, to succor its
members in times of danger and of need, to recognize the authority of its leaders, and not to be a traitor to its mandates.

8. The First to be Initiated.—After the first meeting held in July, 1892, Restituto Javier, Miguel Araullo, Aurelio Tolentino, Guillermo Masangkay, Alejandro Santiago, Briccio Pantas, Jose Turiano Santiago, Emilio Jacinto, Ildefonso Laurel, Hermogenes Plata, Feliciano Alvarez, Teodulfo Flor Mata, Proceso Pulid, Jose Basa, the Carreons (Nicomedes, Francisco, and Mariano), and others, were admitted into the Katipunan during 1892. The Katipunan was inactive during the year 1893 in order not to prejudice the cause of the Liga Filipina which at the time was still in existence. In 1894, the Katipunan once more became very active, branches of it being established in many districts of Manila. Aguedo del Rosario was named to organize the branch in Tondo; Jose Turiano Santiago, that in Trozo; Restituto Javier, that in Sta. Cruz; Faustino Manalac, that in Binondo, and so on. The council of Trozo was called Dapitan and had two sections, one called Alapaap, headed by R. Concha, and another called Silanganan, headed by Juan Cruz. The council of Dulumbayan, or Sta. Cruz, was called Laong-laan and was headed by Julian Nepomuceno, also with two sections, one called Dimasalang, headed by one named Ureta, and another called Tanglaw, headed by Procopio Bonifacio. The council of Binondo was called Ilog Pasig, and was headed by Faustino Manalac. It had two sections also. The council of Tondo was called Katagalugan, with two sections, Katotohanan and Kabuhayan.
There was founded, also, an auxiliary for women, akin to Masonry, to which were admitted Macaria Panigilinan, wife of a sergeant of carabineros Marcelo Santos; Marta Saldaña, wife of Faustino Mañalak; and, shortly thereafter, Marina Dizon, at present married to Jose Turiano Santiago; Angelica Lopez y Rizal; Josefa Rizal; Delfina Herbosa y Rizal; and others, twenty-nine in all.

9. The Cry of Montalban.—Toward the middle of the year 1894, the principal leaders of the sworn members of the Katipunan, among whom were Andres Bonifacio, Emilio Jacinto, Aurelio Tolentino, Faustino Mañalak, Restituto Javier, Pedro Zabala and others, reconnoitered the mountains of San Mateo and Montalban in order the better to mature the future plans for the uprising. They visited the caves of Makarok and Pamitingan. While in the caverns of the latter, they initiated the leader of the rebels of the province of Morong into the Katipunan, and, penetrating farther into depths of the cave, in the midst of a shadowy silence, isolated from the world and protected by the solitude from the Spanish authorities, they wrote on the walls with a piece of charcoal the following words: Long Live Philippine Independence!

These words, written by a trembling hand, betrayed the ideal of the Katipunan and the principal objective of these conspirators. They constituted, in truth, the first cry of rebellion against Spain.

10. The Katipunan in Evolution.—As the result of the fiery preachments of its leaders, the Katipunan
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became more and more radical and threatening. To its ranks came the radicals in politics, those who had been oppressed, those who were in despair—in fine, men of the type of which, perforce, the armies of revolutions are composed.

No little significance should be attached to the fact that years of propaganda had prepared the masses for a change, especially in the Tagalog regions in Luzon. The writings of Rizal, of del Pilar and others; an endless series of handbills, unquestionably revolutionary in character, written in the local dialect and secretly and widely distributed, which narrated and discussed, in the language of demagogues, the abuses perpetrated by the friars and by the Government; and letters received from the Filipino leaders in Europe, hope-giving to those rebellious in spirit, and ever challenging the tyranny of Spain, were among the many causes that led to a rapid transformation in the mood of the Katipunan.

The preachment of radical doctrines weakened the cause of the reformers, or of the moderates. On January 1, 1894, the day designated by the Government for inaugurating the Maura régime in some provinces, Emilio Aguinaldo was inducted into office as Capitan Municipal of Kawit, Cavite, and at the same time was admitted as a member of the Katipunan of Andres Bonifacio. From that year the number admitted was considerable, and in the following years the increase in membership was extraordinary. In 1896 they
founded a periodical bearing the title of *Kalayaan* (Liberty), seditious in tendency, of which but two numbers were issued.

11. *Rizal and The Katipunan.*—Rizal, who was at Dapitan, was not in favor of an armed revolt in those days. He believed that the time was not propitious, and that there was need of enlisting two important forces for the Revolution: the rich and the intellectual classes. When in May, 1896, a delegation from the Katipunan went to Dapitan to interview him secretly, with the suggestion that he should lead the insurrection, he declined the offer. He suggested that Antonio Luna should be named in his stead.

In August of the same year, while Rizal was on board the *S. S. España* in Manila Bay, on his way to Spain, another delegation from the Katipunan had a secret conference with him, making him understand that the people were ready to set him free, even by force, from the power of the Spaniards. Rizal answered that they should do nothing of the sort and that he knew perfectly well what he was doing.

The distrust with which the Katipuneros regarded the intellectual class was thus sadly confirmed. Once more they felt convinced that they were left to shift for themselves and that they alone would have to undertake a great and difficult enterprise.

12. *The Failure of the Campaign for Reforms.*—All the organizations that waged the campaign for reforms disbanded one after another. No pecuniary contribution was forthcoming. In August, 1895, Ma-
bini wrote to the Filipinos in Madrid that it was not possible to continue remittances, that there was no fund for *La Solidaridad*, that that paper should suspend publication, and that others would seek the remedy for the grievances in other fields.

Publication of the periodical ceased November 15. There was no doubt that the campaign for reforms had failed for two principal reasons: one, because the Government was opposed to it, and the other, because the Filipinos in the Islands who advocated it had lost all hope of success. In order to formulate a new national policy, the Filipinos in Madrid were notified that a grand assembly would be convened in Hongkong in the spring of 1896. This assembly never met, for del Pilar, on the eve of his departure for Hongkong, was taken ill and died in Barcelona on July 3. The failure of this assembly to meet in Hongkong caused the patriots in Manila to decide that they should act without the counsel of those who should have come from Spain. The die was cast. The Katipunan was to have its way.(1)

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(1) At the door of the house in Azcarraga Street where Andres Bonifacio called the founders to a meeting for the first time, the Filipino people have placed a commemorative tablet with the following significant inscription:

*The Filipino People*  
*Through the Durability of Bronze*  
*Preserves and Perpetuates*  
*The Historical Worth of this House,*  
*The Cradle of the Popular Movements for Re vindication*  
*Where on June 6, 1892,*  
*Was Born to Fight and to Triumph,*  
*Under the Leadership of Andres Bonifacio*  
*The Most High and Venerable Association*  
*Of the Sons of the Country,*  
*The Katipunan.*
13. The Discovery of the Katipunan.—On July 5, Lieut. Manuel Sityar of the Guardia Civil, stationed in Pasig, gave the information, in a confidential letter addressed to the Civil Governor of Manila, that "individuals from the capital and the neighboring towns of the province, especially Mandaloyon and San Juan del Monte, were enlisting men for an unknown purpose, making those who joined sign, with their own blood, taken from a small wound in one arm, a pledge not to reveal the aim and purpose of the Association or its designs, under oath and warning that he who would betray the secret would pay for such act with his life." The members, according to the lieutenant, were asked to pay an initiation fee of one peso, and two reales (twenty-five centavos) a month for the purchase of arms, which had been already distributed in the towns of San Juan del Monte, Mandaloyon, San Felipe Neri, and Pasig. Lieut. Sityar also said that the object of the secret society was highly political, for it aimed to warn the people that the Government was planning to increase both the rate of taxation and the quota of conscription, making them gradually hate Spanish rule and inspiring them to join a general uprising to begin on a designated day.

On August 13, Father Agustino Fernandez, the parish priest of San Pedro Macati, wrote to the Civil Governor of Manila, telling him that the time for action had come if the situation was to be saved. The letter referred to a number of townsmen sent to the Manila authorities who were the "principal promoters of the meetings, it is said, of masons, or of anti-
Spanish separatists, and if they ever return to this town, I will not be held accountable for the peace and tranquility; there will be disorder.” The letter urged, finally, *bloody action* in order to intimidate the towns, and also the necessity of *doing away with* two or three representative citizens of each town.

These incomplete reports were strongly corroborated when Teodoro Patiño, through one of his sisters, an inmate in the orphanage at Mandaloyon, revealed to Father Mariano Gil, priest of Tondo, a great many of the details of the Katipunan plot. Father Gil, without losing time, went on the night of August 18 to the offices of the *El Diario de Manila* where, indeed, he found a lithographic stone with two blank receipts of the Katipunan in Tagalog and in key words, the by-laws of the association in Tagalog, and other documents dealing with the conspiracy. With these data and the confessions forced from many citizens who were immediately arrested and tortured, the whole secret plot of this formidable popular association was unraveled.

14. The Beginnings of the Revolution.—The opening scene of the revolution was staged in Balintawak, in what is to-day the province of Rizal, during the last days of August, 1896. The followers of Bonifacio were as yet not fully prepared for an uprising, but the unexpected discovery of the existence of the Katipunan, and the attendant measures of retaliation precipitated the war. Hundreds were placed under arrest. Bonifacio at once called a mass meeting of the
Katipunan at Kankong, Caloocan—a meeting which proved stormy and tumultuous. In general, everybody was in a state of excitement. However, there was not lacking a conservative element which believed that the time had not come to start the revolution. After some discussion, the radicals, led by Bonifacio and Jacinto, triumphed. Once having committed itself to that grave decision, the meeting adjourned, and the participants, determined to win or to die, decided not to return to their homes. In order to show that from that moment they had broken all ties with Spain, they tore into pieces their certificates of citizenship: the cedula. Bonifacio later issued a manifesto urging his followers to wage the war. August 29 was the day set for the commencement of hostilities.

The first real engagement between the Spanish forces and the Katipuneros took place on August 30. The Katipuneros were under the direct command of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto in San Juan del Monte, where the Mariquina road forms an angle with the street leading to the reservoir. On the same day, General Blanco proclaimed that a state of war existed in Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Laguna, Cavite, Batangas. (1)

The following day the residents of Santa Mesa rose up in arms, led by Sancho Valenzuela. Almost at the same time, as if moved by the same impulse, Pandacan, Pasig, Pateros, Taguig, S. Pedro Macati, Caloocan,

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(1) By decree dated October 25, the provinces of Bataan and Zambales were also declared in a state of war.
Balik-balik, San Juan del Monte in Manila, and San Francisco de Malabon, Kawit and Noveleta in Cavite, rose up in arms. The Spanish forces and the Guardia Civil were assigned to different localities: Colonel Pintos left for Caloocan; Lieut.-Colonel Tagores, for San Mateo and the highlands of San Juan and Mandaluyon; and General Echaluce himself, with his general staff, established his headquarters near the reservoir in San Juan.

The revolution was begun with no arms other than spears, bolos, and a few shotguns; but, as the engagements between the revolutionists and the Guardia Civil and the Spanish soldiers became more frequent, the number of guns and ammunitions increased until the whole army of the revolution was well supplied.

15. Bonifacio Leaves for San Mateo.—After the engagement in San Juan del Monte, Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, with other leaders, like Apolonio Samson, Macario Sakay, Faustino Guillermo, and General Lucino (alias Payat), encamped on one of the hills near the towns of Mariquina, San Mateo, and Montalban, and after their forces had been augmented by the daily arrival of contingents from several towns, thanks to the persecution of the Spanish authorities, they attacked the Spanish detachment in the town of San Mateo, together with the forces of Generals Francisco de los Santos and Hermogenes Bautista. After several skirmishes, the Spanish troops retreated from the town toward Mariquina, leaving the Katipuneros in complete control of those places.
The Spaniards waited for reenforcement in Mariquina, and after a few days launched a counter-offensive against the troops of Bonifacio. The engagements were hard-fought, especially that along Nangka River, which was almost filled with dead bodies, until the Katipuneros were dispersed. Bonifacio and his followers returned to Balara, Caloocan, where hostilities were resumed, in one of which Bonifacio almost lost his life.

16. Andres Bonifacio.—Andres Bonifacio was born in the district of Tondo, Manila, on November 30, 1863. His parents were Santiago Bonifacio and Catalina de Castro. They were very poor. Andres Bonifacio earned his living, first, by peddling walking canes and paper fans; later, by working as a messenger for the firm of Fleming and as a salesman of tar and other goods handled by the same firm; and, lastly, by acting as warehouse keeper for Fressell and Co. until the tumultuous events of 1896. He had a very limited education, for he completed only the second year in high school. He devoted his leisure hours to reading books on revolutions. The Guardia Civil Veterana of Manila, when his papers and books were captured because of the revolution, found among them letters of Luna, of del Pilar, of Rizal, masonic documents, and copies of revolutionary speeches. His library included, also, biographies of the Presidents of the United States, books on the French Revolution, International Law, Religion, etc. A collection of La Solidaridad, Noli Me Tangere and El Filibusterismo of Rizal, Les Miserables of Victor Hugo, The Wandering
Jew, and the Ruins of Palmyra were also found. He wrote, in Tagalog, articles and poetry, revolutionary and patriotic in character, which inspired and liberated the spirit of the Katipunan. He also penned a compendium which he called "The Duties of the Sons of the People," a sort of decalogue which runs thus:

1. Love God full-heartedly.
2. Bear always in mind that true love of God is love of country, love which is also true love of man.
3. Bear always in mind that the true measure of honor and of charity is to die in defense of your country.
4. Serenity, constancy, reason, and faith in whatever act or endeavor, crown with success every desire.
5. Guard, as you would your honor, the mandates and aims of the K. K. K.
6. It is incumbent on all that he who runs a serious risk in complying with his duties should be protected at the sacrifice of life and riches.
7. Let the achievement of each, either in self-control or in compliance with duty, be an example to his fellow-man.
8. Help to the limit of your endurance, share your wealth with the needy or unfortunate.
9. Diligence in your daily work to earn a living is the true expression of love and affection for yourself, for your wife, for your child, for your brother, and for your countryman.
10. Believe in the chastisement of the perverse and the treacherous and in the reward of all good work. Believe, also, that the aims of the K. K. K. are the gifts of God; for the hopes of the country are also the hopes of God.

Bonifacio was possessed of a restless and daring spirit. The Katipunan owed its force to his tenacious and valorous propaganda.
17. Emilio Jacinto.—Emilio Jacinto was the soul of the Katipunan, in the words of Andres Bonifacio. He it was who wrote the famous Cartilla, the oath and the pledge of the members, and was the indispensable adviser of Andres Bonifacio. The Katipuneros valued his life so highly that they would not let him expose himself to danger in battle. After the encounter in Balintawak, Emilio Jacinto was named commanding general in the north; that is, chief of the zone comprising the provinces of Laguna, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Manila. Jacinto removed later to Laguna where he was wounded in the thigh during an engagement with the Spaniards in Mahayhay in the year 1898. He was made prisoner and died in April, 1899.

In the Kalayaan, organ of the Katipunan, he published exceptionally able articles in which his revolutionary temperament and his cultured literary genius were revealed; but, without doubt, his chief claim to distinction lies in having produced the Cartilla of the Katipunan.

An article of his printed in the first issue of the Kalayaan, is as follows:

Liberty appears to a young man grieving deeply over the sorrows of his country (the Philippines); the young man recognizes her and phrases the just grievances of his countrymen:

"I am hungry, they say, and he who teaches me to feed the starving, answers: Eat what is left over and the scraps of meat and bread from our succulent meals at our table full of gifts."

My brothers say: "I am thirsty, and he who teaches me to give water to the thirsty, answers: Drink you
tears and the sweat of your brow, because for that purpose we would make them fall in larger drops."

My brothers protest: "I have no clothes to wear, I walk completely in the nude, and he who orders us to clothe the naked answers: Right away I shall cover your whole body with chains, one over another."

My brothers say: "My honor is trampled upon by a priest, by a... by a rich man, and the judge, incorruptible symbol of justice, answers: That man is an outlaw, a bandit, a bad man: to prison with him!"

My brothers say: "Just a little love, a little clemency and charity, and, at once, the men in the high places and the leaders who judicially and spiritually are in power, respond: That man is a filibuster, an enemy of God and of Mother Spain; to Iligan with him!"

At this juncture, the young man seemed disheartened and to cry, and Liberty, indignant, moves as though to abandon the dejected youth, accustomed, even from the time when he was yet unborn, in his mother's womb, "to suffer and to undergo all kinds of labor, scorn and denial;" but Liberty, touched, said to him:

"In the remote past, when cowardice and debasement had not been substituted for the good customs of your forbears, I gave my help to the Filipino people and placed them under my protection, and they were happy and breathed the air that gave them life, vigor, and joy: my light illumined their understanding, and it was respected by their neighbors. But one day, which should be execrated and cursed, Slavery came, saying that she was virtue, right, and justice, and promised the very heaven to those who believed in her... she came masked in beauty and kindness, soft-spoken and caressing in manner... and your brothers heeded and adored her... they forgot and even hated me...."

Once more Liberty would abandon the young man, but paused at the prayer of her interlocutor who pleaded for her protection, and Liberty replied thus:

"My protection never is extended to him who does not care for me, does not love me, he who does not know
how to die for my cause. You may say this to your countrymen...” and Liberty left. At dawn, in the eyes of the young man burned something like a growing desire: the austere and apocalyptic Katipunan.

18. Sora, the Grand Old Woman.—After the meeting of the Katipuneros in Kangkon, Bonifacio and his companions left for Pasong-Tamó in order to escape the vigilance and persecution of the Government officials. In Pasong-Tamó they found full protection in the kindness and patriotism of a Filipino old woman known in the history of the Katipunan as “Matandang Sora.” The old woman hid the leader and his companions in her home, and gave them food and every necessity until they could adequately prepare themselves and organize their forces to engage in the first bloody combats during the last days of August.

The old woman was captured by the Guardia Civil after the first engagement, at Pasong-Putik, Novaliches, taken to the Teniente Mayor of the barrio, and brought, finally, to Manila, where she was kept as a prisoner in Bilibid. On the third day of her imprisonment, she was deported to the Marianas together with other Katipuneros. For three years and two months, long and cruel, she suffered exile to that island, until the American Government decreed her liberty and return to her native land.

The name of Tandang Sora was beloved and respected by the members of the Katipunan, and it has passed into our history as that of a humble old woman, full of patriotic fervor, of the spirit of sacrifice, and of unequalled daring characteristic of the men and women of the first epoch of the revolution.
19. The First Executions. More Provinces in Revolt.—General Blanco, who realized that conditions were serious, "in view of the vehement desire for some time entertained by the Spanish community, and, particularly, by those living in this capital ... especially under the present circumstances," immediately gave authority for the organization of the Batallón de Leales Voluntarios de Manila.

The following month, September, was a month of terror. On the 4th, the Government commenced the series of executions. On the 12th, the so-called Trece Mártires de Cavite were put to death. In Pampanga, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija, many were also imprisoned and shot. The Government, carried away by Spanish public opinion in Manila, adopted a policy of extreme rigor and cruelty, believing that this reign of terror would put an end to the incipient insurrection. Arrests and registry of homes were a daily occurrence. The properties of the rebels and the disloyal were ordered confiscated. The result was most discouraging. In the face of the certainty of suffering tortures (1) in prison, or of being shot as a criminal, the Filipino chose to join the insurgent forces and sell his life dearly, thus increasing the forces of the revolution.

(1) The following paragraphs taken from documents written at that time give an idea of these tortures:

1. Herding of hundreds of persons in small subterranean cells in order to cause their death from asphyxiatiom.

2. Forcing liters of water into the mouths of the prisoners.


4. Introduction of pointed pieces of wood between the nails and flesh of the fingers.
In this month of September the whole of Cavite province and the greater part of Nueva Ecija and Bulacan had revolted, resulting in bloody encounters between the Spanish and the revolutionary forces. The revolutionary forces in Nueva Ecija, numbering two thousand, under General Mariano Llanera, according to the enemy, besieged San Isidro on September 2, in a somewhat spectacular manner. The revolutionists wore red ribbons and paraded down the main roads to the music of the Kablaw band. The leaders were on horseback. In the same month Batangas and Laguna joined the revolution. In Batangas the revolutionary movement started in the region west of the towns along the bay, engagements having been fought in Liang, Tuy, Nasugbú, and Talisay.

Ambos Camarines also rose up in arms. In this province many prominent citizens were arrested and imprisoned.

20. The Terror in Manila.—Meanwhile, the prisoners in Manila were filled with prisoners from many localities. According to an official report dated October 28 following, the prominent men in prison numbered more than five hundred, among whom were distinguished members of Filipino society in Manila. Fort Santiago was overcrowded. The echo of the sufferings from tortures and other punishments inflicted

5. Flogging. Keeping the prisoners suspended in the air for periods of from twenty to thirty minutes, and then letting them fall by force of gravity.

6. Scraping off the skin of the soles of the feet by continuous flogging, and then forcing the prisoners to walk on sand, and innumerable other tortures which had been denounced by the foreign press.
upon the prisoners made its walls tremble. On August 31, a tragic date, fifty-six of the prisoners died from asphyxiation.

On September 16, twenty-two peaceful citizens of Manila, among others, well known for their wealth, culture, and social position, were also thrown into prison and tortured, among them a woman, single and beautiful, Rosario Villaruel. The following is a list of the names of the most prominent among them, with a short statement of their social position, as published in the press a few years later:

Telesforo Chuidian, a rich merchant, popular in the exclusive social set of his day, whose hospitality and entertainments were known to Spaniards of every description. He was later a member of the Malolos Congress, and held high posts of responsibility in the department of finance of the Malolos Government. Deceased.

Mariano Limjap, another rich merchant, no less hospitable than the former. His palatial home was always open to his Spanish friends. He also held responsible positions in the Filipino Government.

Luis R. Yangco, millionaire, who in his day was close to the great Filipino leaders; very generous to Spaniards in need of protection; helped the Government of Aguinaldo to solve a number of economic and financial problems. Deceased.

Lorenzo del Rosario, notable and famous architect; aided in the erection of many public buildings. Deceased.

Pedro Casimiro, industrialist and merchant, very popular.

Ambrosio Salvador, rich proprietor of Santa Cruz, Manila, formerly a gobernadorcillo, and well known for his progressive and daring spirit. He was the father of Moises Salvador who was executed. Deceased.
Bonifacio Arevalo, a famous dentist, well known in high places, lover of the native to the extreme that he wore only the Filipino costume. Very popular in the past régime and even to-day. His dream is to see his country industrially prosperous.

Maximo Paterno, celebrated for his wealth, his personal charm, and his progressive spirit. He was the father of the historian and poet Pedro A. Paterno, one of our illustrious dead. Was deported to Marianas in connection with the uprising of 1872. Deceased.

Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, a legal luminary, of a fighting temperament. Since the developments resulting in the dethronement of Isabel II in 1868, he sympathized with the policy asking for political reforms, being identified always with the liberal element. He was hated and closely watched by the friars. For this reason, he was not forgotten in 1896, though he had no connection with the revolutionary movement. He was Judge Advocate General in our Government. Deceased.

Nazario Constantino, well known lawyer in his day. An honest man; would not bow to the exigencies of the circumstances. He had violent encounters with the friars. In 1873 he was made prisoner as the result of anonymous letters denouncing him as a conspirator. At that time an anonymous letter was enough to seal one's fate. He was in prison for several months, but rested not until he had wrought vengeance on his calumniators. A trap was set and the author of the anonymous letters was caught, none other than one named Pio Magallon, helped by a Recollect friar and by a man named Isidro Martinez. He harassed General Alaminos and the courts of justice until Martinez and Magallon were sent to prison for a term of eight years for making false accusations on serious charges.

Antonio Salazar, industrialist, owner of a bazaar called "El Cisne." Deceased.

Juan Luna, painter of world renown. Held high diplomatic posts in the Malolos Government. Deceased.

Dr. Jose Luna, eminent Filipino physician, a surgeon of rare ability.
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Antonio Luna, then only a mere chemist of the Manila Laboratory; a position awarded him after a hard elimination test. Later lieutenant general of the revolutionary army. Deceased.

Isidro Soto Villaruel, pharmacist, well known for his liberal ideas.

Dr. Felipe Zamora, an eminent physician. One of the first graduates of the college of medicine, Santo Tomas University. Was respected as he is respected to-day by his countrymen.

Numeriano Adriano, notary of very liberal ideas, a partisan of reforms; he it was who helped the great Mabini during the first years of the latter's struggle for education; for his love of country he was sentenced to death by the Spaniards.

Ambrosio Flores, a distinguished retired official of the Spanish army, a liberal, and an enemy of the friars.

Dr. Jose Albert, a distinguished physician of wide fame, graduated from the Central University of Madrid. Was a member of the Malolos Congress.

Isaac Fernando Ríos. Only the confusion and disorder at the time explain the fact that this peaceful citizen should have been included among those arrested that night. Fernando Ríos was a devout follower of the friars. When in 1889 or 1890 he went to Madrid with Archbishop Nozaleda, he paid on one occasion a visit to the office of La Solidaridad, and there he began to give vent to a eulogy of the friars. The staff writers of that publication had to be tolerant to the extreme in order to be able to bear with him.

Marcelino de los Santos, a solicitor at law, proprietor, very popular, and respected by his countrymen for his liberal spirit and altruism. He was a great protector of the oppressed. He was quartermaster-general of the revolutionary army.

Rosario Villaruel, a beautiful maiden of about twenty years; was disposed not to use the Virgin's belt, nor to place around her neck rosaries and scapularies, nor to wear the uniform of the Third Order; on the other hand, she was very well educated, modern in ideas
for those days; would not kiss the friar's hand, and it even seemed that once she inflicted physical harm on a friar who would assault her; for this reason she was doomed. It was said that she was tortured. The newspapers of the epoch called her the *pallid madonna*, not from sympathy, but in sarcasm.

21. **The Nucleus of the Revolution.**—The principal hotbed of the revolution was Cavite. A testimonial to the daring spirit and determination of the people of Cavite was a series of successful attacks leading to the capture of the following positions held by the "Guardia Civil:"

Noveleta: The provincial garrison commanded by a captain.
San Francisco de Malabon: The barracks commanded by a lieutenant and two outposts at Buenavista and Fuerte Quintana (Sta. Cruz de Malabon).
Naic: The barracks commanded by a lieutenant and an outpost at Polangui.
Magallanes: The barracks under a sergeant.
Alfonso: The barracks commanded by a lieutenant.
Silang: The barracks commanded by a lieutenant.
Imus: The barracks commanded by a lieutenant and two outposts at Perez-Dasmariñas and Paliparan.

The magazine at Binakayan, Kawit, and the Santo Domingo fort in Silang were not captured.

Because of the important role they would play in the revolution, two Provincial Councils were instituted in Cavite: one, called *Magdiwang*, with headquarters in Noveleta, first, and in San Francisco de Malabon, later, was presided over by the Alvarezes (Mariano and Pascual), Emiliano Riego de Dios, Mariano Trias, Ariston Villanueva, and others. Its jurisdiction extended over the towns of Rosario, Sta. Cruz de Malabon, Naic, Ternate, Maragondon, Magallanes, Baylen, Indang, and Alfonso, as well as Look and Na-
sugbu in Batangas, and, of course, Noveleta and San Francisco de Malabon. The second council, called Magdalena, had its headquarters in Kawit, first, and in Imus, later. It was under the direction of the Aguinaldos (Baldomero and Emilio), Candido Tirona, Edilberto Evangelista, Cayetano Topacio, and others. Its jurisdiction, besides Kawit and Imus, included Bacoor, Perez-Dasmariñas, Silang, Mendez-Nuñez, and Amadeo, as well as Talisay in Batangas.

22. Edilberto Evangelista.—The fortifications of the revolutionists in Cavite, built in Aromahan, Zapote, and Cavite Viejo, were constructed under the technical supervision of Edilberto Evangelista, a graduate in civil engineering from the University of Ghent, who had just arrived from Europe. The fortifications were so well constructed that a Spanish writer called them the fortification of the future, which the Spanish troops were impotent to destroy or to storm.

Edilberto Evangelista was a native of Santa Cruz, Manila. After he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he began the study of geology, and later of medicine; and, as he had saved sufficiently from his earnings, he left for Spain in 1885. From Spain he went to Belgium to study engineering in the University of Ghent, where his scholastic attainments were most brilliant, for it is said that no student in all the history of that university had ever equaled Evangelista’s record. He finished his studies in 1896 and, when he received news of the first revolutionary movement in the Philippines, lost no time in returning to
The Islands; the voyage required twenty-eight days, *which seemed to him too long*, as he said to his family later, upon landing in Manila in September of that year.

As soon as he arrived in Manila he began to write proclamations and pamphlets calling upon all the Filipinos to rise in arms, and he soon joined Aguinaldo, offering his services in the revolution. At first he was coldly received, but later, when his sincerity and ability became evident, he was made Director-General in the engineering corps and then Lieutenant-General of the revolutionary army. He directed in person the defense of Binakayan. The discipline by means of which he maintained the morale of his troops brought him glory in the battle of Muntinglupa where, with a handful of men, he defeated a much larger detachment of the enemy. He met with honorable and heroic death in the battle of Zapote in February, 1897.

23. **Blanco's Policy of Attraction.**—On October 11, General Blanco sent to the executive officials of the provinces and districts a circular which says:

"... In view now, of the fact that the insurrection has been suppressed in nearly all the provinces of Luzon, it is absolutely necessary, on account of grave political and administrative reasons, that the method of suppression should be changed, and in its place a policy of greater moderation and a spirit of persuasion be adopted; for only by such means can justification and exemplificableness of the punishments imposed be shown on the one hand; and on the other, and of far more importance, the tranquility be reëstablished in the towns which was originally lost through the fear of ill-considered punishments, thus causing a separatist movement toward the Fatherland on the part of those who, through indifference or other motives, felt disposed to
The Spanish element was naturally not in favor of this benevolent policy of General Blanco. On the contrary, there was among the Spaniards a feeling akin to a thirst for blood. Inasmuch as it was realized that there was not enough military force in Manila to carry out a plan of merciless destruction, reinforcement was asked from Spain and the authorities were importuned to remove General Blanco from office, who was accused of being a weakling. On October 21, by Royal Decree, General Camilo Polavieja was named “Segundo Cabo” of the Philippines, and was slated, upon his reaching the Islands, to succeed General Blanco.

In the meantime, among the Filipinos, the army of the revolution was rapidly growing. Morong and Mindoro joined the movement for emancipation. In Morong two hundred revolutionists planned to capture the capital of the province. In Mindoro, a group of them assaulted a convent. The bloodiest fights were staged in San Jose and San Rafael, Bulacan; in Novaliches, Manila; and in Talisay, Batangas, where the name of Emilio Aguinaldo was first heard.
CHAPTER II
THE REVOLUTION

1. The Causes of the Separation.—In one of the documents on the revolution, the following are cited as the principal causes of the insurrection against Spain:

"1. The abuses of the civil, military, and religious authorities. The majority, in truth, of the public officials have come to this unfortunate country only to satisfy their greed in the most iniquitous and scandalous manner. As regards the friars, I would limit myself to saying that they were the principal causes of the revolution, now prostituting their sacred mission, now exacting exorbitant taxes from the people and confiscating the latter's property from which great estates originated, and, finally, opposing nihilistic measures to the protest of the working classes.

"2. The oppression of the people by the same authorities, especially the military commanders in the towns.

"3. The contempt and persecution of which the wealthy and cultured class in the country has been the object. It is rare for a Filipino to be educated and escape persecution and not be deported or executed as the price of his wisdom and labor.

"4. The distinction before the law, which, though not sanctioned in the codes, exists in practice between the native and the Spaniard, the law being more oppressive and degrading with respect to the former."

On the other hand, Spanish opinion on the characteristic phases of, and impelling motives behind, the idea of secession, is embodied in an article written by a Spaniard in the Philippines and published in a periodical in Madrid. According to the article the essential and determining characteristics of the idea of secession among the Filipinos who full-heartedly profess it were:
"1. The supposition of the existence of a Tagalog civilization prior to Spanish domination.

"2. The supposition that Spanish domination exists by virtue of agreements, treaties of friendship, and reciprocal alliances which our ancestors entered into with the sovereigns of these Islands.

"3. Advocacy of eastern, and opposition to western civilization.

"4. Endorsement of the ultra-democratic parties of Spain, and especially of the Republican party.

"5. Opposition to the religious corporations in the Islands, with the exception of the Society of Jesus.

"6. Advocacy of a policy of assimilation for the colonies; and

"7. Affiliation to masonry."

The same article stated that the impelling motives behind the idea of secession among the Filipinos were, among many other things difficult to enumerate:

"1. The love which every people under subjection feels for its independence.

"2. The intellectual culture to which Spain has elevated them.

"3. The civil and political rights which they enjoy.

"4. The administrative corruption.

"5. The despotism of some parish priests.

"6. Some abuses of the native civil guard.

"7. The carelessness of our Government in the selection of public officials and functionaries.

"8. The policy of attraction or weakness pursued by some governors-general; and

"9. The example of the insurgents of Cuba, not suppressed by force of arms."

2. The First Decrees of Aguinaldo.—On October 31, 1896, General Aguinaldo, under the name of Magdalo, issued from Kawit his first two decrees on the independence of the Philippines as the true aim of the revolution. The first decree ran thus:
"The Philippines is now a witness to a spectacle unparalleled in her history, a movement for the conquest of her liberty and of her independence, the noblest and highest of all her rights; hers, too, the inspiration of a heroism that shall place her on a plane of equality with civilized nations. We know that the progress of a nation has for its firm foundation her independence and liberty; thus must the citizen treasure this as the noblest and most sublime sentiment, before which should fade the fear for the safety of our interests and our families, and for which we should not hesitate to shed blood that we may break the chain of slavery borne by us during three centuries of tyranny and abuses. This truth, that revolution is inspired by justice and right, is exemplified in the history of all civilized nations, for none of these would tolerate the least aggression against its territory without being ready to sacrifice its last drop of blood in defense of its national integrity.

"Filipino citizens!... we are not a savage people; let us follow the example of civilized European and American nations; now is the occasion for shedding our blood for the last time, that we may achieve our beloved freedom.

"The Spaniards, conquerors of this beloved land, accuse us of ingratitude and claim that, after they had civilized us, we would now express our gratitude to them by impairing their authority: this is a false and misleading argument. For the civilization brought to these Islands by Spain during the lapse of three centuries is superficial and, fundamentally, vicious, for she has tried to keep the masses in dense ignorance, to extinguish the fire that burns in the hearts of a group of Filipinos who, for no reason other than that they are educated, are the victims of persecution by the government. As a result, many have been deported and other tyrannies have been practiced. Moreover, in compensation for the great benefits we have received during three centuries, has not Spain been rewarded by our very blood and sweat—Spain which, not satisfied with shamelessly exploiting us, to our face calls us carabaos, drones, monkeys, and other vile epithets?"
"Filipinos!... the time has come for us to shed blood in order to win our right to freedom. Let us march under the Flag of the Revolution whose watchwords are Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity!"

"A Central Revolutionary Committee, composed of six members, with their President, will have charge of carrying on the war, will organize an army of thirty thousand men, with guns and cannon for the defense of the towns and provinces under the Revolutionary Government which shall establish order in proportion as the revolution gains headway throughout the Islands. The form of government shall be similar to that of the United States, in spirit, deriving its powers from the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Any town that joins the revolution will be defended and protected by the revolutionary army against the attacks of the enemy.

"Each town shall elect by popular suffrage a Municipal Committee composed of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Secretary, a Judge, and two Members who shall administer the affairs of the Government and dispense justice; and these committees shall be entirely independent of the Central Committee, but shall be under the compulsion of supplying men, foodstuffs, and a war tax for the sustenance of the army. Each Municipal Committee shall send a delegate to the Central Committee.

"The delegates, with the President and members of the Central Committee, shall form a Congress empowered to deliberate on the question of raising men, foodstuffs, and war taxes.

"The revolutionary army shall be composed of three corps of ten thousand men under the command of three generals and a commanding general. The Central Committee shall be composed of a president, a vice-president, and of the following members: the Commander-in-Chief, a treasurer, an intendant, a judge advocate, and a secretary."
"Each Municipal Committee, as soon as organized, shall appoint a captain who shall, in turn, organize a Citizens’ Guard which all citizens are compelled to join. This corps, in conjunction with a detachment which the Commanding General will designate, shall constitute the defense of the town.

"In the name of the Revolutionary Committee, I have the honor to ask you to propagate in the manner you deem convenient this decree, as a contribution which we ask of you for the liberty of our beloved country.

"Magdalo (Kawit), October 31, 1896.

"(Sgd.) EMILIO AGUINALDO,
Magdalo."

The second decree purposed to denounce the conduct of the Spanish soldiers in Nasugbu and Lemery, with this stirring message to the Filipino People:

"Filipinos! Open your eyes! Let the innocent blood of your brothers, victims of Spanish hatred, leave in your hearts a lasting impression. Let this, our innocent blood, and the countless tyrannies of our enemies, serve from now on as the insurmountable barrier between Spain and the Philippines. What crime have we committed except the ambition to see ourselves free?...

"At present the new Revolutionary Government functions three times better than the Government of Spanish tyranny.

"The Revolutionary Committee calls on all Filipino citizens, lovers of their native land, to rise up in arms, to proclaim the liberty and independence of the Philippines as ours by right and justice, and to acknowledge the authority of the new Government of the revolution built on the blood of her heroic sons."

3. Emilio Aguinaldo.—Emilio Aguinaldo was born on March 22, 1869, in the town of Kawit, Cavite. His parents were Carlos Aguinaldo and Trinidad Famy, honest and well-to-do citizens of that town. At the age of eleven, Aguinaldo came to Manila to study, but
was unfortunate in losing his father while in the second year of the course in Latin. He then returned to his town and took up agriculture. At the age of twenty-two, he gave up farming and began traveling in the provinces of the south. In 1895 he was elected municipal captain of his town. In 1896 he married Hilaria del Rosario. When the memorable month of August of that year came, Aguinaldo, who was already a member of a masonic lodge in Cavite, and at the same time chief of the Katipunan in his town, gathered on the night of the 29th all of his fellow conspirators to decide upon what they should do. They decided that Aguinaldo should interview the Spanish Governor of Cavite the next day. In the conference with the Governor, Aguinaldo expressed his loyalty to Spain and asked that a detachment of one hundred men be sent to his town to keep public peace and order. Upon his return to Kawit, Aguinaldo and his friend Candido Tirona took advantage of the presence of only two soldiers in the barracks and engaged them in a hand-to-hand fight. Aguinaldo and Tirona succeeded in taking possession of guns and ammunition. From there, they went with others to the convent to capture the priest who, however, had already fled. Then they went to the municipal building and wrote a manifesto addressed to the municipal captains of Cavite, Batangas, and Laguna, inviting them to rise up in arms against Spain and telling them that the town of Kawit had revolted.

Aguinaldo left for Imus to attack the Spanish troops stationed there. With Aguinaldo in command,
the revolutionists went to the convent and from there to the casa-hacienda. The casa-hacienda where the Spaniards took refuge was burned. The Spaniards surrendered. Aguinaldo succeeded in capturing seven guns.

4. **General Blanco Disappointed.**—The arrival of Rizal from Barcelona, early in November, and his persecution which culminated in his being sentenced to death, gave greater impetus to the revolution, and thus doomed to failure the plan of General Blanco to confine the conflict within the boundaries of Cavite. Reenforcements from Spain were slow in coming, so much so that toward the end of October only about one hundred officials, about two hundred sergeants, and approximately eight thousand marine, cavalry, and infantry soldiers, in six different expeditions, had reached Manila.

In a memorial sent to the Spanish Senate, General Blanco said:

> "Proportionate to the reënforcements that arrived, the forces of the rebels increase as well as their efforts to extend their operations to other provinces, especially to Batangas and Laguna, the real key, both from the military and the political point of view, to the territory of Central Luzon and Southern Luzon and be it said that, while I hardly have at my disposal enough forces to negative such efforts in so vast a territory, the rebels have more than enough men with which to organize expeditions to points they believe convenient, leaving, in strong fortifications over a large territory in Cavite, more than the necessary contingent of soldiers, with abundant arms and foodstuffs, for its defense."

The crisis was, therefore, becoming more acute every day. The forces of the Government were not
The Philippine Revolution

numerically in a position to plan an offensive nor to offer serious resistance. Revolutionists took to the field in different parts of the Islands. On the other hand, Spanish opinion was becoming exacting; it asked for blood and wholesale execution. Goaded by their demand, General Blanco had no other recourse but to attack Cavite.

5. The Victory at Binakayan.—The attack was begun on November 9 by the column under the command of General Rios which advanced toward Binakayan and Noveleta, firing artillery pieces at dawn that day on this place and on Cavite Viejo. Colonel Marina, from the magazine depot, moved toward Binakayan, finding his way obstructed by a strong square redoubt with a moat, parapets, and trenches, defended by fortifications at the angle formed by the sea and the road to Imus. The decisive battle was staged on the 11th, a glorious day in the annals of the revolution, when Aguinaldo, at the head of a thousand men, poorly armed, compelled General Blanco with his much stronger command, to retreat to Binakayan. (1) This victory was acclaimed in all parts of the country. General Blanco himself said with reference to it: "The battle was fierce, for those on the defensive were numerous and well armed... Losses were considerable." Colonel Marina made attempts to advance, but near Cavite Viejo he met with the opposition of many revolutionists, behind a defense of parapets at right angle with the road, and he was forced to retreat after suffering heavy losses in the bloody combats.

(1) In this battle Candido Tirona, Secretary of War in the Magdalo council, was killed.
In the north, there were also a number of encounters. The revolutionists attacked San Rafael on the 10th, San Jose on the 11th, and Baliuag on the 12th, all in Bulacan, the offensive checking the column under General Rizzo. On the day last named the revolutionists, after having been informed of what was taking place in Cavite, planned a general attack against the Spanish advance column in Caloocan, while a detachment, moving north, should invade San Miguel de Mayumo.

6. The Revolution Assumes Enormous Proportions.—In the meantime, the revolutionists in Laguna formed an army with which General Aguirre had to contend. The intention of the revolutionists was obvious: To attract the attention of the Spanish forces to different localities, and thus prevent their being concentrated in Cavite.

Bataan and Zambales joined the revolutionary movement. In Hermosa, Bataan, a formidable number of citizens rose up in arms and killed the parish priest. Spanish troops, under the command of Major Vaquero, were rushed there to give battle; but the revolutionists, who numbered then over three thousand men from Hermosa, Dinalupihan, and some towns in Pampanga, foregathered in Orani, and, with no arms but bolos and two antiquated shotguns, faced the Spanish forces. Pampanga and Morong began also to challenge the Spanish authority. The revolution was assuming enormous proportions, "forming a sort of chain around the capital." In Vigan, the most important town in Ilocos, a conspiracy was unearthed
and many of the prominent citizens were placed under arrest. In Mindanao, in Puerto Princesa, and in Jolo, the Filipino soldiers who had enlisted in the Spanish army mutinied, attacking their officers with knives. The prisoners in the capital of Cavite overpowered their guards and fled armed to the fields. The Spaniards had to be in constant movement from one place to another in order to engage in combat. In such wise the month of November came and passed, as also a part of December, when General Blanco was relieved as the supreme ruler in the Archipelago.

7. Polavieja in Power.—General Polavieja, who had been “Segundo Cabo” since December 3, succeeded General Blanco on the 13th, and General Enrique Zappino was named “Segundo Cabo.” The administration of General Polavieja was characterized by wholesale executions. He had said in his proclamation to the inhabitants of the Philippines on the occasion of his induction into office: “For the traitors, no punishment seems to me adequate and commensurate with the magnitude of the crime they committed against their king and country.” On the day he was inducted into office, many cases involving conspiracy, rebellion, and sedition were set for final decision. A permanent court-martial was organized in Manila. The following day, December 14, many prisoners from Tarlac were shot for treason and mutiny. From that time on, executions were almost a daily occurrence, the year ending with the execution of the heroic Rizal.

On January 4, 1897, the sentence of death passed upon the Bicol martyrs, among whom were some
priests, was carried out. On the 11th of the same month, thirteen other martyrs were shot, the majority of whom were the leaders of masonic lodges, like Domingo Franco, Numeriano Adriano, Moises Salvador, Faustino Villaruel, and Jose Dizon. General Polavieja had to order the suspension of the municipal elections in the towns in the provinces of Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Tarlac, Bataan, and Zambales, then in a state of war, and he authorized the provincial governors to suspend and appoint local officials at their own discretion.

It is the belief that by the end of December, about one thousand men, many of whom were rich and influential, had had their property confiscated, had been thrown into prison, or had been deported to penal institutions.

During the months of November and December, several units of soldiers and officials from Spain reached Manila.

8. The Military Campaigns of Polavieja.—General Polavieja, early in 1897, began the attack on Karong de Sile, Bulacan, and Pasig and Taguig, Morong. Other offensives were launched against the revolutionary forces in Quingua, Bigaa, Baliuag, Polo, San Ildefonso, Hagonoy, Angat, San Miguel de Mayo, Bustos, and other points in Bulacan. The revolutionary General, Eusebio Roque, was captured and shot on January 16, in Bonga Mayor, Bustos. Battles were fought in Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, Zambales and other places.
By the middle of February, the Commanding General directed the operations in Cavite in person, reaching Parañaque on the 14th, where he established his headquarters. The following day General Lachambre, commanding the brigades under Generals Cornell and Marina, marched toward Silang. The land movements were timed to coincide with the naval operations at sea. Soon after, the Spanish press in Manila was beside itself in its exultation over the capture of Pamplona, Dasmariñas, Salitrán, Imus, Noveleta, Cavite Viejo, Binakayan, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco de Malabon. Commenting on the state of the revolution, Polavieja uttered these words which have become famous: "The tumult is in Cavite, and the danger in Bulacan."

9. Bonifacio’s Proclamation.—Upon learning of the heinous acts committed by General Polavieja, Bonifacio issued an incendiary proclamation, written in fiery and vigorous language that must have moved the masses deeply. He announced that Polavieja was getting ready to launch a new offensive for which the revolutionary armies must prepare themselves. The manifesto detailed the crimes perpetrated by the Spanish soldiers, under the command of that general, in defenseless towns, either by burning the houses or maltreating the children and the aged and abusing the women. "All of this," said Bonifacio, "calls for vengeance and punishment. It is true that death may come to you in this labor of vindication, but such a death would be a glorious legacy to our country, our race, and our descendants."
"You should not forget that this conflict to-day, in which we risk our lives and our dearest possessions, has for its object the Liberty of our beloved land, Liberty which shall give us honor, glory, dignity now trampled upon and vilified. With these sacred ideals as the companions of your thoughts, would you, perchance, fear death? No, a thousand times no. Remember the many martyrs immolated by Spanish cruelty; remember the sighs and lamentations of many orphans and widows, of many prisoners suffering tortures away from their loved ones, of many exiles in distant lands imprisoned for crimes they never committed; the assassination of Rizal, our greatest hero . . . All these will inflame with hate even the humblest heart, and will arm the hand of him who will avenge such infamy.

"To arms, countrymen! Prepare for the fight. We shall triumph; ours the victory, for reason, right, and justice are on our side . . .

"In order to safeguard the honor of our people, and to convince the nations of the purity of our ideals, let us not fall to the level of the conduct adopted by the Spaniards in this war; let us not fight for the mere love of fighting; let us fight for the sanctity of our aim, which is the Liberty of our people and, united, we can, with all the force of our being, shout—Long live the Sovereign People!"

10. The Revolutionary Assembly in Imus.—As rivalry had existed from the beginning between the two organizations in Cavite, the revolutionary leaders in the province, conjointly with those under Andres
Bonifacio, met in Imus to discuss a general revolutionary reorganization plan, prepared by Teodoro Gonzales, Severino de las Alas, and Edilberto Evangelista. The assembly was divided; some were in favor of the continuation of the Katipunan organization, others favored the new plan. The former pointed out that the Katipunan had its own constitution and by-laws, which had already been sanctioned by the provinces and towns near the capital, and had a definite mission to accomplish—the independence of the Philippines. The latter argued that the Katipunan was a secret society and, for this reason, its functions and its constitution and by-laws should have ceased to operate from the moment the insurrection was an actual fact in the Philippines, and that the two revolutionary governments in Cavite should be consolidated into a single entity. At the conclusion of the assembly, Andres Bonifacio was given carte blanche for the designation of a number of persons who were to form with him a legislative body that was to draw up the bases for the reorganization.

11. The Widow of Rizal.—The Revolutionary Assembly in Imus was gratefully surprised at the arrival of Josephine Bracken, the widow of the Great Martyr, but recently executed, accompanied by the hero's brother, General Paciano Rizal. According to the testimony of General Ricarte, to whom we are indebted for this detail, Josephine was heart and soul for the cause of the revolution because of which her husband had been executed. Upon her suggestion, a field hospital was started in the casa-hacienda of Tejeros,
where she, together with other women of the town, nursed back to health the sick from the battle fields. The presence of Josephine was a source of constant inspiration to the battling hosts who, under the command of their leaders, died for the liberty of the Filipinos.

When San Francisco de Malabon was captured by the Spaniards, Josephine, accompanied by her brother-in-law, General Paciano, left for Bay, Laguna, passing through forests and over mountains, many times bare-footed and riding on a carabao. From Bay, she was sent to Manila.

12. The Victims of War.—The offensive launched by Polavieja was as a thorn in the side of the revolutionists who suffered considerable losses, as will be seen later. In the engagements in Muntinglupa, Taguig, and Pateros, the revolutionary forces were commanded by Brigadier General Crispulo Aguinaldo of the Magdalo Government. In the engagement in Balayan, Batangas, they were commanded by General Eleuterio Marasigan, and in that in Nasugbu, in the same province, by General Luciano San Miguel, both of the Magdiwang Government.

The encounters in Cavite were tragic for the Filipino troops, officered by the foremost military leaders of the revolution; namely, Andres Bonifacio himself, the Supreme Head of the Katipunan, and the leaders of the two local governments in Cavite. In these encounters, General Edilberto Evangelista was killed, as has been noted, and Generals Mascardo and Lucino were wounded. In the engagements in Salitrán and Dasmariñas, each of them hard-fought, two other
brave generals of the revolution lost their lives, Crispulo Aguinaldo and Flaviano Yengko. The former was the soul of the revolution in Kawit, according to General Alejandrino, and his daring exploits were proverbial. The latter, General Yengko, was a young intellectual just out of college of whom, as in the case of Evangelista, the revolutionists had high hopes. Yengko was of a cultured family, was brave, and had had special training in military science.

In the encounter in San Francisco de Malabon, also hard-fought and tragic for both combatants, the life of Andres Bonifacio himself was at stake, for only half of his men were saved. It is claimed that he said before the attack: "Here we shall sacrifice our lives." Bonifacio was fond of the town of San Francisco de Malabon which, in turn, had always held in high esteem the head of the Katipunan.

13. Another Assembly in Tejeros. The First Signs of Misunderstanding.—The revolutionary leaders held another meeting at the administration building of the friar estate in Tejeros, San Francisco de Malabon, in March, 1897, on the initiative of Jacinto Lumbreras. At first, Lumbreras himself presided over the assembly; but, as the question of reorganizing the Revolutionary Government was reconsidered, Lumbreras yielded the chair to Andres Bonifacio, who, in accepting, said that, inasmuch as the assembly was in favor of a general reorganization of the forces of freedom, he gladly endorsed the idea but, at the same time, he counselled the gathering to respect always the will of the majority. After the elections, the Revolutionary Government was constituted in this wise:
The Revolution

Emilio Aguinaldo ...... President of the Government.
Mariano Trias ........ Vice-President.
Artemio Ricarte ........ Captain General.
Emiliano Riego de Dios. Director of War.

The election of Aguinaldo was, doubtless, a recognition of the prestige he had acquired since the engagements in Talisay and Binakayan. Andres Bonifacio was elected Director of the Department of the Interior—the electors were almost to a man from Cavite and for Aguinaldo—but as some questioned the qualifications of Bonifacio for the post, he was grievously offended and left the meeting, declaring that the decisions reached were not valid. As a consequence, the elections for the other posts were not held.

Thus began the misunderstandings between Bonifacio and Aguinaldo and his followers.

14. Primo de Rivera.—The revolution continued to win adherents. In Calivo, Capiz, the revolutionists, led by two Katipuneros, Francisco Castillo and Candido Iban, admitted into the society by Andres Bonifacio in Manila, harassed the politico-military governor, Tagores, who was compelled to launch an offensive with the aid of the troops under the Commanding General of Panay and Negros. In the engagement that followed, Castillo, one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, was killed.

These revolutionary irruptions caused General Polavieja great annoyance and worry so that, as his health was impaired, he sent his resignation to the Madrid Government. General Primo de Rivera was named to succeed him. On April 15, 1897, Polavieja
turned over the government of the Islands to General Lachambre, who acted as Governor until the arrival of General Primo de Rivera.

The first official act of Primo de Rivera was to issue a proclamation, in honor of the birthday of His Majesty the King, extending unconditional pardon "to those who, being involved in the present incidents in any manner and still not under the jurisdiction of the authorities, surrender to the same."

As in Cavite the revolution showed no signs of abating, General Primo de Rivera saw no alternative but to begin an offensive, dividing his forces into four brigades which would attack the province from four different points. The triumphal marches of Pola-vieja's day were reenacted. The Spanish press again went wild over the capture of Naic, Amadeo, Indang, Méndez Núñez, Alfonso, Maragondón, Ternate, Baitén, Magallanes, etc., and once again the claim was made that peace had been restored in the province.

15. Methods of Extending Clemency.—However, Primo de Rivera did not rely entirely on the success of the military campaign and seemed more disposed to achieve his purpose by adopting a benevolent policy, as indicated by his proclamation granting pardon. He made this proclamation much more effective by the addition of other conditions beneficent to those who would surrender and repent of their past conduct; but this policy was of no avail. Mr. Sastron, in his book on the Philippine insurrection, made this observation:

"The defeat suffered by the rebels in Cavite increased, instead of cooling, the ardor of the insurrec-
tion. In many localities adjacent to that province and to Manila the revolutionary movement was in the ascendant; and, in spite of the prophecies of misguided optimists, the people, for the most part, were inclined to believe that attempts to restore peace and order would be fruitless."

Following the so-called pacification of Cavite and in the hope, doubtless, of minimizing the importance of armed resistance in other localities, it was decided to apply a name to the revolutionary groups; the name selected was tulisanes, and it was said that the movement was merely tulisanismo. General Primo de Rivera stated in a manifesto the following:

"Rebellion, as such, does not exist in this territory. What is transpiring is that, with it for a pretext, the tulisanes and other disturbers form groups to rob, to depredate, to burn dwellings, to assault and to stage hold-ups in defenseless towns and in the countryside."

16. The Revolutionary Assembly in Naic.—Events, however, demonstrated that the charge of tulisanismo was far from true. In fact, the revolutionists, either in April or in May, 1897, met, this time in much greater number, in Naic, where they re-organized the army, provided for the enforcement of rules regulating ranks in the command, formed new fighting units, made changes in the design of the Katipunan flag, and completed the list of the high officials of the Republic with the appointment of the following:

Pascual Alvarez ...... Director of Executive offices.
Baldomero Aguinaldo . Director of Finance.
Jacinto Lumbreras ... Director of State.
Severino de las Alas .. Director of Grace and Justica
Mariano Alvarez ...... Director of Fomento.
Aguinaldo issued a number of proclamations such as the one of April 7, which advised the towns of Cavite to organize under the ablest leaders, and to pray to the Virgin for the triumph of the cause; and that of the 24th of the same month, addressed to the provincial government of Batangas, giving instructions on certain urgent measures like the establishment of emergency hospitals, public education, and the organization of military service in which was also announced the early convocation of the chamber of deputies.

On the 30th of May, the Spanish forces attacked Talisay, Batangas, developing a well-planned military campaign. At this point, the revolutionists of Batangas, under General Malvar, together with others from Cavite and from Taguig and Pateros, of the province of Manila, occupied fortified positions.

17. Isabelo de los Reyes and His Charges.—Taking advantage of the benevolent policy of General Primo de Rivera, Isabelo de los Reyes, one of the prisoners held in Bilibid and connected with the revolutionary movement, wrote a memorial, dated April 25 and addressed to General Primo de Rivera, in which he gave a résumé of the grievances of the Filipinos against the Spaniards and gave an exposition of the aims of the revolution. This memorial of Isabelo de los Reyes was the outcome of his conferences with the other political prisoners, and, as a matter of fact, was written in the name and on behalf of those prisoners.

The document provoked discussion in the Islands, and especially in Spain; so much so that Minister of
Foreign Relations Segismundo Moret called the author to Madrid and appointed him to a modest position on the publicity board of the department.

According to Isabelo de los Reyes, the Filipinos complained:

“1. That the friars from year to year increased the rate of the land rent, despite the serious commercial and agricultural crises through which the country had been passing for a decade, the rice crops having been destroyed by locusts, the coffee plants by an insect much more terrible, and the decreased prices of abaca, sugar, and other products of the Philippines.

“2. That, besides the land rent, the friars exacted, by what right is not known, a surtax on trees planted by the tenants on the lands they had leased, instead of being grateful for this favor which constituted improvement of such lands.

“3. That the friars, instead of using the legal measure when receiving the tax in kind, computed the rice in sacks of 30 to 33 gantas instead of 25, which is the legal content of a cavan, or sack, of rice.

“4. That the friars arbitrarily fixed the prices of products when accepted by them in lieu of specie.

“5. That, in addition to these abuses, the friars would often confiscate lands which the Filipinos had inherited from their forefathers, all that is needed to do this being the inclusion of such lands in the drawings or maps of the friars, or else they would despotically order a tenant to vacate a farm which he had improved after years of hard labor and heavy investments.

“6. That the friars mercilessly persecuted those who dared to resort to legal means, even going to such lengths as to have the Government deport such tenants and protesters, thus causing the ruin of many families.

“7. That the friars would not bury the poor free of charge, as is their duty, and that they charged excessive rates for the performance of religious rites, enforcing excommunication to punish the erring and intimidating
That they are opposed to the progress of the country, even impeding Spanish immigration because they believe the Spaniards would fiscalize and curtail their abuses; they oppose the railroad construction because it fosters civilization; they oppose the enforcement of laws and all kinds of Government and administrative reforms, and unblushingly apply such terms as exploiters and filibusters to the former Secretaries of Foreign Affairs, Balaguer, Maura, Moret, Romero-Robledo, Becerra, and others, to whom the country owed some beneficent reforms.

18. The Death of Bonifacio.—Unfortunately, the misunderstandings between Andres Bonifacio and his adherents on the one hand, and Emilio Aguinaldo and his followers on the other, which had their beginnings at the Assembly in Tejeros, were revived. While the Bonifacio brothers were returning to Manila, they were followed and overtaken by the followers of Aguinaldo, and in an encounter between the two factions at Limbong, Indang, two soldiers of Aguinaldo were killed and Andres was seriously wounded and his eldest brother (Ciriaco) was killed.] Emilio Aguinaldo, in his capacity as President of the Revolutionary Government, appointed Colonel Pantaleon Garcia a committee of one to make an investigation and to report. Garcia made the recommendation that a court-martial, with General Noriel presiding, be appointed to try Andres Bonifacio and his brothers. Placido Martinez was the counsel for Andres Bonifacio and Teodoro Gonzales for Procopio. The court-martial, after the investigation, sent its findings to the Judge Advocate (Baldomero Aguinaldo) with the recommendation that the death penalty be imposed. The Judge Advocate gave his approval, but President Aguinaldo commuted
the sentence. The Bonifacio Brothers were accused of promoting a counter-revolution for the overthrow of Aguinaldo’s authority.

On Mount Buntis, to which the seat of the Revolutionary Government was transferred, Andres Bonifacio and his only remaining brother, Procopio, were shot by Aguinaldo’s adherents on May 10.

Such was the tragic end of the Father of the Revolution.

19. The Government in the Provinces.—Aguinaldo authorized Teodoro Gonzales to organize the Departmental Government of Central Luzon, under the jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Government. The Departmental Government had under it seven provinces; namely, Manila, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Bataan.

In an assembly held at Puray, Montalban, previous to the institution of the Departmental Government, the following were elected:

P. Pedro Dandan ........ President
Dr. Anastasio Francisco Vice-President.
Paciano Rizal ........... Secretary of Finance.
Cipriano Pacheco ........ Secretary of War.
Teodoro Gonzales ........ Secretary of the Interior.
Feliciano Jocson ........ Secretary of Fomento.

For the high command in the army, the following were chosen:

Mamerto Natividad .... Commander-in-Chief.
Mariano Llanera ...... Lieutenant General.
Sinforosso de la Cruz .. Major General.
Melecio Carlos ........ Major General.
Licerio Geronimo ...... Major General.
Hermogenes Bautista .. Major General.
Andres Pacheco ......... Brigadier General.
Tiburcio de Leon ......... Brigadier General.
Simon Tekson ............ Brigadier General.
Narciso Porciuncula .... Brigadier General.
Isidoro Torres .......... Brigadier General.
Tomas Kaibling ......... Brigadier General.
Salvador Natividad ...... Brigadier General.
Francisco Makabulos .... Brigadier General.

The provincial government of Batangas had the following officials:

Lorenzo Fenoy .......... Vice-President.
Ananias Diokno ......... Secretary of War.
Santiago Rillo .......... Secretary of the Interior.
Miguel Malvar .......... Commanding General.
Eleuterio Marasigan ... Brigadier General.

20. Aguinaldo Leaves for Biak-na-Bato.—After the battle of Talisay, General Aguinaldo saw the advantage of holding a strategic position from which to direct the armed protest of the people, as circumstances compelled him to carry on an unequal struggle. His army was haphazardly recruited. It was poorly equipped, although inspired by the loftiest patriotism. Aguinaldo found that Biak-na-Bato offered that advantage, and he soon made it his objective. On June 10, passing by way of Paliparan, he crossed the Pasig River between Almanza and Muntinglupa, near Malapad-na-bato, in order to plunge into the fastnesses of the mountains of San Mateo and Puray, and from there proceed to Biak-na-Bato.

The Spaniards believed then that the revolution was on the decline. They believed that, by concentrating their campaign against Biak-na-Bato, they would put an end to the revolution. However, they
were deeply disappointed. The revolutionary movement became more active than ever. Malvar continued to lead the forces in Batangas, Llanera those in the North. Guerrilla warfare was at its height. The town of San Rafael, Bulacan, was attacked several times. Gregorio H. del Pilar, who was then a lieutenant colonel, staged in Paombong in the same province, the famous assault on the barracks of caza-
dores in the town convent on August 31. In the bat-
tle of Aliaga, Nueva Ecija, alone, General Primo de Rivera had to use 8,000 men against the forces under the command of Generals Mamerto Natividad and Tinio. In this engagement, the Spanish General, Nuñez, was seriously wounded. Mention should also be made of the battle at Mount Puray, where Aguinaldo was then on his way to Biak-na-Bato, in which General Geronimo distinguished himself, and also of the assault on San Pablo, Laguna, by the combined forces of Generals Trias and Malvar. Pampanga, Tayabas, Laguna, and Batangas were also the scenes of encounters. A serious plot was discovered in Manila. In October revolutionary activities were extended to Pangasinan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, and to the district of Principe. A bulletin published in Hongkong (1) gave an account of the revolutionary activities, based on official reports received direct from the battlefield.

21. The Biak-na-Bato Proclamation. — Upon reaching Biak-na-Bato, Aguinaldo issued a proclama-
tion addressed "to all the lovers of our national honor,

(1) Published from October, 1897, to February, 1898, under the title of Katipunan Notes. It was edited by Mariano Ponce of the Hongkong Revolutionary Committee.
Filipinos, Asiatics, Americans, and Europeans, for the purpose of vindicating the rights of a nation tyrannized into degradation and weeping over the debasement of its children.” This proclamation, translated into English and French, was distributed far and wide in foreign lands. It is a litany of grievances against Spanish misrule and tyranny. Thus read its most important paragraphs:

“Contemplate our altars, stained by the religious orders which have converted the most sacred objects into means of enforcing shameless exploitation. Without regard for poverty, for morality, or for the public health, the friar thinks only of the gold he receives. The poor are treated with contempt and only the rich are blessed and receive the benefits of the Christian religion.

“Contemplate the sad fate of our families and our homes. Our tyrants rob us of the products of our land watered with the sweat of our forefathers. Alas for the family which lays by some little saving! Alas for the parents who have daughters! On their account innocent parents and brothers will soon have to shed tears of disgrace and suffer exile. Behold the law trampled under foot, converted into a weapon to be used against rather than in defense of the Filipinos; on all sides threats and bribes. The municipality degraded; the administration and treasury ruined by immorality and speculation. In the Government and high offices of the State, where the native is barred from holding office, arbitrary rule prevails, individual security depending not on natural right, but on the irresponsible will of any of those in authority. Error and deception abound in public instruction; in the schools and the press absolute tyranny; on all sides ignorance, dishonor, vice, and corruption.

“Appeal to the law is in vain; complaints, demands in legitimate form, have only been received with silent contempt. What has been done with our rightful peti-
tions to have the friars expelled from the Philippine soil? What has been done with our demand and memorials for the proper representation of the Filipinos in the Spanish Cortes? Those who have appealed to the Spanish Government have been repaid with insult, ridicule, deportation, and confiscation of their property.

"Enough of scandal. To arms, sons of our country!"

22. The Biak-na-Bato Constitution.—The leaders of the revolution, at the instance of Aguinaldo, met in Biak-na-Bato, and formed the Constituent Assembly to discuss the provisional Constitution of the Philippine Republic, written by Isabelo Artacho and Felix Ferrer. After a brief preliminary discussion, the document was approved on November 1. The Constitution establishes the Government of the Republic, whose powers are vested in a Supreme Council composed of a President, a Vice-President, and four Secretaries of State to direct such activities as appertain to foreign relations, war, interior, and finance, and empowered to adopt measures necessary for the existence of the Republic; to impose and collect taxes; to contract public debts here or abroad; to issue paper currency and coin money; to devote all funds collected to the needs of the State; to recruit and mobilize troops and provide for their maintenance; to negotiate peace treaties with Spain and other powers, subject to the ratification of the Assembly of Representatives; to bring before the Judicial Power the President or any of the members of the Council charged with violation of the law; to exercise supreme direction over military operations whenever deemed necessary; to approve, amend, or modify the decrees and orders
of the army; to confer ranks and approve promotions from that of first lieutenant upward; to grant honors and compensations for exceptional war record; to appoint a Captain General and a “Lugar-Teniente” General; and to order the convocation of the Assembly of Representatives. The executive power resides in the President of the Supreme Council and, in his absence, in the Vice-President. The Secretaries have charge of the preparation of all dispatches, laws, rules, and decrees for their respective departments.

Each province is entitled to a representative, elected by universal suffrage, to represent it in the assemblies. Religious liberty is sanctioned, as also is the right of the people to assemble peaceably; the freedom of the press; of education and the exercise of all kinds of professions, arts, trades, and industries. The Filipinos have the right to petition and to express grievances of whatever nature. No individual can be imprisoned or arrested except by virtue of a judicial order, unless for crimes affecting the revolution, the Government, and the army. No individual can be deprived of his property or of his domicile except in accordance with a final decision of the tribunals.(1)

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(1) The signers of the Constitution were: Emilio Aguinaldo, Severino de las Alas, Pascual Alvarez, Mariano Llanera, Mamerto Natividad, Isabela Artacho, Vicente Lukban y Rilles, Melcior Carlos, Simeon Tekson, Mariano Noriel, Baldomero Aguinaldo, Salvador Estrella, Pantaleon Garcia, Escolastico Viola, Julian de la Cruz, Ciriaco Sartore, Jose Ignacio Paua, Agustin de la Rosa, Celestino Aragon, Gregorio H. del Pilar, Andres Presbitero, Benito Natividad, Pedro Dunjon, Eduardo Llanera, Herminio Miguel, Deodato Manajan, Pedro Gualdes (?), Ambrosio de la Cruz, Matias san Bino, Miguel Catanhan, Clemente Valencia, Modesto Porciuncula, Claro Fuenlo (?), Emiliano Tekson, Benvenuto Ramirez, Francisco M. Soliman, Maximo Kabigting, Ramon Tombo, Artemio Ricarte Vibora, Sinforoso de la Cruz, Agapito Bonson, Valentin Diaz, Tomas Aquino Linares (?), Cipriano Pacheco,
The Philippine Revolution

23. The Government of Biak-na-Bato.—The new revolutionary cabinet was formed thus:

- President ............... Emilio Aguinaldo.
- Vice-President ........ Mariano Trias.
- Secretary of War ....... Emiliiano Riego de Dios.
- Secretary of Exterior... Antonio Montenegro, who succeeded Jacinto Lumbreras, deceased.
- Secretary of Finance .. Baldomero Aguinaldo.
- Secretary of the Interior Isabelo Artacho, who succeeded Pascual Alvarez, who became Intendant General of the Army.

A number of decrees and proclamations were promulgated in Biak-na-Bato, for example, those relative to the improvement of the system of ambuscade and guerrilla; the exaction from each Filipino of a ganta of rice or two gantas of palay each month for the sustenance of the troops in each town; the organization of the Sandatahan, (1) the severe punishment of crimes such as robbery, rape, and others, committed by armed persons and the abolition of the Departmental Government of Central Luzon and of the provincial government of Batangas inasmuch as the new Constitution had been approved.

The Central Revolutionary Committee was organized in Hongkong, with the hope of subsequently forming ramifications of it in other foreign cities. At the beginning this committee was headed by Jose Ma.

Manuel Tinio, Anastacio Francisco, Servillano Aquino, Wenceslao Viniegra, Doroteo Lopez, Vito Belarmino, Secretary, Antonio Montenegro, Secretary, Teodoro Gonzalez, Secretary.

(1) A body of volunteers armed with bolos or machetes who during the revolution as well as in the war against the United States inflicted considerable loss on the enemy.
Basa and later by Felipe Agoncillo, with Mariano Ponce acting as secretary. According to Ponce, that city was chosen, “because of the relative facility of communications with the Philippines and its Revolutionary Government from which came all orders and instructions guiding the committee and shaping its conduct, and to which reports of the doings of the Central Committee and other organizations subsidiary to it shall be rendered.”

24. **Primo de Rivera’s Volunteers.**—Primo de Rivera, in a decree dated October 16, 1897, provided for the enlistment of Filipino volunteers in all the provinces of Luzon and Visayas, and in all the districts of Zamboanga, Surigao, and Cagayan de Misamis in Mindanao, such volunteers, when in active duty, to receive the same compensation as the native troops. These volunteers, thus mobilized, would be armed, equipped, and maintained by the State and, moreover, would have the following privileges:

(a) Exemption from military service for a volunteer or for his eldest son and some of his children.

(b) Exemption in perpetuity for himself and for his children from personal service, or its monetary equivalent.

(c) Exemption or the right to be excused from local obligations such as being members of the town guard, watchers, etc., and from holding public office.

(d) A volunteer shall have the right to a free grant from the State of any unoccupied land, ownership of which he has solicited upon being relieved from
active duty or within a period of one year following his release, provided that the area of such land shall not exceed five hectares.

(e) In connection with the payment of the cedula tax, a volunteer, while on active duty, shall be considered as a soldier of the army.
CHAPTER III
THE PACT OF BIAK-NA-BATO

1. Peace Negotiations.—A number of Spaniards, such as Father Pio Pi, a Jesuit, and Mr. Rafael Comenge, acting with the consent of the Government, approached General Aguinaldo, making overtures for peace. These proposals failed in their entirety. Later, Pedro A. Paterno continued the negotiations, making frequent trips to Biak-na-Bato, from August to December, to confer with the leaders of the revolution. Paterno’s activities began to bear fruit, for on August 9, 1897, the first protocol, in which the revolutionists demanded three million pesos, before they would accept peace proposals, was discussed—it later became the basis for future peace negotiations—as well as the following reforms:

“I. Expulsion of the religious orders or, at least, regulations prohibiting them from living together in cloisters.

“II. Representation of the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes.

“III. Application of true justice in the Philippines, the same for the native as for the Spaniard. The same laws in Spain and the Philippines. The natives to have a share in the higher offices of the civil administration.

“IV. Adjustment of property, of taxes and parishes, in favor of the native.

“V. Proclamation of the individual rights of the native, as well as his liberty to combine with others in associations, and the liberty of the press.”

2. The Pact of Biak-na-Bato.—Paterno’s efforts to bring about peace met with many difficulties, among which was the opposition of Mamerto Natividad, Com-
manding General of Central Luzon. General Natividad was brave and determined and was, according to General Alejandro, the most level-headed man of the revolution of 1896. On November 9, he died a hero in the battle of Kabiaw. With his death and thanks to the perseverance and ability of Paterno, General Primo de Rivera (representing the Government of the Philippine Islands) and Paterno (representing the revolutionists) signed a treaty of peace, now commonly known as the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. Emilio Aguinaldo avers that the bases of this pact are as follows:

"1st. I was to be at liberty to live abroad with such of my companions as wanted to accompany me, and I accordingly chose Hongkong as a place of residence, where the 800,000 pesos of indemnity were to be paid in three installments: 400,000 upon receipt of all the arms in Biak-na-Bato; 200,000 when the arms surrendered amounted to 800, and the final 200,000 when their total number amounted to 1,000, and after the Te Deum had been sung in the Cathedral of Manila as a service of thanksgiving.

"The middle of February was set as the extreme limit of time for the delivery of arms.

"2nd. The money was all to be turned over to me in person. I was to be at liberty to come to such understanding as I chose with my companions and other revolutionaries.

"3rd. Before the Filipino revolutionaries evacuated Biak-na-Bato, the Captain-General, Sr. Primo de Rivera, was to send me two generals of the Spanish army, who were to remain as hostages until my companions and I reached Hongkong and the first payment of the indemnity, 400,000 pesos, had been received.

(1) Paterno, years later, said that Mamerto Natividad dead was of greater aid to the cause of peace than Mamerto Natividad living. Natividad's burial was very imposing, and his death was deeply mourned.
The Pact of Biak-na-Bato

"It was also agreed to suppress the religious corporations in the Islands, and establish autonomy in administrative and political affairs, but at the petition of General Primo de Rivera these conditions were not reduced to writing, as he said that they would be most humiliating to the Spanish Government, but notwithstanding, he pledged his honor as an officer and a gentleman to their performance."

In addition to these funds, the Spanish Government agreed, in accordance with Clause 2 of the pact of December 15, to pay 900,000 pesos in installments of 300,000 pesos each, to the families of those who, not having taken active part in the revolution, had suffered losses in the war. The total, therefore, of the amounts promised was 1,700,000 pesos.

3. Ratification of the Pact.—On December 16, 1897, Aguinaldo promulgated the following decree, declaring the pact ratified:

"In order to obviate errors in the statistics and in the estimates made of deserters, arms, ammunitions, artillery, and other war materials, and to show thereby the loyalty and good faith which guide us and our sincere desire to help the Spanish Government in the pacification of the Philippine Islands, I hereby order, with the consent of the Supreme Council of the Revolutionary Government, convened this date in a special meeting, that:

"Art. I.—I approve to the full the proposal presented by the Mediator, His Excellency Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno.

"Art. II.—I decree as beyond the jurisdiction of the Government instituted by the revolution and with no right to call themselves rebels or revolutionists nor to participate in the benefits of the pact with the Spanish Government, those who would disobey my order to lay down their arms or who would negative the effects of the policy of pacification, and
"Art. III.—If those who should disobey or challenge my orders in behalf of peace, hold any rank, post, or office in the Revolutionary Government, they are hereby dismissed and declared not under our authority, and henceforth shall be considered as outlaws and bandits.

"Biak-na-Bato, December 16, 1897.

"President: Emilio Aguinaldo.—Secretary of the Interior: Isabelo Artacho.—Secretary of War: Vito Belarmino."

4. Pedro A. Paterno.—Pedro A. Paterno belonged to one of the most distinguished and well-to-do families in Manila. His father, the beloved Don Maximo, figured among that group of elder patriots who were identified with the movements for reforms during the Spanish régime. Pedro A. Paterno was born in 1857. He studied in the school conducted by the Jesuit friars, which later became the Ateneo Municipal de Manila, where he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1871. He was one of the first Filipinos to go to Europe for graduate study. He studied philosophy, theology, canon law, and law at the famous University of Salamanca. In 1880, he obtained from that university the degrees of doctor of laws and of canon of laws. His sojourn in the old Spanish metropolis left unforgettable memories. He mingled with the foremost Spanish literary men and political leaders of the epoch, whom he often had as guests in his house to discuss with them the Philippines, their history, their civilization, and the reforms they needed. He worked for the holding in the Philippines of an exposition which would show the progress of the country, an exposition which was held in 1885. He traveled extensively in Europe, Asia, America, and the
The Pact of Biak-na-Bato

Oceanic Isles. He was later named director of the Philippine Library and Museum. He wrote many books on different topics. In the opinion of Retana, he was one of the first to give Filipino nationalism its consciousness of cultural worth by his researches and his propaganda of the old Filipino civilization. He was the author of the first novel typically Filipino, entitled "Ninay." He was of immense moral and material help to Filipino arts and artists, an aid absolutely necessary in those days of the Spanish régime as an act of just recognition of talent among the Filipinos.

5. The Departure from Biak-na-Bato.—As one of the provisions of the pact provided that General Aguinaldo and his foremost generals should go into exile, the Filipino leader, with forty of his lieutenants, left Biak-na-Bato on December 24, passing Christmas Day in Baliuag. The following day they started for Calumpit, and from there they boarded the train for Daguapan. At the railway station, they were joined by Lieutenant Colonel Miguel Primo de Rivera, Quartermaster Antonio Pessi, and Captain Celestino Espinosa, all of the Spanish army, to be held by Aguinaldo as hostages until his arrival in Hongkong in order to insure compliance with the terms of the pact. At eight in the morning of the 27th, the party headed toward Lingayen where they arrived at nine. After partaking of the breakfast offered by the Spanish governor, they took the road to Sual, reaching this destination at eleven in the morning. From Sual the "S. S. Uranus" was to take them to Hongkong.
6. The People Acclaim the Revolutionists.—All along the route from Biak-na-Bato to Sual, the revolutionists were acclaimed and cheered by the people. Artistic triumphal arches were erected at Calumpit, but before the arrival of the party these were destroyed by order of the governor of Bulacan.

Before boarding the vessel at Sual, the revolutionists sent to General Primo de Rivera the following dispatch, published with many omissions by the press in Manila:

"Lingayen, December 27.—The Filipino revolutionists, upon their departure from their native land, bid adieu, not without being deeply moved and with tears in their eyes, leaving in the hands of Your Excellency the care of their homes, the protection of the land reddened by their blood, the defense of the country where they first saw the light of day, confident that Spain will grant the reforms longed for, without warfare, by lawful means, so that the Philippines may achieve its human ideals.

"Involved in the greatest social upheaval ever seen in the fields of Luzon, there was organized and instituted a government, with freedom for its objective, under one leadership, chosen and obeyed by all as the supreme authority. This leadership, submitting to the attraction of the paternal policy of Your Excellency, leaves in your hands the task of harmonizing the prerogative and rights, to attain which many of their brother patriots and martyrs breathed their last, with the peace which we now loyally offer to Spain. God bless and make permanent that peace for the sake of a glorious future for the beloved home, the Philippines, and for the prosperity and greatness of Spain."—(Signatures follow.)

In Biak-na-Bato, Generals Monet and Fernandez Tejeiro, of the Spanish Army, with their respective aids Colonel Torrontegui and Captain La Torre, remained as hostages at the disposal and under the
The Pact of Biak-na-Bato

vigilance of the revolutionary leaders Artemio Ricarte, Salvador Natividad, Pantaleon Garcia, Baldomero Aguinaldo, Melecio Carlos, Isabelo Artacho, Severino de las Alas and others.

The exiles arrived in Hongkong on the night of December 29, and landed on the following day, the 30th, the first anniversary of the execution of the greatest of our heroes, Dr. Jose Rizal. (1)

7. Peace Celebrations.—In Manila the advent of peace was celebrated with a Te Deum sung at the Cathedral and with other religious and social events, by order of the Government. The Spanish press devoted full pages to the accounts of these events. General Primo de Rivera was congratulated by the queen, the Minister of War and other high ranking officials of the metropolis. Rafael Comenge, a leading Spanish writer and politician, described the supreme satisfaction of the Spanish community in the following article published in the newspapers of those days:

“Aguinaldo calls those who would not surrender themselves and their arms tulisanes and scoundrels without decorum; Vito Belarmino dares not take any medicine unless he is assured by Lieutenant Colonel

(1) The members of the expedition were: Emilio Aguinaldo, Mariano Llanera, Antonio Montenegro, Vito Belarmino, Escolastico Viola, Lino Viola, Valentin Diaz, Anastacio Francisco, Benito Natividad, Joaquin Natividad, Gregorio H. del Pilar, Manuel Tinio, Salvador Estrella, Maximo Kabigting, Wenceslao Viniegra, Doroteo Lopez, Vicente Lukban, Primitivo Artacho, Tomas Mascardo, Joaquin Alejandrino, Pedro Aguinaldo, Agapito Bonzon, Carlos Ronquillo, Teodoro Legazpi, Leon Novenario, Alejandro Samaniego, Anastacio Vida, Natalio Legazpi, Agustin de la Rosa, Miguel Valenzuela, Antonio Carlos, Celestino Aragon, Jose Aragon, Pedro Francisco, Lazaro Makapagal, Silvestre Legazpi, Vitaliano Famular, Vicente Kayton, Tomas Aguinaldo, Francisco Frani, and Eugenio de la Cruz. Miguel Malvar and other leaders later joined them in Hongkong.
Primo de Rivera that it is good and healthful; Ricarte follows to Cavite General Tejeiro whose careful scrutiny reveals to him arms behind walls or in the center of the earth; Rizal is the guide of Monet as the son of Natividad is that of Jaudenes; Makabulos, an old bandit and a new warrior, dreams of peace; Malvar, who doubts whether he would have among his progeny a Viriato or a Diego Corrientes, yields to the prophetic and forgiving words of the Governor General; and all of them, philosophers as well as warriors, surrender unconditionally in order to help and to fight, paying with these spontaneous promises for the pardon extended to them.

"The work is complete; peace is a reality from Cape Bojeador to the Strait of San Bernardinó; in the mountains and in the wilderness only the Negritos and the Igorots remain; the Church may now send heavenward the incense and the perfume of its prayers, for the mercy of God has again descended on the men of good will; let the army and the citizenry cheer and let the floating fortresses on our war vessels answer from over the deep; let the people express their joy in music and in flowers; let the rockets flower in the air; but let us not forget, in the midst of the popular jubilee, that the discord between brothers has come to an end, that those who yesterday would fire upon us from behind the trenches has a claim upon our affection and our forgiveness.

"Let all be inspired by the conduct of the chief; and, inasmuch as Spain has forgiven, let there be no deserter in this army of nobility.
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"Let not our glances wound nor our words offend; that in this joust of generosity there be neither stain nor behavior which would drive the rebel to seek the silent protection of the forest.

"Inasmuch as we are here in the name of God, let us not forget this.

"To do otherwise would be to rebel against General Primo de Rivera, the only man who during the century that is soon to pass has exalted the mother country."

8. General Amnesty.—On January 25, 1898, Governor General Primo de Rivera signed an order "granting full exemption from punishment to those who participated in the late rebellion, who had joined the armed revolt against the legitimate authorities, sustained it and propagated it in any other way," "to those who had cooperated in whatever manner or form in the seditious movements for secession just ended," and to those prisoners who were found guilty of crimes arising from the former. However, the ministers, representatives of the people, generals, leaders, governors, mayors, judges, and those who in any other office had exercised public authority under the rebel government, were not permitted to reside in Spanish territory without first notifying the Governor General of the place they intended to live. The cases on charges of rebellion would be dropped. The order confiscating the property of the rebels or of the disloyal would be revoked, as also that of deportation for political reasons, the exiles being permitted to return to their
homes, subject only to their notifying the Governor General of the place of their residence.

On the same day, the Governor General ordered that the "outlaws who, under the names of tulasanes, bandits, or malefactors, and those who band together to commit robbery, arson, assassination, and assault women, should be tried by court martial and made to suffer the full penalty of the law, and any group composed of more than three men shall hereafter be considered a band of malefactors."

9. The Pact Not Complied With.—Once the revolutionary leaders were in Hongkong, Paterno gave to General Aguinaldo a check of the Spanish Government to the value of 400,000 pesos, payable in that city, with which to defray the expenses of the revolutionists for upkeep, travel, and education, according to the terms of the agreement. Two other checks, each for 200,000 pesos, should have been given to Paterno who, in turn, would give them to the Filipino leader; but this was never done. When the Te Deum was sung, General Primo de Rivera, at his own discretion, distributed in Manila some doles, and this is all that was done.

Moreover, the reforms demanded by the Filipinos and promised them by the Spanish Government were also not granted, the pact, in this respect, becoming a dead letter. When some of the exiled leaders attempted to return to the Philippines, they were thrown into dungeons as soon as they landed in Manila. Lieutenant Colonel Primo de Rivera wrote
to Aguinaldo that the Governor General would not permit the return to the Islands of any revolutionist.

Mabini, whose judgment of the incidents and men of the revolution was always severe, said that the pact was vicious from the outset, for both parties acted in bad faith. The Spanish Government believed that, with the departure of the revolutionists for Hongkong, the revolution would end and, therefore, did not bother about paying the other installments. The revolutionists, on the other hand, agreed to the pact in order that, with the money they would receive from the Spanish Government, they could buy arms and ammunition with which to continue the war in the near future. There was, therefore, no peace, but only a brief truce, and the revolution continued.

10. The Filipino Community in Madrid.—After hearing of the treaty of peace, the Filipino colony in Madrid issued a Manifesto-Program on February 10, 1898, intending to renew the peaceful campaign for reforms, which the revolutionists regarded as having failed. The manifesto embodied an eloquent résumé of the legislative and administrative reforms for which the Filipinos had been clamoring from time immemorial. It was urged that the Spanish Constitution in force be applied to the Philippines or, at least, should this be considered inopportune, some of the pertinent provisions of that Constitution. Again, it was argued that representation in the parliament be restored. It was petitioned that the provincial boards, under the Maura régime, be replaced by provincial assemblies patterned after those existing in Spain; that the sys-
tem of municipal government in all towns where the number paying cedula tax reached two hundred, be generalized; that the right of the so-called reverend parish priest be abolished, as also the barangayes, as being absurd institutions; that ecclesiastical reforms be carried out; that the Penal Code, without any changes, be enforced in the Philippines; that flogging and the use of torturing stocks be prohibited; that the Civil Code, with reference to its provisions on marriages, be extended to the Islands; and that a Filipino army be organized for the defense and conservation of public order in the archipelago. The manifesto contained other demands concerning education, public charity, the filling of public offices by Filipinos, etc.

11. The Discontentment Continues.—General Primo de Rivera on December 12, 1897, reported to his Government the state of the negotiations for peace, in this manner:

"Upon the expiration of the time, as provided in the Gazette of November 28 for taking vigorous measures to start military activities, the Aguinaldo brothers, Llana, and the authorities of the so-called Republic, with their arms and followers, came to me in the name of the enemy, to discuss the terms of surrender, asking, only that their lives be spared and that they be given the wherewithal to emigrate. This surrender to me and to the generals of the army is due to the series of engagements which insured our control of the positions captured in Morong, Puray, Minuyan, and Arayat, in addition to the enthusiasm of the non-Tagalog provinces represented by their brave volunteers. I am in possession of information that I can take Biak-na-Bato and whatever other strongholds they occupy, but I cannot give the assurance that I can capture the leaders of the rebel government and their troops, a fact which, as is evident,
will convert the conflict into guerrilla warfare, and will drive the enemy into the forests and mountains from which they will sally forth from time to time and, though without importance, thus continue the rebellion. My generals and I believe that this peace will not reflect on the honor of Spain and of the army, but I deem it proper, because of the importance of the step, to ask for the approval of the Government. Should the Government give its consent, I shall at once proceed to carry out orders; however so great is my distrust that I would do nothing definite until I have men and arms in my power. Whatever befalls, it is the consensus of opinion that the situation is well in hand."

Early in January of the following year, the daily periodicals in Madrid published news items about a meeting of the women of the aristocracy held at the mansion of a certain wealthy family and presided over by Mr. Pidal, well known for his clerical leanings. It was said that the purpose of the meeting was to ask the queen to abrogate Article II of the Constitution relative to religious toleration, to have the temporal power of the Pope restored, and to suspend indefinitely all liberal reforms for the Philippines.

These reports made the people suspicious. The Filipinos believed that the report of General Primo de Rivera garbled the facts and unnecessarily wounded the dignity of the revolutionists. It was whispered about that in Spain means for wreaking vengeance on the Filipinos were being taken or, at least, that an extremely reactionary policy would be inaugurated. The pact proved to be a pact by halves; the people did not have full knowledge of the reforms stipulated; there was no guaranty that such reforms would be carried out; the conduct of the authorities continued
as before; a number of the leaders of the revolution were active as ever in the field. The situation, therefore, was unchanged.

12. New Revolutionary Irruptions. Jocson, the Agitator.—It was not strange, therefore, that in February, 1898, the revolutionists attempted (though without success) to cripple the railway to Dagupan in order to prevent the sending of Spanish reinforcements to Pampanga. Nor was it strange, that in Zambales, under the command of Francisco Makabulos and Isidoro Torres, and in Candon, Ilocos Sur, under the command of Isabelo Abaya, the revolutionists again became active. More than one serious conspiracy was unearthed in Manila itself, each the outgrowth of an audacious plot by the renowned Jocson; several skirmishes took place in Camba Street.

This Jocson was one of those opposed to the Pact of Biak-na-Bato and, instead of exiling himself with the Aguinaldo party to Hongkong, he withdrew to the barrio of Pugad-Baboy, Caloocan, from whence he tirelessly preached the tenets of the Revolution to the people; and, by means of letters and circulars, he was able to convince other insurgent leaders not to surrender.

The influence of Jocson was most effective in some of the towns and provinces around Manila. Early in March, the parish priest, a friar, of Barasoain was assassinated in open daylight. The province of Bulacan once more revolted. A number of towns in Pampanga, Laguna, Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, and Camarines Norte were attacked, more or less success-
fully, by the revolutionary forces. The revolutionary leaders of Central Luzon, under the direction of General Makabulos, organized municipal councils in many towns and, later, calling an assembly into session, instituted a Central Government officered by a president a vice-president, a secretary of the interior, a secretary of war, and a secretary of the treasury, with the end in view of raising an army and continuing the struggle for independence.

13. Cebu Joins the Revolution.—Early in February of the same year (1898), Francisco Llamas, formerly a municipal treasurer of the town of San Nicolas, Cebu, was instrumental in initiating the revolution in Cebu, which found enthusiastic acceptance “in the mountains and in the valleys.” A revolutionary committee was at once appointed, composed of Llamas, Candido Padilla, Catalino Fernandez, and Luis Flores. On April 3 the conspirators, numbering several thousands, foregathered at the barrio of Labangon, San Nicolas, “with no arms but machetes, pointed poles, and perhaps five rifles and shotguns.” The Guardia Civil, thinking that the gathering was one of gamblers, secretly engaged in a cockpit game, attempted to disperse the crowd, but had to retreat at once to the city with the news that armed men were pitching their camp around the cemetery. A detachment, composed of members of the Guardia Civil riflemen, and volunteers, was hastily organized and took the road to Colon, but were met by a group of revolutionists, and a fight occurred which marked the beginning of the revolution in Cebu. The insurgents were
in possession of the nearby farms and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, the Spanish troops being compelled to retreat after losing a number of men. Leon Kilat, a man hardly known, led the revolutionary forces.

With the defeat of the Spaniards, the revolutionists took possession of the city until the arrival of reinforcements for the Spanish troops, who, protected by a gunboat in the bay, drove the revolutionists from the capital and from the neighboring towns; but this state of things lasted only a few months, during which it might be said that Spain exercised dominion “only over the ground covered by the feet of the soldiers.” Soon, the revolution became general throughout the island.

14. The Conspiracy in Panay.—At that time (March, 1898), the revolution gained headway in Panay, with Molo as the base of operations. The first meetings were held in the home of Prof. Francisco Villanueva, and was attended by Ramon Avanceña, Jose Tionko, Fernando Salas, Angel Corteza, Melecio Severino (appointed delegate for the province of Negros Occidental), and Francisco Villanueva, who founded the “Conspirators’ Committee” in Molo. This committee met regularly to prepare plans for the uprising, now in the home of Francisco Villanueva, now in that of Fernando Salas, or of Angel Corteza, until Raymundo Melliza, Pablo Araneta, Francisco Soriano, Felipe Gonzalez, Roque Lopez, and others were invited to join and form part of it. When the number of the members of the “Conspirators’ Committee” was augmented, the meetings were held in the home of Fran-
cisco Soriano in Molo, or in that of Roque Lopez, or of Captain Simeon Ledesma where the decision to join the revolution was reached.

15. The Spanish-American War.—Primo de Rivera resigned his post. General Basilio Augustin, who arrived in Manila on April 9, succeeded him. On the 12th, that is, forty-eight hours after General Augustin was inducted into office, Primo de Rivera sailed for Spain, opportunely leaving the Islands.

General Augustin became the highest authority in the archipelago under very trying circumstances. On the one hand, there hung over the whole country the threatening clouds of a widespread revolution; and, on the other, open hostilities between Spain and the United States, on account of the Cuban question, impended. Augustin deemed it wise, under the circumstances, to win the Filipinos over to the side of Spain; but, notwithstanding his efforts to accomplish this as quickly as possible, events negatived all his plans. On April 19 the Congress of the United States passed a joint resolution declaring that the Island of Cuba had a right to be free and independent, that the Spanish Government must immediately renounce its authority and domination in Cuba; and conferring upon the President the power to use the army and navy of the United States and call into active service the militias of the various states of the Union. In a few days, war was formally declared between the two nations. The first sparks of the conflagration took place in the very Island of Cuba. It was learned by Admiral Sampson, of the American navy, while he was blockad-
ing the port of Havana, that the Spanish Government was undertaking the construction of new batteries in the Bay of Matanzas. Thither Admiral Sampson proceeded to bombard the plaza. The American fleet fired three hundred cannon shots after which it withdrew, believing it had accomplished its mission. However, the Spanish Captain General of Cuba reported to his Government that the shots only caused the death of one mule. In this rather droll manner hostilities began.

16. Appeal to the Filipino People.—The civil as well as the religious authorities of the Spanish Government then appealed to the Filipino people for loyalty to the cause of Spain. Governor General Augustin, under date of April 23, issued a manifesto in which the following paragraphs were contained:

“A fleet manned by a foreign and uncultured, undisciplined crew has dared to come to these shores for the insane purpose of depriving you of all that means life, honor, and liberty to you. These North American seamen pretend to be inspired with a courage of which they are incapable, considering it quite proper to substitute the Protestant faith for the Catholic religion which you profess, to treat you as so many tribes apart from the current of civilization, to grab your riches as if you were ignorant of your right to property, to rob you, finally, of those of your men whom they consider useful for the needs of their ships or for the pursuit of their agricultural and industrial enterprises.

“Vain purposes! Ridiculous boasts!

“Your indomitable courage is sufficient to prevent even their attempt to realize such intentions. You will not, you cannot consent, to any assault on your religious faith, nor allow the conquerors’ impious feet to tread upon the true temple of God, or that their incredulity wreck the holy images that you adore; the
aggressors shall not profane the tombs of your fathers; they shall not satisfy their shameless lusts at the cost of the honor of your wives and daughters; they shall not deprive you of your resources accumulated through honest labor for the security of your existence; they shall never realize any of those crimes cherished by their iniquity and their greed, because your valor and your patriotism are enough to chastise a power that, in the guise of civilization and culture, is employing the art of extermination upon the natives of North America without attempting to lead them into the paths of civilization and progress.

“Filipinos, prepare yourselves for the fight and, united under the glorious folds of the Spanish flag, let us fight in the conviction that victory will crown our labors and let us answer the enemy’s intimidations with this cry of the Christian and the patriot: ‘Long live Spain!’”

A few days later, on or about the 26th day of the same month, Archbishop Nozaleda published on his part an appeal, containing the following paragraphs, to the sentiments of the Catholic Filipino people:

“A heterodox people, possessed of black rancors and of all abject passions engendered by heresy, are trying to attack us: they hate that in us which we most esteem, namely, our religion, the religion of our fathers, handed down to us like a precious heirloom, and which we are bound to maintain inviolate, even at the cost of our blood. If, by the sin of our acts, God permits the enemy to carry out his intentions, desolation and ruin will fall upon our people; our temples will be trampled upon, the altars of the true God profaned, our religion crushed by the avalanche of sects which the flag of the heretic will introduce into these Islands, and the peace of the homes and all the welfare of the inhabitants of this country, united and ennobled by the practices and teachings of the Christian faith, will be extinguished completely by the impulses of the implacable hatred which our enemies harbor against any religion and race other than theirs.
Therefore, we have the sweet consolation to believe that you will all respond to the call to repel our common enemy. Those of you who are able-bodied should subscribe to this holy war in the conviction that you are serving God. You would be turning your back on your duties as a Christian people and on the glorious examples of your forefathers if in the present circumstances you were to remain deaf to the voice of religion. From out their tombs, in the shadow of the Holy Cross, will come the voice of your forefathers recriminating you for your lack of interest in the perpetuation of the good name of Catholicism in this country. But no; in spite of the misconduct of a few who are more of a seduced than a bad lot of men, we are sure that the Catholic Filipino people will know how to comply with their present duty. Should anybody, forsaking his faith, try to join the forces of heresy, favoring the enemy in any way, the great mass of the Filipino people will know what penalty to mete out in consequence of his rash audacity."

17. The Battle of Manila Bay.—The first serious and decisive encounter between the two belligerents took place in Manila Bay on the 1st day of May. The American Pacific squadron under Admiral George W. Dewey stationed in Hongkong received orders on the 25th of April to look immediately for the Spanish fleet under Admiral Montojo "to capture or destroy it." On the same day the British authorities in Hongkong notified Commodore Dewey that, owing to the fact that Great Britain was neutral with regard to the conflict, the American squadron must leave the British port in twenty-four hours in accordance with international agreement. The American ships were the flagship Olympia, 5,900 tons; the cruisers Baltimore, 4,400 tons; Raleigh, 3,200 tons; Boston, 3,000 tons; and others. The Spanish fleet was made up of four armed
cruisers, one of which was the flagship Reina Cristina, 3,500 tons, the Castilla, the Velayo, and others. The American fleet expected to find the Spanish squadron in the Bay of Subic; but, failing to do so, headed for Manila Bay, entering its waters the night of the 30th. It was rather a perilous adventure, considering the fact that the lighthouses were out of commission, and all lights had been extinguished at the opening of hostilities. The Spaniards in Cavite noticed the American fleet when half of it had already entered the bay. There was an exchange of shots with no results. At dawn of the same day the two fleets lined up for battle and a few minutes before six the bombardment was in full swing. Admiral Montojo, who was on the Reina Cristina, directed his batteries against the Olympia, but was at the outset the target of a concentrated attack which cut off all chance to advance. In a few minutes the Spanish flagship was in flames. Admiral Montojo quickly took a boat and, carrying the Spanish flag, boarded the Isla de Cuba, from where he continued to command his forces. This act of true personal courage was admired by the very enemy. The battle was suspended a little before eight o'clock, to give the crew of both fleets a short rest, and was again resumed at eleven o'clock. Shortly before noon the Spanish ships were either sunk, afire, or in flight. The white flag was hoisted on the arsenal and port of Cavite. Thus ended the naval battle of Manila which, owing to the superior forces of the American fleet, proved fatal to the Spaniards.

18. Moments of Vacillation. The Manifesto of Mabini.—After war had been declared between Spain
and the United States, the Filipino revolutionists remaining in the country were at a loss what to do. A few were openly in favor of Spain, declaring their loyalty to the Government. Apolinario Mabini issued a proclamation urging the mobilization of the revolutionary forces in every town and suggesting that no aid be extended to either combatant, so that all would be ready for any contingency, the principal object being the defense of the independence of the country. "The leaders of the province and of the towns," said Mabini, "shall adopt whatever measures they deem necessary for the preservation of local order, and for a complete understanding with the leaders from other localities, to the end that the strategic positions be occupied and the outlying posts guarded to prevent unexpected attacks. When the provincial delegations shall have named the president of our government, he shall at once appoint delegates to deal with the American Government, or with the other powers, with respect to such questions as may be of interest to the Philippines. No leader shall surrender arms to, or establish any relation with, the Americans until after our Government shall have been constituted."

The manifesto, among other things, said:

"With war declared between Spain and the United States of North America, it is very probable that within a few days the American squadron will reach these shores and, by force, take possession, as an act of offensive attack against Spain, of one or various points along the coast, which it considers necessary for the execution of plans or instructions from its Government.

"Although the real cause of the war is and can be nothing but the inability of Spain to put down the re-
billion in Cuba where the Americans possess valuable interests to protect, if the course of the war should prove unfavorable to Spain (which is to be expected, in view of the relative strength of both nations) and, for that reason, the Spanish Government will be compelled to ask for peace, it is very probable that the Government of the United States would impose as a condition the independency of Cuba, and as an indemnity, a part of Spain or of this beautiful Archipelago.

"Should this come to pass, our situation would be most tragic, for, urged by duty and by our honor and welfare to guard the independence of our country, we should never consent to the dismemberment of this part and parcel of our very being.

"But, as we have not the material means or strength formally to offer resistance to either combatant, we must have recourse to ingenuity, stilling the fervors of the heart and submitting our acts to the coldest rationale and cerebration.

"It will be said that to attack the Spaniards and to weaken them would be to insure the victory of the Americans; but, as we do not know what the latter want to do, if they ever have the ambition to occupy the Islands, we shall have helped them unwittingly, in fact, had frankly opened the door of our house to them that they may rule therein.

"Let us all be sensible: the Americans, like the Spaniards as well as all European nations, covet this very beautiful pearl of the oriental sea; but we covet it more, not only because God has given it to us, but also because we have shed much blood for it.

"But when these giants of ambition and power realize that here lives a people organized and strong, that knows how to defend the cause of justice and of honor, they will be obliged to control their greed and come to an agreement, that they may reap the greatest measure of reward.

"On our part, we must be careful not to be deceived and to give notice that we can live independently, so that they may help us with but little sacrifice."
19. Propositions of the United States.—As one of the aims of the revolutionary leaders in Hongkong was to make trips of investigation and propaganda in foreign countries, General Aguinaldo, with General Gregorio H. del Pilar and Colonel Jose M. Leyva, left Hongkong for Europe on April 7. In Singapore, they heard of the war between Spain and the United States, and decided to discontinue their trip and await developments.

The American consul in Singapore, Mr. Spencer Pratt, upon learning that Aguinaldo was in that city, lost no time in asking for an interview; and, as a matter of fact, he had several interviews with the General, in which the former asked the Filipinos to support the United States in the war with Spain. Under what conditions Aguinaldo promised to cooperate with the United States, is still a mooted question. Aguinaldo’s version is as follows:

"... Consul Pratt told me that as the Spaniards had not fulfilled the promise made in the Biak-na-Bató Agreement the Filipinos had the right to continue the revolution which had been checked by the Biak-na-Bató arrangement, and after urging me to resume hostilities against the Spaniards he assured me that the United States would grant much greater liberty and more material benefits to the Filipinos than the Spaniards ever promised.

"I then asked the consul what benefits the United States would confer on the Philippines, pointing out at the same time the advisability of making an agreement and setting out all the terms and conditions in black and white. In reply, the consul said he would telegraph about this matter to Admiral Dewey, who was, he said, Commander-in-Chief of the squadron which would invade
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the Philippines, and who had, he also stated, full powers conferred on him by President McKinley.

"Between 10 and 12 in the forenoon of the next day the conference was renewed and Mr. Pratt then informed me that the Admiral had sent him a telegram in reply to the wish I had expressed for an agreement in writing. He said the Admiral's reply was—that the United States would, at least, recognize the independence of the Philippines under the protection of the United States Navy. The consul added that there was no necessity for entering into a formal written agreement because the word of the Admiral and of the United States Consul were in fact equivalent to the most solemn pledge, that their verbal promises and assurance would be fulfilled to the letter and were not to be classed with Spanish promises or Spanish ideas of a man's word of honor. In conclusion the Consul said: 'The Government of North America is very honest, just, and powerful Government.'" (1)

(1) Isidoro de Santos, one of those present in the conference with Consul Pratt, in a letter published in 1899 said that, after consulting Commodore Dewey, the following bases of agreement with Aguinaldo were approved: 1st. The independence of the Philippines is to be proclaimed; 2nd. A central republican government is to be established the temporary members of which are to be appointed by Aguinaldo; 3rd. The Government to recognize a temporal intervention of American and European commissioners whom Admiral Dewey may designate; 4th. To recognize the American protectorate under terms and conditions similar to those fixed for Cuba; 5th. The Philippines to be open to the commerce of all nations; 6th. To take precautionary measures against Chinese immigration with a view to regulating competition with native labor; 7th. To reform the present judicial system, entrusting the administration of justice in the beginning to competent Europeans; 8th. Complete freedom of the press and association; 9th. Religious toleration; 10th. Adoption of measures for the exploitation of the natural resources of the country; 11th. To facilitate the development of the country's natural riches through the development of roads and railways; 12th. Suppression of existing obstacles to productive enterprises, and admission of foreign capital; 13th. The new government to preserve public order, and to suppress or repel any aggression.

H. W. Bray, an Englishman who had resided in the Philippines, and who had arranged the interviews between Aguinaldo and Consul Pratt, acting in these interviews as interpreter, cabled the following to Senator Hoar:

Hongkong, 12 Jan. 1899.—2 p. m.

Senator Hoar, Washington.

As the man who introduced General Aguinaldo to the American Government through the Consul at Singapore, I frankly state that the conditions
Once more in Hongkong, Aguinaldo had an interview with Consul General of the United States in that city, Mr. Wildman, who represented Commodore Dewey who was already on his way to Manila under orders from his Government to capture or destroy the Spanish squadron. In these conferences, Consul Wildman urged that Aguinaldo should return to the Philippines to help the Americans put down Spanish tyranny.

20. Aguinaldo Confers with the Hongkong Committee.—On May 4, 1898, the Filipino Committee of Hongkong met, at the instance of Aguinaldo, in order to discuss the American proposal. The preliminary meeting was presided over by Felipe Agoncillo; later, Aguinaldo acted as chairman. The debate was over the question of Aguinaldo’s proposed return to the Islands to renew the revolution against Spain. Sandiko, with whom Garchitorena and Apacible were in accord, opined that Aguinaldo’s presence was necessary for the formation of that government, “because his (Aguinaldo’s) prestige recognized by all will prevent open dissensions among the sons of the country, and thus a perfect organization for either the political or military progress of the Philippines will be established.” Aguinaldo vacillated, and said that he preferred to have first “a written contract with the

under which Aguinaldo promised to cooperate with Dewey were Independence under a protectorate. I am prepared to swear to this. The military party suborned correspondents are deceiving the American nation by means of malevolent lying statements. If your powerful influence does not change this insensate policy there will be a hopeless conflict with the inevitable results disastrous for the Americans.

BRAY.
Admiral of the American fleet," for it might happen "that, there being no previous contract, the Admiral would not supply him with the necessary arms." Sandiko, Garchitorena, Gonzaga, and Apacible replied that they were fully convinced that the Admiral of the American squadron would supply all the arms the President (Aguinaldo) might require, inasmuch as the former realized he could not do anything in the Philippines if he did not cooperate with the insurgents. Furthermore, in case Aguinaldo should be asked to sign any document containing conditions prejudicial to the Philippines, he could allege that it was the Hongkong Committee which was empowered to take up political matters and that the Admiral must, therefore, deal with it; and that the Filipino people, "unprovided with arms, would fall victim to the exactions and impositions of the United States, but, provided with them, could oppose that nation and fight for independence, which is the true happiness of the Philippines."

Agoncillo spoke and, after giving a résumé of the arguments presented, said that it was imperative that Aguinaldo return to the Islands; that his prestige would inspire the masses to nullify any ambition of the United States to convert the country into a colony; he could obviate divisions among the Filipinos themselves because of crossing ambitions for power; and that his return to the Philippines could never be the object of censure, but, on the other hand, would be considered an act of unquestioned patriotism.

When the proposition that Aguinaldo, with such leaders of the revolution as he might designate, should
return to the Philippines was submitted to a vote, it was unanimously approved.

As a consequence, Aguinaldo, Gregorio del Pilar, and Leyva boarded the American gunboat "MacCulloch" for Cavite, which point they reached on May 19.
discontentment was widespread. Thus the commis-
sion on pacification as well as the Philippine militia
and even the Consultative Assembly (at least, a major-
ity of their members) joined the ranks of the revolu-
tionists.

3. Proclamation of War.—Upon his return from
Hongkong, Aguinaldo was received in Cavite by Ad-
miral Dewey with the honors accorded a General, and
in their conferences discussion centered, according to
Aguinaldo, on the recognition of the independence of
the Philippines by the United States and on the urgent
necessity for the Filipinos to rise up in arms against
the Spaniards. The Admiral assured Aguinaldo that
the United States would recognize the independence
of the Filipino people, guaranteed by the pledged word
of the Americans more binding than written promises
which may remain unredeemed when it is advisable
to do so, as happened in the case of the Pact of Biak-
na-Bato.

Aguinaldo issued a proclamation urging the Filipin-
o people to renew the war against the Spaniards. (1)
He stated that he had agreed to the establishment
of peace with the Spanish Government under cer-
tain conditions, believing it far more beneficial to
the country than the continuation of hostilities; but,
as the Spanish Government failed to live up to those

(1) Before this proclamation was written, Aguinaldo had communicated
while in Hongkong with a number of revolutionary leaders in the Philippines
so that they might prepare to fight "our old enemy", for the time was oppor-
tune for the realization of the freedom of our country. Aguinaldo also an-
nounced them his early return. Alejandrino and Garchitorena had already
returned to Manila with Admiral Dewey.
conditions and groups of revolutionary forces in the fields had not put down their arms, and as, on the other hand, the great and powerful North American nation "has shown disinterested protection for achieving the liberty of this country," he had returned to the Philippines to assume command of all the revolutionary forces.

Aguinaldo set aside May 31, at twelve noon, for the inception of a general uprising. He pleaded that all, like brothers, should unite and "that there should be no treachery and that what happened in the past should not be repeated." He also expressed the desire that foreigners and their property should be respected and that the enemy should be honorably treated. He said that he had promised not only to the American Admiral but also to the representatives of the other nations with whom he conferred, "that the war here would be fought in accordance with the laws of civilized nations."

4. The Dictatorial Government.—When Aguinaldo left Hongkong, he brought with him the draft of a Constitution instituting a federal republic for the Philippines, with three departments—executive, legislative, and judicial; but attorney Rianzares Bautista, who was then his private technical adviser, convinced him that it was first necessary to establish a dictatorial government which should function, through the decrees issued on the sole responsibility of the dictator and upon the advice of leading men, until such time as the country should have been completely dominated, and a Republican Constituent Assembly would
be convened and a president, as well as the members of his cabinet, who would have control of the government of the Islands, appointed.

This decree was followed by another, in which it was ordered that the lives and property of foreigners should be respected, including the Chinese and also all Spaniards who were neither directly nor indirectly in arms against the Filipinos. Another decree was at once issued providing punishment for espionage. Still another decree, declaring a state of war and establishing a permanent Court Martial, whose decisions should be submitted to the Dictator upon the recommendation of the Judge Advocate General, was issued.

5. The New Upheaval Against Spain.—After the naval battle of Cavite, in which the Americans captured all the Spanish water forces, Colonel Luciano San Miguel, of the Philippine troops, commanding seven columns of seasoned soldiers of '96, occupied the towns of Caridad, San Roque, and Cavite Viejo of Cavite Province. Thanks to the services of these columns, there were no cases of outrages or of any kind of public disorder committed either by American soldiers or by other persons.

The Spaniards, with General Peña in command, retreated to San Francisco de Malabon, where the capital of the province was temporarily established; and, moreover, occupied Noveleta, Cavite, Bacoor, Naic, and Rosario. The infantry and the marines from the arsenal took possession of Binakayan and Parañaque.
In the meantime, the day designated by Aguinaldo was approaching. Excitement increased daily. General Peña asked Manila for reinforcements, but none arrived. Having been informed that the Filipino revolutionists were concentrating their forces in the vicinity of Imus, Camacho, a Spanish sergeant, with a platoon of "cazadores" and civil guards, sallied forth on May 28 to engage the Filipinos; but, caught in an ambuscade, Sergeant Camacho and a number of his soldiers were killed, those of his command who were not killed being taken as prisoners by the Filipinos who were led by Hipolito Sakilayan. This was the first engagement against the Spanish troops since Aguinaldo's return.

Then followed, almost daily, a series of encounters in which the Filipinos were easily the victors. General Peña, the military governor of the zone, organized a detachment of 300 men, commanded by Major Pazos, and attempted to attack the forces of Sakilayan, with such disastrous results that the whole detachment, including Major Pazos, fell into the hands of the enemy on the afternoon of the same day. The day following, General Noriel attacked Bacoor, and in succession, del Rosario occupied Kawit, Luciano San Miguel intrenched himself in Noveleta, Caillé in Salinas, Jacinto Pulido in Tanza, and Ricarte and Trias in San Francisco de Malabon. Toward the end of the month the whole province was in the hands of the revolutionists, General Peña and all the soldiers stationed therein having fallen prisoners.

On the 29th, the Province of Bataan, equally watchful for the signal, rose up in arms, and, for this reason,
Aguinaldo named the province Bataang Maagap. Gregorio H. del Pilar in Bulacan, Paciano Rizal in Laguna, Francisco Makabulos in Tarlac, Maximino Hizon in Pampanga, Miguel Malvar in Batangas, Manuel Tinio, Pablo Tekson and others in the North, Vicente Lukban in the Bicol provinces, and other leaders in other regions, began the great task of renewing the revolution under the most favorable auspices.

6. The Filipino Flag.—Since the first engagements in Cavite, Aguinaldo had given orders that the new Filipino flag, which was designed in Hongkong, should be unfurled. The appearance of the flag was greeted with general acclaim, and the national ensign was carried from one victory to another by the revolutionists. It was soon seen floating over the headquarters at the magazine bordering the sea, so that “it should be seen and contemplated by all the battleships which, representing the most powerful and civilized nations of the world, were anchored in the bay.” Later it was seen to wave over the church tower at Bacoor in token of the victory over the Spanish troops; and, finally, it waved over the camps of the revolutionists, over public buildings, over streets and public squares, as in triumphal glory.

In a subsequent speech, Aguinaldo explained the symbolism of the Filipino flag. Each of the three colors has an appropriate meaning: The red represents Filipino bravery, second to none, and is the color used widely in Cavite; the navy blue signifies that the Filipinos would die, but would never submit to the invaders; the white embodies the idea that the Filipinos know how to govern themselves, like other nations,
who should read in this color a message that we are lovers of peace. The three five-pointed stars are indicative of the union of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, and the eight rays of the sun refer to the provinces of Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Morong, Laguna, Batangas, and Cavite, which were placed under martial law by the Spanish Government.

7. The Autonomous Plan of Paterno.—Pedro Alejandro Paterno issued a manifesto urging the Filipino people to form an alliance with Spain, “a nation,” he said, “with which we are united by nearly four hundred years of ties, of associations, of religion, of law, of morals, and of manners and customs.” The manifesto was ignored by the Filipinos and by the Spaniards; by the Filipinos because they were committed to the independence movement, and by the Spaniards because they were opposed to any impairment of their right of sovereignty.

Paterno published also a handbill in Tagalog, dealing with self-government, to be signed by Filipinos. He also distributed printed copies of his famous plan of autonomy under the sovereignty of Spain. According to this plan, Spain would retain all rights appertaining to protection and defense of the Con-

(1) Aguinaldo omitted other details which were explained in the Proclamation of Independence of June 12, namely: The white triangle represents the symbol of the Katipunan which means a blood compact, and the colors blue, red, and white were adopted in honor of the flag of the United States as a token of appreciation of the disinterested protection that nation had extended to the Filipinos.

(2) The revolutionists, through Felipe Buencamino, answered it with another manifesto, dated in Cavite, June 9, 1898, in which the political record of Paterno was ridiculed and especially his intervention in the Pact of Biak-na-Bato.
Elecano and Uranus, and sunk off the coast of Masbate. Fortunately, the crew was saved. In all these expeditions, the boats of the Filipino Government would salute before passing the Olympiad, the flagship of the American squadron, the salute being answered with equal courtesy.

9. The Proclamation of Independence. The Arrival of Mabini.—On June 12, the leaders of the revolution solemnly proclaimed in Kawit the independence of the Philippines from Spanish sovereignty, conferring on the Dictator ample powers to direct the Government, including the right to issue pardon and amnesty proclamation, and officially adopted the Filipino flag. “The undersigned,” so read the document, “solemnly swear allegiance to the flag and will defend it to the last drop of their blood.” The proclamation was prepared by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, all those present signing it, including an American citizen, Mr. L. M. Johnson, an artillery colonel. On that occasion the Filipino National March, which was composed by Julian Felipe, was played for the first time. On the same day, Mabini arrived in Kawit from Bay, Laguna, to serve as the personal adviser of Aguinaldo.

In passing, let something be said of the previous life of Mabini. As a result of the first revolutionary movement in 1896, Mabini, charged with complicity, was placed under arrest in the ward for convicts in San Juan de Dios Hospital. When he was set free, he kept in constant touch with the revolutionists and, especially, with Paciano Rizal, whom he met secretly several times. Inasmuch as he was deeply interested in the fate of the revolution, in view of the imminence
of war between Spain and the United States, he prepared during April of the same year a plan covering the organization of a general revolutionary movement in which he pointed out the line of conduct which the Filipinos should follow in case the American squadron should invade our coasts. (1)

Mabini had, moreover, written The True Decalogue and The Constitutional Program of the Philippine Republic, which were later published as documents of the Revolutionary Government. The True Decalogue purposed to teach to the people, in simple language, what should be the real basis of their moral and patriotic convictions, and the Constitutional Program indicated a plan for the political education and government of the country. (2)

Aguinaldo's attention having been attracted by some of the articles of Mabini, he sought the latter's services as his own personal adviser.

10. The American Troops Arrive.—Ever since May 3, two days after Dewey's victory, General Miles had been asking Washington for troops "to occupy the Philippine Islands." President McKinley, in his instructions to General Merritt, said that these troops were sent for two reasons: to complete the surrender of Spanish power in this territory, and to maintain order and peace in these Islands while they are in possession of the United States, the very same words he used in the case of Cuba.

Toward the end of June, the first regiment of volunteers from Oregon and California arrived, these

(1) See pages 87, 88 and 89.

(2) The political writings of Mabini will be included in another work of the author now in the course of preparation.
troops being assigned to quarters, with the consent of General Aguinaldo, in the arsenal of Cavite and in the Fort of San Felipe. With new troops arriving in a constant stream, the frictions and conflicts with the Americans assumed such proportions as to compel the General to transfer the seat of Government to Bacoor, General Riego de Dios remaining in command of the Cavite garrison.

General Merritt, who arrived on July 25, in a report to the President dated August 31, said:

“As my instructions from the President fully contemplated the occupation of the Islands by American land forces and stated that the powers of the military occupants are absolute and supreme and immediately operate upon the political condition of the inhabitants, I did not consider it wise to hold any direct communication with the insurgent leader until I should be in possession of the city of Manila.”

11. The Revolutionary Government.—In obedience to the counsels and intervention of Mabini, the private adviser of General Aguinaldo, the dictatorial government was abolished, and in its stead the revolutionary government was established. The dictator was called president, who should be advised by a Congress—the Revolutionary Congress—composed of representatives from the provinces, which should submit to the President the measures insuring the conservation of internal order and safety from foreign aggression, and which should be consulted in the discussion of grave and important problems, decisions upon which could not be postponed. “My constant desire,” said Aguinaldo in the decree, “is to have with me the leading men in each province, who, because of their
reputation, have the confidence of their fellow citizens in their respective provinces, to the end that, learning from such men the real needs of their respective localities, I shall be able to dictate such measures as may meet with the approval of all."

Four executive departments were created: one for foreign relations, navy, and commerce; one for war and public works; one for police and internal order, justice, public instruction, and hygiene; and another for finance, agriculture, and industry. Municipal and provincial governments were instituted, and regulations were framed for the conduct of public business. In short, the bases of a new administration were adopted to be applied by the authorities of the central or of the local government, as circumstances should direct.

On June 30, Aguinaldo issued a manifesto addressed to the Spaniards, saying that he was not prompted by blind sentiment of rancor or vengeance, inasmuch as the Filipinos, despite the fact that they had been victimized and humiliated by Spain, have reasons also for feeling grateful to her; and, because of this, he had decided not only to respect the persons and the wealth and treasures of those Spaniards who would surrender, but also to provide them with traveling facilities to Spain, and to grant free transportation to military men without any exception and to civil service employees and private citizens who were in dire straits. On July 15, with his headquarters already in Bacoor, President Aguinaldo appointed the following to be members of his cabinet:
A few days later, Cayetano Arellano was appointed Secretary of Foreign Relations and Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, Director of Diplomacy.

12. Local Governments.—The local governments implanted by the revolution, which continued to function until superseded by the American system, was most simple as well as eminently democratic. The citizens of each town who were in favor of the independence of the Philippines and who were at least 21 years of age, held a mass meeting to elect by majority vote the chief of the town, a head for each barrio, and three delegates: one for police and public order, another for justice and civil registration, and another for public revenue and property. The town president, the heads of the barrios, and the three delegates formed the popular council; the head of the población, considered as a barrio, acting as vice-president; and the delegate for justice and civil registry as secretary.

The presidents of the town, forming an assembly, elected by majority vote the governor of the province and three advisers for police and public order, justice and civil registration, and public revenue and property. These officials formed the provincial board, the president of the capital of the province acting as vice-governor.

The military commander of each province should not interfere with the civil administration and gov-
The Ratification of Independence.—The presidents of the towns organized in accordance with the decrees of the Revolutionary Government, met in assembly on August 1st, to ratify the proclamation of independence made on June 12 by the revolutionary leaders in Kawit. The document solemnly declared: "The undersigned, interpreting the unanimous aspiration of the towns they represent, and complying with instructions from them and with the duties inherent in the powers with which they are invested: Proclaim solemnly to the whole world the Independence of the Philippines; acknowledge and obey Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy as President of the Revolutionary Govern-
ment, instituted as prescribed by the decree of the 23rd and by the order of the 27th of last June; and enjoin said President to implore and petition the foreign governments to recognize said Revolutionary Government as a belligerent and independent power, not only because such action is a duty imposed by justice, but also because it is not just for any one to contravene the laws of nature or to still the legitimate aspiration of a people for its progress and dignification.” This document was signed by the town presidents of the provinces of Cavite, Pampanga, Manila, Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Laguna, Morong, Tarlac, Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, Zambales, Pangasinan, Union, and Infanta.

On August 6, Aguinaldo sent a message to the foreign governments asking their support as well as formal recognition of the existence of the revolution and of the independence of the Philippines. “The Revolution,” said Aguinaldo, “has resulted in the taking of about 9,000 prisoners of war, who are being treated in accordance with international usages and humanitarian sentiments, and has mobilized 30,000 soldiers organized into a regular army.”

14. Manila Besieged by the Filipinos.—Early in June, Colonel Luciano San Miguel occupied Mandaluyong; General Pio del Pilar, San Pedro Macati and adjacent territory; and General Noriel, Parañaque. With the capture previously of Navotas, Tambobong, and Caloocan by Filipino troops under Colonel Pacheco on June 12, Manila was completely surrounded by the revolutionary army, engagements being fre-
quent between the two armies, the Spaniards remaining in control of the city and a few of its suburbs only.

The Filipino troops were assigned to four zones, which completely encircled the capital: the first zone had its limit in Pasay, commanded by General Noriel; the second zone, in San Pedro Macati, defended by General Pio del Pilar; the third zone, in Mariquina, under Colonel Montenegro; and the fourth zone, embracing Navotas, Tambobong, Novaliches, and Caloocan, under General Pantaleon Garcia.

“It was impossible to break the circle,” said General Antonio Luna then; “we had everything surrounded. Had we not dissipated our strength by sending expeditions to the provinces, a well-timed offensive would have resulted in the capture of the capital even if with enormous loss.”

15. The Capture of Manila.—On August 9, General Merritt and Admiral Dewey asked the General of the Spanish forces to surrender Manila, in view of the fact that the city was completely surrounded by the enemy but the Spanish General refused to do so. The Americans then laid plans for an offensive on Manila, but such plans, as also the day designated for the attack, were never revealed to the Filipinos. On the contrary, General Anderson, following instructions from General Merritt, requested Aguinaldo to prohibit the Filipino troops from entering Manila. On or about August 12, as the Filipino forces noted a general movement among the American units, it was
CHAPTER V
THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC

1. The Revolutionary Congress.—Preparations were made in Malolos for the holding of the Revolutionary Congress, as provided for in Chapter II of the decree of June 23. The Congress met at the church of Barasoain on September 15. From that day public attention was centered on the assembly, the first of its kind in the history of the country. Pedro A. Paterno was elected president of the Congress. President Aguinaldo and members of his cabinet were present at the inaugural session. Aguinaldo read the presidential message, excerpts from which follow:

“At this opening of the temple of the law, I know how the Filipino people, a people endowed with remarkable good sense, will behave.

“Purged of its old faults, forgetting three centuries of oppression, it will open its heart to the noblest aspirations and its soul to the joys of freedom; proud of its own virtues, without pity for its own weaknesses, here in the church of Barasoain, once the sanctuary of mystic rites, now the august and stately temple of the dogmas of our independence, here it is assembled in the name of peace, perhaps close at hand, to unite the suffrages of our thinkers and of our politicians, of our warlike defenders of our native soil and of our learned Tagalog psychologists, of our inspired artists and of the eminent personages of the bench, to write with their votes the immortal book of the Filipino constitution as the supreme expression of the national will.

“Illustrious spirits of Rizal, López Jaena, of Hilario del Pilar! August shades of Burgos, Pelaez, and Panganiban! Warlike geniuses of Aguinaldo and Tirona, of Natividad and Evangelista! Arise a moment from your unknown graves! See how history has passed by
right of heredity from your hands to ours, see how it has been multiplied and increased to an immense size, to infinity, by the gigantic strength of our arms, and more than by arms, by the eternal, divine suggestion of liberty which burns like a holy flame in the Filipino soul. Neither God nor the fatherland grants us a triumph except on the condition that we share with you the laurels of our hazardous struggle.

"And you, representatives of popular sovereignty, turn your eyes to the lofty example of these illustrious patriots!

"Let this example and their revered memory, as well as the generous blood spilled on the battlefields, be a powerful incentive to arouse in you a noble spirit of emulation to dictate with the great wisdom your high mandate demands, the laws which in this fortunate era of peace are destined to govern the political destinies of our country."

One of the first acts of the Congress was to ratify the Independence of the Philippines in the midst of very solemn public celebrations on September 29. On that occasion President Aguinaldo said in his speech that the Philippines was for the Filipinos, in the same way that America is for the Americans. Paterno, among other things spoke these inspiring words:

"We are laying to-day the foundation of a new political order in our country. This day is a beacon light on the eternal path of the centuries. It marks the separation of our past from our future. A past, the era of cruelty, of chicanery, of slavery, has ended. We are to rewrite the history of the Philippines. To-day we are inditing the first page; and you all know that the golden age is not gone; it is not behind us; it is before us, in the future."

2. The Paris Conference.—On October 1, Aguinaldo was granted an audience by President McKinley, to whom a memorandum on the aspirations of the Fili-
pino people was submitted. "My interview has produced a favorable impression," said Agoncillo in his cabled message to the Hongkong Committee. Then he added that the Washington Government had told him that the Filipinos should send a representative to the Commission. The reference was to the Peace Commission composed of the representatives of the Government of the United States and of the representatives of the Government of Spain which on the same day would meet in Paris to discuss the treaty of peace between these two nations.

Agoncillo left at once for Paris, and there worked for the recognition of his official status, but he only succeeded in filing with the Commission, that is, indirectly through General Green, a note on the state of the revolution. After the Treaty of Peace was agreed upon and signed by the representatives of the two nations no hearing having been granted the Philippine representative, Agoncillo presented a formal protest to the foreign legations in Paris and to the press.

The American members of the Paris Conference were at first not in accord on the Philippine question. On October 25, Senator Gray cabled to Washington a well-founded opposition to the occupation of all or a part of the Philippine Islands. On the 26th, President McKinley instructed his commissioners not to abandon the stand that the Philippine Islands "can be justly claimed by right of conquest." On November 3, Mr. Day informed President McKinley by cable "that the majority of the commission are clearly of the
opinion that our demand for the Philippine Islands can not be based on the right of conquest”; but on the same day President McKinley answered that the sinking of the Spanish fleet on May 1 "was the conquest of Manila, the capital of the Philippines." On November 4, the American commissioners again remonstrated with the President that the right of conquest was not a valid and sound allegation. The President accepted, it would seem, this interpretation, but in subsequent official documents, as in the message to Congress on December 5 and the order to General Otis on the 21st of the same month, there was again reiteration "of the conquest of the Philippines."

By the Paris Treaty of Peace, Spain ceded to the United States the Philippine Archipelago, and the United States promised to pay Spain within a period of three months the sum of $20,000,000. The question of the civil and political status of the inhabitants of the Philippines was left to the Congress of the United States to decide.

3. The Protest of Agoncillo.—Agoncillo protested against the findings of the Paris Conference on the ground that in that gathering the legal status of the Filipino people was ignored. He said that Spain had absolutely no legal status or right to enter into an agreement with the United States with respect to the Philippines. The union of Spain and the Philippines was founded only upon two historical facts: the blood pact between Legaspi and Sikatuna which, on the one hand, was ratified by the King of Spain and, on the
CHAPTER VII
THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC IN CRISIS

1. The Death of General Luna.—After the American troops had captured Malolos, General Luna determined to reorganize and discipline the army at whatever cost. He knew that, if he should fail to effect reorganization and to enforce discipline, the condition of the Filipino army would grow from bad to worse. With his forces thus reorganized, he fought the famous battle of Calumpit, where the Americans came out victorious after having suffered enormous losses. (1) Luna again reorganized his forces, making his headquarters at Bayambang, Pangasinan, and outlined a defensive plan, in the preparation of which he first studied the position of the mountains of Benguet, to him the invulnerable bulwark of the revolution against the Americans. He enforced discipline in the army without fear or favor. He disarmed the useless and the ungovernable and, carried away by patriotic

(1) Speaking of his soldiers, General Luna said in a newspaper interview a few days before his death:

"From April 23 to the fourth of the present month (May), when I left them with great regret, my soldiers fought with admirable enthusiasm. One-fifth of the officers under me were wounded, two majors, and five officers killed (the exact data). Well, ask them if they are discouraged. In Mexico, in Dolores, and in Kalukut after Pulilan, Bagbag, Calumpit, and Apalit, I believe that the enemy has been convinced that our faith in armed resistance has not changed. After the fight in Sto. Tomas where our soldiers fought in the open and even hand to hand, can the contrary be affirmed? After two and a half hours, when I retired wounded, we were in front of the railroad station in the town.

"These troops will maintain their ground against the enemy, because they have good officers and leaders and the soldiers fight well."
fervor, he openly expressed his desire to become head of the Cabinet, with the war portfolio, so as to prevent those who would accept autonomy and peace from directing the affairs of the Republic. (1)

His policies were embodied in a letter to a friend in which he says: "Independence, with or without protectorate; public order; adjustment with firmness; war against robbery, abuses, and injustices; some pressure on the indifferent and the timid; persecution of those who favor autonomy; reorganization of the army; justice in promotions; urgent needs; honest and clean fiscal policy; agricultural preparedness in strategic provinces; Spanish prisoners." (2)

(1) Luna had sounded public opinion in many provinces on the question of autonomy and was convinced that the country was wholly in favor of independence. For this reason, in a statement published in "La Independencia," he said:

The Filipino people want independence, and I shall defend to the last the cause of my country, thus complying with my oath to my flag. Without talking in the superlative, I sincerely believe that it is better to die in the battlefield than to accept foreign domination. This I said before the war began and I say it now. All the generals with whom I communicated—Timio, Makabulos, Concepcion, Mascardo, Pilar, Torres—are of the same opinion. Those of the south are still more radical. The military party, as well as the civil, will not surrender nor accept autonomy. I feel that I am speaking the truth, for in a sort of a plebescite, I have asked the people if they want autonomy. Do you know their answer? 'Long live Independence! Down with autonomy!' This was the answer of eight central provinces with which I communicated. I asked the fleeing refugees if they were discouraged, if they wanted peace, or wished to return to their towns, and the women, the old people, and the children all answered: 'We have begun the fight for independence; let us go ahead; better to lose everything than to live under a ruler that annihilates and destroys us.'"

(2) The Independence of June 3, 1899, published a political information in which the following were named for the constitution of the Luna Cabinet:

**Presidency and War**

- General Luna.
- Pedro A. Paterno.
- Leon Guerrero.

**Exterior**

- Severino Alas.
Luna's stand created enemies for himself. It was insinuated that he wished to become dictator. It was said that he had designs to oust Aguinaldo from the presidency of the republic through a coup d'état. Aguinaldo, it seems, gave credence to these rumors and, in confidential letters in Tagalog to his intimate friends, he expressed the fear that a great danger threatened him and that he expected his followers to be loyal to him. When Aguinaldo called Luna to a conference in Cabanatuan, the latter, thinking he would be asked to form a new cabinet, journeyed to the place indicated, only to meet "a treacherous death planned by the very soldiers he had disarmed and prosecuted for abandoning their posts and for disobeying his orders. Colonel Francisco Roman who accompanied him was also killed."

The other companions of Luna also met with death. His escort of select marksmen was, moreover, publicly disarmed and closely guarded. (1)

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**Finance**
- Telesforo Chuidian.
- Mariano Limjap.
- Mariano Nable Jose.

**Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce**
- General Alejandro.
- Regino Garcia.
- Leon Guerrero.
- Teodoro Sandiko.
- General Francisco.

**Public Instruction**
- Teodoro Sandiko.
- Gracio Gonzaga.
- Severino Alas.

**Communications**
- Teodoro Sandiko.

(1) Among the papers of Luna, this document resembling a will was found:

"1st.—I leave whatever I own to my mother.

"2nd.—Should I be killed, enshroud me in a Filipino flag with the same clothes in which I died and bury me in the ground."
2. General Antonio Luna.—Antonio Luna was born in Manila in the year 1868. His parents were Joaquin Luna de San Pedro and Laureana Novicio. He had several brothers, all of them distinguished: Manuel, who was a noted violinist; Juan, painter laureate, whose masterpieces were admired and some of them awarded prizes in Europe; Jose, well-known physician with a wide clientele in Manila; and Joaquin, who had been Governor of the Province of La Union, deputy from the same province, senator by appointment from the 12th district, and Governor of the Province of Benguet.

Antonio Luna studied in the Ateneo Municipal de Manila under the Jesuits, with notable accomplishments, obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1883. Afterwards he took up the study of Pharmacy in the University of Sto. Tomas, and later transferred to the University of Barcelona where he received his degree in this profession. In the Central University of Madrid he obtained the degree of Doctor in Pharmacy.

He had literary as well as scientific taste. He wrote poems in his youthful years; he formed part of that brilliant galaxy of Filipino young men who edited the fortnightly review La Solidaridad in Madrid. He published a book of customs entitled Impresiones, a model of observation, of ingenuity and of grammatical perfection in a language not his.

“3rd.—I confess that I would die gladly for my country, for our independence, without however seeking death.

“Enroute from San Fernando to Calumpit, 31st March, 1899.

“ANTONIO LUNA.”
own. As a chemist he was known in Europe and, especially, in Spain. He studied chemical engineering in Belgium. In France he worked as an assistant in the Laboratory of Histology and Bacteriology of Dr. Latteux in Paris. Likewise he was assistant in the Laboratory of Medical Analyses of Dr. Laffon. In Madrid he published a pamphlet, entitled: *El Hematozoario del Paludismo*, which attracted much attention in scientific circles. On his return to Manila, and following great opposition from scientists of renown, he was appointed chemist of the Municipal Laboratory of Manila.

While in the performance of the duties connected with this latter post, he became implicated in the first uprisings of 1896 and, consequently, was deported to Spain and imprisoned in the Model Prison of Madrid in the year 1897. He took advantage of his stay in Europe to study military tactics in Spain and in Germany. When he became aware of the new uprising, he returned to the Philippines to throw in his lot with the revolution which was then spreading. On September 3, 1898, he published the *La Independencia*, the principal organ of the revolution. On September 26 he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Department of War, and on February 20, 1899, was promoted to the rank of Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Republic.

3. Anniversary of Independence. — President Aguinaldo celebrated the first anniversary of the proclamation of independence, June 12, 1899, in the town of Angeles, Pampanga, with a mass in the open
air, a civic parade, and a military review before the house occupied by the President. The grand military parade included about two thousand men from the following units: The cavalry bodyguard of the President, a company of halberdiers, the H. del Pilar regiment, the Lacuna regiment, the Morales regiment, and the Zambales battalion. A decree was issued granting pardon to military deserters and to all those accused of misdemeanors for which the maximum penalty was imprisonment.

The following paragraphs are excerpts from the speech delivered by the President on that occasion:

"Never have we concealed our aspirations; we announced to the nations, calling as witness the Almighty God of the Universe, that we desire nothing but our independence, and, in search of which, we walk without vacillation until we obtain it, perhaps from those who are now our enemies and who tomorrow will be our allies, as we have been doing in our efforts to destroy Spanish sovereignty.

"We could well accept the autonomy which America offers us; but what shall we do with it if, in the end, we desire independence which is the ultimate aspiration of all nations, following the inevitable law of the Supreme Creator? If we accept it only to destroy by means of arms afterwards the sovereignty of America, which the autonomists pretend, using perfidy and deceit, we can not accept such procedures; we do not want to be traitors later; we shall always show our character of frankness and sincerity.

"We should avoid the example of nations which, having been at one time colonies, accepted autonomy in order to labor on safe ground, after preparation of all necessary elements. History demonstrates this with recent events."
The President had luncheon that day with the high Government officials and a number of guests, among whom were the brothers of General Luna recently murdered, to whom Aguinaldo promised that the crime would be investigated and that those found guilty would be punished. The investigation was held as a matter of course, but the investigators reported that the killing was due to the insults and aspersions emanating from the deceased general and his aide on the persons of the guards of the executive mansion and on that of the President himself who was absent in the fields.

4. The Seat of Government is Transferred to Tarlac.—On June 21, Aguinaldo and his staff moved from Angeles to Tarlac, from that date made the capital of the Republic. By decree dated July 7, new members of Congress were appointed to succeed those who were unable to attend the sessions. (1) The new

(1) For Manila, Mariano Limjap was appointed; for Batangas, Eduardo Gutierrez and Ambrosio Flores; for Bulacan, Pedro Serrano and Trinidad Icasiano; for Cavite, Severino de las Alas; for Ambos Camarines, Valeriano Velarde and Mariano Queri; for Ilocos Sur, Francisco Tongzon; for Ilocos Norte, Pio Romero and Quintin Donato; for Laguna, Manuel Sityar and Mauricio Ilagan; for Pampanga, Ramon Henson and Enrique Makapinlk; for Pangasinan, Adriano Garces; for Iloilo, Venancio Concepcion and Tiburcio Hilario; for Cebu, Felix David and Francisco Makabulos Soliman; for Leyte, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Marciano Barrera and Luis Navarro; for Albay, Pantaleon Garcia and Honorato Agrava; for Cagayan, Anastasio Francisco; for Bataan, Pedro Teopaco and Hermogenes Marco; for Isabela, Eustacio del Rosario; for La Union, Miguel Paterno Venegas; for Nueva Ecija, Epifanio de los Santos and Gregorio Makapinlk; for Tayabas, Jose Espinosa; for Tarlac, Victoriano Tañedo and Julian Carpio; for Zambales, Alejandro Albert; for Sorsogon, Pedro Lipana and Maximo Hizon; for Negros Occidental, Antonio Montenegro and Juan Benson; for Negros Oriental, Luciano San Miguel and Mariano Quirola; for Samar, Serviliano Aquino and Juan Tongko; for Capiz, Mariano Bakani and Juan Baltazar; for Antique, Vicente Lopez and Eusebio Natividad; for Bohol, Tranquilino Arroyo and Anastasio Pinzon; for Zamboanga, Tomas Mascardo and Lazaro Tañedo; for Misamis,
Congress met on July 14, the following officials having been elected:

President of the Congress: Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista; Vice-Presidents: Felix Ferrer, Alberto Barretto, Tiburcio Hilario, Mateo Gutierrez, and Juan Nepomuceno; Secretaries: Pablo Tecson, Basilio Hilario, Eduardo Gutierrez David, Enrique Makapinlak, Alfonso Ramos, and Luis Navarro.

The Congress devoted its time to passing laws on the reorganization of the national finances and to the

Apolonio Mercado and Gracio Gonzaga; for Morong, Marcelo Mesina; for Lepanto, Antonio Rebello; for Calamianes, Norberto Cruz Herrera; for Masbate and Ticao, Maximo Kabigting; for Mindoro, Arturo Dancel; for Catanduanes, Marcelino Santos and Jose Alejandro; for Abra, Juan Villamor; for Borongan, Enrique del Rosario and Juan de Castro; for Maasin, Juan Areco and Ladislao Jose; for Barotac Viejo, Gabino Calma and Isidro Montoya; for Rombion, Jose Vales; for Barili, Antonio Mandaba and Cirilo Cañizares; for Surigao, Timoteo Paez; for Davao, Ceferino Pantoja; for Cotabato, Pedro Layok; for Isabela de Basilan, Januario Bautista; for Dapitan and Lal-lo, Julio Ruiz; for Paragua, Domingo Colmenar; for Padre Burgos, Sixto Zandueta; for Amburayan, Jose Coronel; for Tiadan, Fernando Ferrer; for Balbac, Jose Zulueta; for Palacios, Alfonso Ramos; for Lebak, Manuel Aldegueira; for Matti, Urbano Morales; for Jolo, Victor Papa; for Malabang, Agripino Atienza; for Tukuran, Juan Santos; for Siasi, Alejandro Avevilla; for Tatuian, Luis Avevilla; for Bongao, Jacinto Vega; for Burius, Sinforoso Viton; for Baras, Andres Tirona; for Butuan, Ambrosio Delgado; for Bontoc, Mariano Nable Jose; for Prinicip and Infanta, Regino Garcia; and for Concepcion, Vicente Genato.

The elected members of the Congress were as follows:

For Manila, Teodoro Gonzales, Felix Ferrer, and Arsenio Cruz Herrera; for Batangas, Mariano Lopez and Gregorio Aquillera; for Bulacan, Ambrosio Bautista and Mariano Crisostomo; for Cavite, Jose Basa, Hugo Ilagan, and Jose Salamanca; for Ambos Camarines, Justo Lukban and Tomas Arejola; for Ilocos Sur, Vicente Foz and Ignacio Villamor; for Ilocos Norte, Gregorio Aglipay and Martin Garcia; for Laguna, Higinio Benitez and Graciano Cordero; for Pampanga, Joaquin Gonzales and Jose R. Infante; for Pangasinan, Vicente del Prado and Antonio Feliciano; for Albay, Salvador V. del Rosario and ......................; for Cagayan, Vicente Guzman; for Bataan, Jose Tuason; for Isabela de Luzon, Abelardo Guzman; for La Union, Joaquin Luna; for Nueva Ecija, Jose Santiago; for Tayabas, Soño Alandy; for Tarlac, Juan Nepomuceno; for Zambales, Juan Manday Gabriel; for Morong, Jose J. Oliveros; for Lepanto, Raymundo C. Jeciel; for Mindoro, Antonio Constantino; for Batanes, Daniel Tirona; for Nueva Vizcaya, Evariato Panganiban; for Abra, Isidro Faredes; for Padre Burgos, Joaquin Bautizar; for Amburayan, Mateo Gutierrez; for Kiangan, Lino Abaya; for Marinduque, Ricardo Paras.
study of some of the decrees of the executive department. The proposed resolution in answer to the proclamation of Schurman, prepared by Rianzares Bautista, was not passed in view of the fact that Mabini had answered it properly.

On August 23, Congress elected Apolinario Mabini Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Gracio Gonzaga Solicitor General, in accordance with the Constitution.

On July 3 Aguinaldo appointed Pablo Ocampo of Manila as the sole representative of the government of the Republic in that city. On the 22nd of the same month, an Intelligence Office was created in Manila to collect all available data about the enemy for the information of the Filipino army and of the Filipino committees abroad. Pablo Ocampo was made director of this office. On the 31st it was decreed that all the departmental secretaries should have the rank of Lieutenant General of the National Army. On September 23, Aguinaldo published a pamphlet under the title *Reseña Veridica de la Revolución Filipina* (A True Narrative of the Philippine Revolution), which is a litany of charges against American occupation.

5. The Spanish Prisoners.—With the seat of government in Tarlac, negotiations were reopened for the return to Spain of the Spanish prisoners who still remained in the hands of the Filipinos. (1) The Spanish

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(1) According to a report of the Hongkong Committee, the Filipino Government had set free more than one-third of the 10,000 Spanish prisoners in order to commemorate the proclamation of the Republic. In defense of the retention of the rest of the prisoners, the committee said the following:

"Prisoners are mutually exchanged by warring nations after peace has been signed, and also before; but, in either case, by virtue of negotiations..."
Generals de los Rios and Jaramillo and General Otis of the American Government, were greatly interested and took part in these negotiations.

Spanish delegations interviewed the leaders of the Filipino Government in order to bring about the settlement of this question. The Filipinos demanded, among other things, in exchange for the release of the prisoners, the recognition of the independence of the Philippines and the disapproval by Spain of that part of the Treaty of Paris relative to the cession of the Philippines to the United States, or, in lieu of this, the help of Spain in the form of arms and ammunitions for the revolution or their equivalent in cash. The discussion subsequently was limited to the payment of an indemnity in specie, but no definite agreement was reached. In July, 1899, a decree was promulgated in which it was ordered that the disabled Spanish prisoners were free to board any Spanish vessel flying the ensign of the Red Cross at certain ports designated for the purpose; but, in view of the opposition of the American authorities, this plan was also abandoned. On the other hand, General Trias, commanding general of southern Luzon, set free all the Spanish prisoners under his command, in May, 1900.

previously had with respect to each particular. While none of this is done the prisoners are released or retained, according to the free will of each. Between Spain and the Philippines peace has not been signed. Spain has signed it with America. With the Philippines . . . what she did was to sell her ignominiously. By virtue of this purchase America took her place. America is the continuation of Spain. With America the Philippines is still at war. She is not therefore compelled by any international law to return the prisoners just as she is not obliged by any kind of law to return American prisoners while the war lasts or negotiations on the matter are not settled."
By decree dated June 30, 1899, the Spanish soldiers and officials who made a heroic defense of the convent of Baler were set free. The siege of Baler afforded an inspiring example of Spanish bravery. A detachment of Spanish troops and their officials remained in the convent of Baler and would not surrender, even after the passing of Spanish sovereignty. These Spaniards, according to the Filipino Government, should not be regarded as prisoners, but as friends, in recognition of their heroism. For this reason they were permitted to return to Spain without any delay.

6. The Religious Prisoners.—In regard to the retention of the religious prisoners, the attitude of the Filipino Government was unmistakably demonstrated in the letter—attributed to the pen of Mabini—which President Aguinaldo addressed to Archbishop Nozaleda in August, 1899. The Vatican took great interest in the prisoners. Thus Cardinal Rampolla wrote a letter to Archbishop Nozaleda requesting him to take steps to free them. Aguinaldo’s answer to Nozaleda was an indirect reply to the Vatican’s argument.

“In imprisoning the Spanish priests,” said the letter, “we have been inspired by the highest sense of justice and by the sacred interest of the Catholic religion in the Philippines. When Pope Alexander VI authorized the Catholic kings to extend the Christian Gospel to the East Indies, he did not authorize their surrender or sale, as negotiable properties might be surrendered or sold, to infidel nations. As Catholicism was not America’s official religion, America can be considered an infidel power. The Vatican, instead of looking
after a few priests, should interest itself more in behalf of the eight million Catholic Filipinos, now subjected to slavery by virtue of such immoral sale. The Filipino people, in opposing such sale at the sacrifice of their lives and property, are working not only for their liberty, but also for their religion and their faith in the Holy See.

"The moral effect," the letter continues, "which the retention of the Spanish prisoners produces on public opinion should not be a cause for worry. When public opinion, said to be cultured and the only depository of civilization, considers the sale of countries as a thing quite common and legal, simply because such countries are known as colonies, even if such sale is the continuation on a large scale of the ancient slave traffic, we know we are excused from agreeing with such opinion. The Vatican does not dare raise its authorized voice against a custom which is old and contrary to Christian morality and is observed as law in positive international law, because it is not desirable to be in open enmity with many powers; for this same reason, I do not doubt that the Vatican will also respect the interests of the Filipino people, who counsel the retention of a few Spanish priests. On the other hand, I believe that the priests would rather live among a Catholic people than be under another free-thinking or infidel power."

7. **The Americans in Negros.**—The first popular political organization under the American régime was established in Negros at the instance of the owners of large estates in the island who believed they had no adequate protection against the inroads of bandits
neutrality guaranteed by the powers, “without prejudice to our acting as circumstances direct, should we realize the impossibility of attaining it, accepting the least possible limitations. This is another proof that it would be inconvenient for us to reveal now our wishes.”

14. The Filipino Church.—The religious movement organized by Gregorio Aglipay was coming to a head in the formation of the Filipino Church by means of a purely Philippine ecclesiastical council. Aglipay summoned the Filipino clergy at Paniqui, Tarlac, on October 23, 1899, and explained the progress of the ecclesiastic movement in the Philippines as well as his attitude and policies in regard to the matter. “The situation of the Filipino clergy,” he said, “is exceedingly critical as a result of the machinations, infamy, and calumny of their enemies. I have exerted every possible means, and have consulted with learned and virtuous members of the native clergy for enlightenment and counsel; but, instead of receiving proper attention, was branded as pretentious and ambitious.” Aglipay said further:

“The time has come when we must open our eyes to the abnormal conditions existing in our country, to the end that we may remedy the many irregularities and deficiencies that beset the ecclesiastical world. The organization of the clergy has become a matter of urgent necessity. An ecclesiastical council, board, or gathering should be organized in order to lay down the rule of conduct we must follow, not only to avoid regrettable mistakes, but also to calm troubled consciences. Such council or board does not tend to separate us from the Catholic Church; it is not schismatic, as some would have it appear.
“Let us consider: with our country emancipated from Spain; the bishops of Nueva Caceres, Cebu, and Jaro at large; and Archbishop Nozaleda, like Señor Hevia Campomanes, imprisoned in Manila and considered foreigners, who is to be the diocesan to govern us with something more than a crippled power? The Chapter supposed to rule our destinies in every diocese gives no sign of life; and now is the time for the clergy to take up the Chapter’s work.

“It is not prudent, gentlemen, to permit the anarchy to reign among the clergy, nor to stand for a longer time the present state of affairs, while the war goes on and we are not in a position to send a commission to the Holy See to prevent ulterior responsibilities before that Power.

“For the present, with the rainbow of peace still invisible and our independence withheld, it is impossible in every way for us to have any understanding with the Holy See; for our ports are blockaded by the enemy and we have no ships; nor is there a nation willing to lend us a helping hand or give us a glance of sympathy. The Commission is necessary and I fully appreciate the necessity, but I fail to see its urgency, hic et nunc. For, taking for granted that such Commission should reach Rome, with what credentials will it present itself to His Holiness and the Eminent Cardinals of the Roman Church when we have not even been accorded recognition by any power in Europe? The Commission is bound to fail and undoubtedly His Holiness would tell its members: ‘My sons, I do not know you.’

“We should wait for a more propitious occasion, or a day not far distant that will mark the triumph of our ideals. On that day we shall hasten to render respectful homage at the feet of the Vicar of Christ, offering him absolute loyalty, and receive from him the graces and the privileges needed for the establishment and administration of the Filipino Church.”

The assembly ratified every step taken by Aglipay, agreed to support the spirit of the sacred canons as well as the independence of the clergy from the Civil
Power, sanctioned the appointment of Aglipay as Chaplain General and approved, in the midst of the greatest enthusiasm, the provisional constitution of the Filipino Church, to the end, according to the preamble of said constitution, of ministering "to the needs of spiritual administration in strict consonance with its legitimate rights, the conservation and propagation of the Catholic religion, and the aspirations and spiritual welfare of the Catholic inhabitants of the Philippines."

15. The Anti-Imperialistic Movement.—In the early days of November, 1898, with the Treaty of Paris still under discussion, there was organized in Boston an anti-imperialist league whose principal aim was to oppose any extension by force of the sovereignty of the United States to other nations and, particularly, to work for the early and complete independence of the Philippines. The league at once became popular in all the States of the Union. Its first president was the venerable George S. Boutwell, who was Secretary of the Treasury under General Grant, and among its members were many prominent American citizens, including distinguished Republicans. The league sent emissaries to the Philippines to study local conditions, and published a great many pamphlets on the independence of the Philippines.

During October of the following year, 1899, the first general assembly of the league, composed of more than one hundred sixty anti-imperialists representing
many States of the Union, met in Chicago in order to perfect a national organization which thenceforward was called “The American Anti-Imperialist League.” (1) By unanimous acclamation, the delegates approved a declaration of principles, the most important of which are the following:

“We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends towards militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any people constitutes ‘criminal aggression’ and flagrant disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

“We demand the immediate cessation of war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

“We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for re-election all those who, in the White House or in Congress, betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

“We hold with Abraham Lincoln that: ‘No man is good enough to govern another without that other’s consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. Our safety lies in the

(1) The public square in front of Malacañang Palace, Manila, is now called “Plaza de la Liga Anti-Imperialista” in commemoration of that League.
laws of liberty which God has implanted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

16. The Filipinos in Europe.—On November 1, 1899, *El Filipino*, a newspaper edited by Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, of the republican committee of Barcelona, appeared in that Spanish city. On the 10th of the same month the newspaper *Filipinas ante Europa* began publication in Madrid, with Isabelo de los Reyes as the editor. Tomas Arejola, president of the Madrid Committee, said: "These two newspapers of the revolution, emulating each other, rivalled with each other in civic valor, abnegation, energy, and soundness of purpose in the manner in which they discussed complex and difficult problems; and in their patriotic exuberance to make revolution triumphant, they bore every sacrifice, great or small, though meager their means and resources for carrying out their patriotic mission of revolutionary revindication and collaboration."

On November 16, the Paris Committee was reorganized under the name of Republican Committee of Paris, with the following personnel: Ramon Abarca, President; Jose Ramirez, F. Resurreccion Hidalgo, Antonio Vergel de Dios, and Ramon Ramirez, members; and Felix M. Roxas and Fernando Zobel, secretaries.

In the same month Galicano Apacible, president of the Hongkong Committee, left for Europe on a secret
mission to the Vatican; but, as he received imperative orders, he at once set sail for the United States, there to join Rafael del Pan, another representative of the Filipino Government. Apacible and del Pan settled in Toronto from where they kept in constant touch with the Americans who were defending the cause of the Filipinos.

17. Otis Optimistic. The Protest of the Correspondents.—The death of General Luna perceptibly weakened the revolution in the north, where the bulk of the Filipino forces was concentrated, but the general armed resistance continued with greater vigor all over the Philippines. The optimism of General Otis, who informed Washington that “the revolution was falling to pieces,” and that the Americans were hailed as friends wherever they went, did not agree with the facts. In sooth, the war had all the appearance of continuing indefinitely.

In order to correct the erroneous reports of General Otis, all the American newspaper correspondents in Manila sent to Hongkong (for censorship obtained in Manila) a protest which was cabled from that city to the United States. The protest stated that all news about hospitals was censored, that all details of military campaigns that failed were suppressed, and that Washington was misinformed of the true situation in the Philippines. The protest, in general, ran thus:

“The undersigned, all staff correspondents of American newspapers stationed in Manila, unite in the following statement:
"We believe that, owing to official dispatches from Manila made public in Washington, the people of the United States have not received a correct impression of the situation in the Philippines, but that those dispatches have presented an ultra-optimistic view that is not shared by the general officers in the field.

"We believe the dispatches incorrectly represent the existing conditions among the Filipinos in respect to internal dissension and demoralization resulting from the American campaign and to the brigand character of their army.

"We believe the dispatches err in the declaration that 'the situation is well in hand,' and in the supposition that the insurrection can be speedily ended without a greatly increased force.

"We think the tenacity of the Filipino purposes has been under-estimated, and that the statements are unfounded that volunteers are willing to reënlist.

"The censorship has compelled us to participate in this misrepresentation by excising or altering uncontroverted statements of facts on the plea that 'they would alarm the people at home,' or 'create a wrong impression in the United States.'"

18. The Movement Against Aguinaldo.—October, 1899, witnessed the inception of the most intense period of the war. Cavite was bombarded by the American squadron from the bay and at the same time attacked on land. The invaders suffered heavy losses in Imus, and were finally driven from there. In Bulacan the engagements were frequent, almost daily. In Laguna, the Americans landed in Munting-lupa and San Pedro de Tunasan; Calamba and Los Baños were the scenes of bloody fights. In Manila, the Filipinos attacked the church of La Loma, Mariquina, and the railroad station in Caloocan. In Cebu, there were several encounters on Mount Sudlon: the
The main concern of the invading army was the destruction of the forces commanded by Aguinaldo in the north, and his capture. In October this plan was put into operation by a concerted movement of three separate units: that of General Lawton, which, following the course of the Rio Grande, should reach Lingayen Gulf and occupy some towns and mountains in that region; that of General Wheaton, which left Manila by sea, also to reach Lingayen Gulf and later join the command of General Lawton at a certain point; and, finally, that of General MacArthur, which followed the railway line, with Tarlac for its objective, from which point it would proceed north to join the other two columns at a place previously agreed upon.

Almost every day there were bloody engagements in different localities between the American troops and the Filipino forces commanded by Generals Concepcion, Aquino, and Hizon, such as that in Magalang and Mabalacat (Pampanga); that in San Jacinto (Pangasinan), where Major John A. Logan, of the troops under General Wheaton, died; and that in the capital of Tarlac, which, at the end, was captured by the invaders on the 12th. Aguinaldo and his followers were thus forced to transfer to Bayambang, the last seat of the Government of the Republic. On the same day, October 12, while the Americans were taking possession of Tarlac, Aguinaldo, after conferring with the
revolutionary leaders in Bayambang, decided to put into effect the system of guerrilla warfare. A number of generals were ordered to return to their respective provinces in order to organize the towns in a manner to keep effective the general armed resistance. The American troops captured the government printing press in Tayug and a number of men belonging to Aguinaldo's bodyguards. Rough fighting took place in San Fabian, San Jacinto, Pozorrubio, and other places, with the forces of General Tinio which protected the retreat of Aguinaldo. In a fight at the Aringay river Major Batson, of the invading army, was mortally wounded. Aguinaldo and his men were then near the place of battle. San Fernando, La Union, was also the theater of another bloody engagement. Aguinaldo and his escort were hard-pressed by the Americans. When, on the 19th, the invaders captured Bayambang, hardly a week had passed since the departure of Aguinaldo and his party. Felipe Buen-camino, last Secretary of Foreign Relations in the Cabinet, and Aguinaldo's mother and son were captured in Pozorrubio.

19. The Odyssey of Aguinaldo.—On November 13, 1899, at night, Aguinaldo and his military escort, various members of the cabinet, and some ladies, with the Cavite battalion and a company of artillery, left Bayambang on a special train for Calasiao, Pangasinan. From Calasiao, where they left the train, they began a journey full of intense sufferings over mountains, and across valleys and rivers. They traveled on foot from Calasiao to Santa Barbara, Manaoag,
Pozorrubio, and Alava, and then crossed the mountains to the township of Famy. After passing the night at this point, they followed the trail to Tubao, Aringay, Caba, and Bauang, La Union. From Bauang they proceeded to Naguillian, Bangar, and Concepcion, and after scaling mount Tila, where General del Pilar was killed, they reached Angaki, and later Cervantes. From Cervantes they started for Bontoc by way of Baguen and the township of Sagada, climbing mountains and precipices and suffering the rigors of an intense cold. They left Bontoc for the township of Banaue, scaling Mount Polis at a height of 2,700 meters. They rested at this place from December 7 to 12, 1899. To obviate serious encounters with the enemy, they returned to Ambayawan on the 22nd, once more scaling Mount Polis. Two hours later they left for Talubin, staying at this place up to the 24th. On that day they received the news that the Americans had arrived in Bontoc, two hours distant from Talubin. From Talubin, they departed for Ambayawan, at which point they decided to return to Banaue, once again scaling Mount Polis, at the foot of which they found themselves at dawn on Christmas. Later they had to flee from one township to another, crossing mountains of formidable heights at times, sleeping in the open air or in the rain, with cogon leaves for mats and stones for pillows; now passing two or three days without eating, or drinking even a drop of water; now sick with fever, rheumatism; weak in body due to the endless marches, to hunger and thirst, and to exposure to heat and cold. On more than one
occasion they had to defend themselves against the
treachery attacks of hostile tribes, and against
swarms of leeches and mosquitoes. New Year’s Day,
1900, they passed through the township of Alimit,
which they left at eight in the morning, wending their
way to Mayaoyao. On January 7, they arrived in
Oscariz, Isabela. They rested in Oscariz until the
30th, when the arrival of the enemy compelled them
to seek refuge in a neighboring mountain. Inasmuch
as the Americans left Oscariz the following day, the
President and his companions decided to return to
their camp at that place, located a half kilometer from
the town. So, on February 1, at 11 o’clock in the
morning, they were once more at the camp. News of
the arrival of the Americans in Oscariz caused them
to leave this place again on the 11th, and to journey
from township to township among the high moun-
tains in that region. On March 5, they arrived in
Mabuntot, a township inhabited by Gaddanes, in the
jurisdiction of the town of San Quintin, Abra, the
first point they set foot on in that province. The next
morning, they started for Libuagan, a Gaddan town-
ship on the top of a mountain. On the 22nd, the
birthday of President Aguinaldo, they were still in
this township, where the occasion was celebrated with
relative splendor. On April 12, they were visited by
General Tinio, accompanied by his aides and an escort
of twenty-five soldiers, who remained there until the
16th, when they departed for the field of operations.

On May 17, Aguinaldo and his followers aban-
doned their camp at Libuagan because of the warn-
ing that in another township, just an hour distant, the Americans had arrived. They passed through Ginaang, Pugong, Magsilay, Kagaranan, Dupag, Naneg, Tabog, Saga, and Asibanban. In the last-named township they were overtaken by a detachment of American troops which were engaged in a fight with the first and second companies of the Bulacan Battalion. Thanks to this resistance, the members of the Aguinaldo party were able to reach Guday by nightfall, and, under cover of the darkness of the night, they were able to evade capture by the Americans by descending into ravines and scaling the highest mountains, until they arrived in Magapasi, near the Province of Cagayan, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 22nd. At this point news was brought to them that in the neighboring towns of Tabog and Tuao American troops had been stationed, which formed a cordon to surround them, and for this reason they decided to seek safety in the dense forest. On May 25, they hid in the first forest they reached, where they rested the whole day, in order to continue on their way at night, protected by the darkness. In order to frustrate the close vigilance kept by the enemy, who tried to close every avenue of escape, they decided to pass the day in the depths of the forest and to travel only at night. Thus they arrived in the town of Enrile on May 28. They left Enrile for the township of Aroma, passing over the vast plains of Cagayan. In the afternoon of the same day they departed from Aroma for Agob, a barrio of Cabagan Nuevo. In view of the news that in Cabagan Nuevo there was
a small American garrison, the President ordered Colonel Villa to attack it at 2 o'clock in the morning, an attack which was carried out, the Americans suffering a loss of three killed and nine wounded. On the same night, the soldiers of Aguinaldo also attacked enemy detachments in Maluno and Tumauini. Believing that reenforcements for the enemy might arrive and that the barrio of Agob, where he was, was too near the town, the President gave orders for a retreat into the forest on May 31, where he and his party remained until June 2, when they moved to the township of Bagui in the mountains, and later to Banluko. From there they sought refuge in the dense forest near Naguilian, Isabela.
CHAPTER VIII
BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE

1. The Message of President McKinley.—In his message to the Congress of the United States on December 5, 1899, President McKinley, for the first time, dwelt extensively on the affairs in the Philippines. He touched on the events leading to the occupation of the Islands, on the Treaty of Paris, and on the breaking out of hostilities on February 4, which he attributed to the aggressive acts of the Filipinos which culminated “in an attack, evidently prepared beforehand, all along the American lines.” The message said that the future government of the Philippines was entirely within the jurisdiction of Congress to impose; that because of this fact, the Americans were assuming a serious responsibility; that the Philippine Islands belonged to America by force of law and equity; that they could not be abandoned; that their relinquishment would be equivalent to surrendering them to anarchy, and, finally, to barbarism. It was not practicable, according to the message, to make recommendation as to the final and specific form of government for the Islands, until after peace should have been reestablished, and once reestablished, the American Government would make due investigation of actual conditions before instituting a permanent system of government. In the meantime, the President of the United States would continue to exercise the authority vested in him by the Constitution and
laws to maintain sovereignty in these distant Islands and wherever the American flag should legitimately wave.

The message averred further:

"No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

2. Guerrilla Warfare Begins in Luzon. The Death of General Lawton.—The guerrilla system of warfare began in November, 1899, resulting in a general armed resistance and in a series of encounters more or less bloody. During those years, according to an American witness, the Filipino soldiers rarely wore uniforms; with their arms, they vanished from one place to reappear in another as peaceful citizens, making protestations of friendship. On December 2, General Gregorio H. del Pilar, commanding the rearguard of Aguinaldo, one of the ablest and bravest generals of the insurrection, according to the enemy, died heroically with his fifty loyal soldiers at the famous Tila Pass. General del Pilar was attacked on
three sides by the enemy, but refused to surrender. On the contrary, he welcomed death, writing first a note in the Diary of his Memoirs that he had to die as he was surrounded by the enemy but that he would die fighting for his country. As a tribute to his bravery, his very enemies buried him with full military honors, and at the spot where he fell they left this inscription:

GENERAL GREGORIO PILAR
Killed at the Battle of Tila Pass
December 2d, 1899
Commanding Aguinaldo's rear-guard
An officer and a gentleman
D. P. QUINLAN,
2d Lieutenant, 11th Cavalry.

During December, the invading troops had various bloody encounters with the Tinio Brigade, such as that at Vigan on the night of the 3d and many others. On the 2d, General Fernando Canon surrendered in Nueva Vizcaya. On the 12th, Colonel Tirona and his forces in the extreme north of Luzon surrendered to Captain McCalla. General Concepcion surrendered in Kayan. The wife and sister of Aguinaldo, with other ladies, accompanied by Colonel Sityar, of the general staff, and Lieutenant Colonel Paez, were captured in Bontoc on Christmas Day.

In the meantime, General Lawton was ordered back to Manila because the revolution in the neighboring provinces had again assumed enormous propor-
AGUINALDO'S LEADING GENERALS

G. H. DEL PILAR
ANTONIO LUNA
T. MASCARDO

PIO DEL PILAR
P. GARCIA
A. RICARTE
Between War and Peace

3. Gregorio H. del Pilar.—Gregorio H. del Pilar was born in the barrio of San Jose, of the municipality of Bulacan, Province of Bulacan, in November, 1875. His parents were Fernando H. del Pilar, brother of the meritorious Don Marcelo, and Felipa Sempio. He received his first instruction in the public school of his town, transferring afterwards to the Ateneo Municipal (now the Ateneo de Manila), where he completed the course in metaphysics. In 1896 he was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the College of Santo Tomas at the age of twenty-one years. When the revolution against Spain was started he immediately joined the forces of Andres Bonifacio in Balintawak. On his return to Bulacan, aided by his brother Julian and his brother-in-law Juan S. Socorro, he began to organize a group of revolutionists, training them in the use of arms. This group took part in the memorable battle of San Rafael, Bulacan, under the command of Eusebio Roque. It was at this battle that Gregorio H. del Pilar received his first baptism of blood as the result of an enemy’s bullet which struck him in the forehead. Since Gregorio wished to possess
a Mauser at any cost he decided to attack six Spanish sharpshooters who were on their way to Bulacan to accompany the curate of Malolos. In this attempt he succeeded in killing the first Spanish sharpshooter and capturing his arm, the coveted Mauser. With this Mauser and a few Remingtons, wrested from some civil guards, del Pilar engineered the famous assault on the convent of Paombong where a garrison of Spanish sharpshooters was stationed. This assault, carried out with masterly precision, audacity, and temerity on August 31, 1897, won a glorious name for del Pilar who, with ten companions, surprised the Spanish garrison at the convent and in a few minutes forced it to flee and captured its arms and ammunitions. Aguinaldo, who was aware of these heroic exploits of del Pilar, appointed him chief of the revolutionary forces of Bulacan. When Aguinaldo went to Hongkong for the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, he took with him del Pilar, from whom he would not be separated until his projected journey to Europe. On Aguinaldo’s return from Hongkong to resume the revolutionary campaign, del Pilar was appointed Dictator of the Provinces of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija. Del Pilar then prepared for the occupation of Bulacan, and after a few days of siege, the Spanish forces in the province surrendered. As a result of this conquest del Pilar was appointed Brigadier General. When hostilities with the Americans broke out in February, 1899, del Pilar was one of those who blocked the advance of the invaders north of Manila. In the defense of Quingua, Bulacan,—a veritable duel
to the death—Colonel Stotsenberg was killed. Del Pilar was later appointed one of the Commissioners of the Philippine Government to confer with the Schurman Commission. After the evacuation of Tarlac, del Pilar’s brigade was selected to cover the retreat of the President of the Republic through the Sierra Madre mountains. This task was honorably carried out by del Pilar until he met with a glorious death. He died at the age of twenty-four.

4. The Literary Activity of Mabini—The capture of Mabini during the early days of December, 1899, did not interrupt his literary activity which, dating from the time he retired from public life, was continued with increasing vigor in the periodicals of the capital. He had been publishing a number of articles, some of which were translated into English and later appeared in newspapers and reviews in the United States. His sole object was to defend the cause of the Philippine Revolution and to oppose the growing imperialism in the United States. The revolution could not have had a more intelligent or more able defender. His article, A Filipino Appeal to the People of the United States, written on July 21, merited the honor of being translated and published in the North American Review. In his article, written in September, entitled, Cuál es la Verdadera Misión de la Revolución Filipina? (What is the Real Mission of the Philippine Revolution?), he affirmed that that mission was “to keep alight in the Oceanic Islands the torch of liberty and of civilization so that, by illuminating darkness which oppresses the Malayan
peoples, it may guide them along the path of their social emancipation." In another article, he blamed the American imperialistic party for refusing to recognize the personality of the Filipino Government, and, in another, he advanced arguments in defense of his attitude since the beginning of the conflict with the Americans; namely, that peace should come only with the consent of Filipino public opinion, never by means of force.

Though in prison and under the strict vigilance of the military authorities, he never ceased to write. Either he commented, in his peculiar way, on the message of President McKinley, or he gave to the Manila correspondents of the American periodicals the revolutionary point of view for transmission to the United States, or he engaged in polemics and discussions with the American press or with the partisans of the new sovereignty. (1)

(1) With reference to his pamphlet entitled the "Government of the United States in the Philippines," one of the most ably written about the Revolution, General Otis said the following of Mabini in a letter to the Secretary of War:

"I have the honor to submit herewith a pamphlet which is being circulated in the Philippines and which was probably printed in Hongkong. Mabini is a paralytic and apparently his days are numbered. When he was brought over to this city as a prisoner of war, he was tendered all necessary comforts. Immediately after, I gave him permission to go freely in the city on the promise that he attend only to his personal affairs and hold himself aloof from political discussions. He had no money and was unable to procure a loan from his friends as he had expected, and, consequently, continued to live as he does in the place to which he had been assigned on his arrival, at the expense of the public.

"Taking advantage of the apparent liberty granted him, Mabini gave all his soul to the discussion of politics. As soon as I learned of the publication of the attached pamphlet, I ordered him to put an end to his tasks, and as a result, I received from him a lengthy letter in which he invited me to a discussion of his right to assert his political convictions, which letter I have not answered."
Between War and Peace

5. Six Important Points.—According to Mabini, there are six important points which the people of the United States should consider in studying the Philippine Revolution. These points are:

"1. That the Filipino people have no systematic hatred against foreigners; but on the contrary welcome with pleasure and gratitude whomsoever will cooperate with them in their endeavor to be free and prosperous.

"2. That the Filipinos fight against the American forces, not because of hatred, but because of their desire to show to America that, far from being indifferent to their political welfare, they are, on the contrary, capable of sacrificing their all for the establishment of a government that will guarantee their individual rights and will meet the needs and desires of the people. They could not avoid struggle, because they could not obtain from the Government of the United States any definite, formal promise of the establishment of such a government.

"3. The present state of war makes it impossible for the people to express sincerely their aspirations; and for this reason the Filipinos ardently hope that the American Congress will give them the opportunity to be heard, before it adopts any measure definitely settling their future.

"4. To this end, the Filipinos ask Congress to appoint an American commission which shall treat with influential Filipinos in the peaceful regions and in the war zones, or to recognize the authority of a like commission composed of Filipinos, which would give it all information about the desires and needs of the people.

"5. In order that this information be complete and the work of the commission, in one form or another, result in the establishment of peace, it is requested that the American forces of occupation leave uncensored the free expression of public opinion in the press or in peaceful gatherings; that the attacks on Filipino positions be temporarily suspended whenever the Filipinos agree to leave the Americans at peace; and that the
commission communicate with the greatest freedom with revolutionists.

"6. In view of the victory of the American forces, even the most headlong Filipino cannot but admit that all concessions made to the Philippines at this time are due only to the liberality of the American people, one more reason why Congress can be benevolent and indulgent.

"I hope confidently that, when the American and the Filipino people become better acquainted, not only will the present conflict end but also all future differences will be avoided. The same opinion in the United States seems more inclined to the preservation of its traditions and of the spirit of justice and humanity, which to-day constitute the only hope of honest Filipinos."

6. Aguinaldo and the Taft Commission.—In April of the same year (1900), President McKinley announced the formation of a new commission for the Philippines, with more powers than had been accorded the Schurman Commission, "to continue and perfect the work of organization and establishment of a civil government begun by the military authorities, subject in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact." It was composed of William H. Taft, chairman, and Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses, members. This new Commission was instructed to assume legislative powers from September 1 of the same year (which had hitherto been exercised by the military government) subject to certain rules embodied in the famous Instructions of April 7. These instructions, written by the Secretary of War, Mr. Root, are a model constitutional document destined to serve at once as a guide to the new Commission in the establishment of a civil
régime, and as a limitation to its powers, especially with regard to individual rights and their guaranty.

As soon as Aguinaldo heard of the impending arrival of the new Commission, he hastened to issue a manifesto for the purpose of predisposing the Filipinos against it. Aguinaldo said:

“It will not be long before the so-called American Civil Commission will arrive in Manila, according to the newspapers. It is not unknown to you that the last Commission sent by President McKinley last year came only for the purpose of deceiving the people, as was done by Admiral Dewey with his agreement made with us in Singapore in 1898, which is well known to you.

“The new Commission which is coming, is not authorized by Congress, or, in other words, by the American people; it is the creation solely of President McKinley and his associates.

“President McKinley will never be able to apply in practice his designs with respect to the Philippines without the consent of the American people, for only that people, or the Congress in the name of that people, can ever satisfy our aspirations.

“You already know, my beloved brothers, that the first Commission left without accomplishing anything, because we refused to be deceived by the alluring promises contained in its manifesto.

“The first thing this coming new Commission will ask, is the unconditional surrender of our arms to America for the purpose of establishing later her government on the strength of insincere promises.

“Have in mind, dear countrymen, that we must stand firm in our purposes. We cannot, we must not surrender our arms unless our independence be recognized first and unless the complete control of our own affairs be placed in our hands. We must not submit, for that would mean our own slavery and would seriously endanger our race.”
7. The Taft Commission Arrives in Manila.—On June 3, 1900, the Taft Commission arrived in Manila, announcing to the Filipinos its mission in the following statement:

"Representing the sovereignty of the United States in these Islands, which it is the purpose of our Government to maintain, we are here to do justice to the Philippine people, and to secure to them the best government in our power, and such measure of popular control as is consistent with stability and the security of law, order, and property.

"We are civil officers. We are men of peace. The field of our work must, of course, be confined to regions in which the armed enemy has ceased operations. We can not deal with men in arms. They will be dealt with by the United States Army and the General Commanding. When those in arms shall have laid down their arms, relying, as they certainly may, on the justice, generosity, and clemency of the United States, we shall give them as full a hearing upon the policy to be pursued and the reforms to be begun as to anyone having an interest in the matter."

The Taft Commission devoted all its time, from the day of its arrival to September 1 when it began to pass laws, in investigating conditions in the Philippines.

8. New Attempts to Establish Peace.—The year 1900 brought one disaster after another to the cause of the Filipinos. General Paciano Rizal was captured. Generals Pawa and Montenegro surrendered. Pedro A. Paterno was captured in Benguet; General Hizon, in Mexico (Pampanga); General Aquino, in Angeles (Pampanga); and General Makabulos, in Tarlac.
On May 5, General MacArthur succeeded General Otis as Military Governor and Commanding General of the American army. A few weeks later, Felipe Buencamino, of the last cabinet of Aguinaldo, who had just been released from prison, had several conferences first with General MacArthur and later with President Taft to discuss peace proposals. Pedro A. Paterno joined Buencamino in these negotiations, and, with the permission of the officials of the Government of occupation, they assembled, in the residence of the former on various occasions, a number of ex-generals and leaders of the Revolution, for the purpose of deliberating on the bases of peace. In one of these meetings, and at the instance of Manuel Genato, ex-civil governor of Batangas, the following bases were approved on June 21:

"1st. General and absolute amnesty of all prisoners on both sides, including those suffering punishment and those subject to prosecution under military jurisdiction.

"2nd. Respect for the life, personal dignity, and property of all revolutionists presented to American authority, or those to be presented later; as a consequence, all confiscated properties to be restored to their respective owners.

"3rd. Recognition of the employment of all soldiers of the Filipino army for the reserve forces.

"4th. Aid to a reasonable amount for the crippled, widows, and orphans of soldiers killed in action.

"5th. Guarantee of the free exercise of all the individual rights specified in the Constitution of the United States, especially, the right of petition to the public authorities and powers of the Union, a free exercise which, immediately following the adoption of the present bases, can be enjoyed by all the political parties in defense of their respective ideals, including the Nacio-
nalista Party which stands for the independence of the Filipino people, with authority to establish clubs, committees, and newspapers in this capital as well as in the provinces.

“6th. In addition to what is contained in the preceding clause, both sides shall order the cessation of hostilities in order to establish the legal status upon which the United States Congress can base its consideration of the just demands of the people and define the form of government that shall be established in the Islands.

“7th. Creation of civil governments in this city and in the capitals of the provinces, with the object of facilitating the surrender of the armed revolutionists, the carrying out of the amnesty and restoration of properties, the establishment of the municipalities in accordance with the law published on March 19 last, and the liberation of the American prisoners.

“8th. Application of habeas corpus without restriction of any kind.

“9th. Expulsion of the religious communities, these being eminently dangerous to the peace of the country.”

9. The Amnesty Decree.—On the same day that the last meeting was being held at the house of Pedro A. Paterno, General MacArthur signed his Notice of Amnesty, “with complete immunity as to the past and absolute liberty of action as to the future to all persons who at present are taking part or, at some time since February 4, 1899, have taken part in the insurrection against the United States,” if within a period of ninety days they make formal renouncement of all connection with said insurrection and sign a declaration accepting American sovereignty. The amnesty proclamation authorized the military authorities of the United States to pay each individual the amount of thirty pesos for each gun surrendered in good condition.
With respect to the proposals adopted at the meeting in the home of Paterno, General MacArthur had evidently no authorization from the United States to accept them. However, in order to advance the cause of peace in every way possible, he amplified his amnesty proclamation with a public statement on July 2, assuring to the native citizens of the Philippines the enjoyment "of all individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, with the exception of trial by jury and the right to bear arms." General MacArthur said, moreover, that after the termination of hostilities and the surrender of all the arms of the revolution, property of private citizens now in the possession of the United States would be returned to the owners or paid for; that the money of the revolution or of the insurgent government would be deposited in the Treasury of the United States in Manila to become a trust fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the revolutionary soldiers who died during the campaign or in the service.

The amnesty proclamation did not produce the desired effect among the Filipinos still under arms, except that a few revolutionists who were being held as prisoners were set free.

10. Proclamations and Executive Orders of Aguinaldo.—From his retreat in the mountains of Cagayan de Luzon, Aguinaldo kept in close touch with the march of events in Manila through information transmitted by his agents, and continued to give instruc-
tions, from time to time, to the leaders of the guerrilla detachments scattered all over the provinces, on the policy to be followed in each case.

On June 27, 1900, he ordered such detachments to take advantage of the rainy months (June, July, and August) for attacking the enemy. In this way, he said, when the campaign for the presidential elections in the United States comes, it will be realized that the cause of independence continued to be defended with vigor in the fields of battle.

On June 30, Aguinaldo issued another manifesto describing the power and the bravery of the American imperialists whose soldiers, distributed even in the remotest corners of the country, continued advancing over mountains, forests, and precipices in order to suppress the revolution. He said that they had come by virtue of sacred friendly promises, and our people believed and followed them, later to be attacked by surprise and our land invaded. Referring to those who favored autonomy, Aguinaldo said that, carried away by their candidness, they knew only how to repeat what they heard without realizing that it might be false or feigned. "What we should do at this juncture, when many desert our unfortunate Philippines, is to redouble our perseverance in defending reason and justice, at times taking the offensive and at other times retreating, as prudence and circumstances dictate."

On July 8, he issued an order to the officers of the guerrillas, setting aside the days intervening be-
between September 15 and 24 for a general offensive. On August 2, he wrote a letter to Isidoro Torres, politico-military chief of Bulacan, instructing him to adopt effective measures to offset the alluring offers of the Americans, tending to disarm the forces of the revolution. On the 14th of the same month, he wrote to Mariano Trias, commanding general of the forces of southern Luzon, ordering him to issue a circular to the chief man in each locality on the necessity of renewing the offensive, of appointing agents to counteract the propaganda for peace, and of suppressing gambling. During the same month, he issued another order with reference to the assembly convened in Manila by Paterno and Buencamino, which was in favor of the amnesty, saying that they should make haste slowly, that peace should come only through the instrumentality of war, and that “it is better to die in honor than to live in dishonor.”

11. The Committees in Foreign Lands. Apacible’s Manifesto.—In the meantime the diplomatic committees abroad carried on their mission without rest. Vicente Ilustre, whose services as a writer were valued, had joined the Hongkong Committee. This committee was in constant communication with the committees in other foreign countries and was in charge of the work of informing the Filipinos of the progress of the campaign in the United States, publishing pamphlets, handbills, printed circulars and news in the form of letters from “our correspondents in
America,” or from “our agents abroad,” and translating into Spanish excerpts from the foreign press or the important speeches and articles about the Filipinos. The London Committee, and especially Sixto Lopez, who made several trips to the United States, was a tireless worker, as evidenced by interviews, letters, articles published in the press, etc. Mariano Ponce was engaged in an impassioned propaganda in Japan. The Filipinos in Spain also labored long and late.

The committee established in Toronto, organized by Apacible and del Pan, published in June a well-studied document signed by Apacible and addressed to the American people, which ended with a sincere peace proposal on the following bases:

“(1) That we indemnify the United States, by reimbursing to her the twenty million dollars paid to Spain;
“(2) That the most friendly commercial ties should always unite us to your advantage and for the more rapid progress of our country;
“(3) That the United States should be granted reasonably necessary sites along our coast for use as coaling stations, beyond the limits of organized cities;
“(4) That we would not permit monopolies of whatever kind in the Islands, and that we would grant to your citizens all the concessions and guarantees attractive for their stay in the country;
“(5) That we are disposed to accede to whatever you demand for yourselves, so long as it be just and not an unwarranted aggression against our independence and territorial integrity.”

12. MacArthur and Mabini.—Mabini conferred with General MacArthur in the afternoon of June 22. How the interview ended, Mabini relates in this wise:
I asked that I be permitted to take the oath of allegiance imposed by the amnesty proclamation only after the American authorities had promised to respect the rights of the Filipinos as free citizens. I added that in all civilized and liberal countries, the constituted authority has the right to exact obedience from the citizens once it had promised to respect their individual rights. I remarked, further, that I limited myself to individual rights because I was merely a private citizen, without power to represent or act for the revolution.

He answered that, if I took the oath, I should enjoy complete liberty; to which I replied that I did not believe this possible so long as there was no law defining the rights every citizen should enjoy.

Then he read to me a number of individual rights taken from the Constitution of the United States, assuring me that he was empowered to put them into effect after those still in arms would have surrendered.

I told him that the objection lies in the fact that the President of the United States is all-powerful as regards these rights, and that, because of this authority, he can give or deny them at will: we would not accept rights on such doubtful terms. We want, I added, a law which assures our rights and which neither the President nor any other authority can annul, such as the Constitution of the United States, and we want, moreover, that that be promulgated at once although it should not be enforced until after peace should have been established, in order to still the anxiety of all.

He informed me that such a guaranty was not necessary, for the American people, formed under the influence of democratic constitutions and practices, will not deviate from their traditions with respect to the Filipino people.

I replied that I considered that guarantee indispensable, for if the United States had the temerity to wrest the sovereign right which by natural law belongs to the Filipinos, she might so act again and ignore the individual rights of the Filipinos whenever such action would suit her purposes; and that her obstinate refusal to give any promise or guaranty intensifies the doubt of the people. I made the observation that when I was
with the Malolos Government I demanded as a guarantee a formal agreement, predicated on the recognition of our juridical personality. To-day when force has the upper hand in the struggle with reason, it would be ridiculous to insist on the same guarantee, and, therefore, as a private citizen, I limited myself to asking for the promulgation of a fundamental law which would protect the rights and prerogatives of individuals.

"He then told me that he regretted that he could not count upon my cooperation in the work of pacification of the country; that I should realize that all opposition is not only vain but also pernicious; that I would render a great service by convincing Aguinaldo of the necessity of accepting the amnesty, of coming to Manila, and, if need be, of making a trip to the United States in order to work by peaceful means for the concession of the rights we demand, by appealing to the generosity of the American people.

"I rejoined that the people can expect my support for whatever is not antagonistic to my convictions on the question of peace; that, although I have sincerely defended my rights as a mere private citizen, I would not deprive Aguinaldo of the right to fix the general bases for the work of pacification, because he might be still aspiring to independence or be contented with another form of government and because, without his authority, I could not commit myself to anything then, except to ask that there be freedom of speech and of the press and of the right peacefully to assemble; that I could not advise him to surrender unconditionally, for, were I in his place, I should consider myself dishonored by the mere act of doing so. I said that all agreements which in effect signify a renouncement of political and civil rights are dishonorable, for our duty is to sacrifice our all, even life itself, for them."

13. The Paterno Plan.—After his work in behalf of amnesty, Paterno devoted his time to the preparation of a plan of government for the Philippines, premised always, with some changes, on his autonomy
AVISO IMPORTANTE

El Gobierno Revolucionario se ha servido disponer, en decreto de fecha 4° de Julio de 1898, que los Decretos, Ordenes, bandos y demás disposiciones oficiales que se publiquen en este periódico tengan carácter obligatorio.

EL HERALDO DE LA REVOLUCIÓN

Hay cosas que se definen por su mismo nombre, y tal es el caso de EL HERALDO DE LA REVOLUCIÓN. Para que nuestro objeto no se tornen solo formar ciudadanos energéticos y decididos y prontos siempre a obedecer los mandatos del Jefe Supremo de nuestra reciente República, misión suya es también hacer que la hermosa luz de la libertad irradiase hasta la esencia del humilde labrador y que el espíritu de independencia sea el medio ambiente que todos respiro, para que, en tratos de una misma ideales y anhelas de un mismo pensamiento, trabajemos solidariamente en pro de nuestra querida Patria Filipina, de esta tierra privilegiada, encanto del extenso Oriente jardín de la Misión, adorada de propicio codiciada de extraños.

La Revolución, como todos saben, es el medio violento, el, pero necesario, a que el País ha recurrido para revindicar sus derechos consagrados por el antigo Gobierno español, su fin es la libertad e independencia de nuestra Patria, tanto tiempo ultrajada por opresora dominación; y las causas que la han producido, aunque varias y múltiples, reducidas a su más sencilla expresión son las siguientes: 1° el despotismo de los frailos, 2° el orgullo de raza de los españoles, 3° la tiranía de su política y 4° su vicaria administración colonial.

La existencia de estas causas no necesita demostración, porque los hechos que las acusan son tan evidentes y tan inequívocos, que no...
plan presented to the authorities during the last days of the Spanish régime. According to the Paterno plan, there would be organized the Free State of the Philippines under the protection of the United States, founded on the following bases: the government of the State, the Parliament, the Council of Ministers, and the Supreme Court; the Parliament to be composed of two houses to be known as the Senate and the Congress; the Cabinet, or Council of Ministers, to be composed of a prime minister, a secretary of finance, a secretary of the interior, a secretary of war and navy, a secretary of public works and communications, agriculture, industry, and commerce, and a secretary of public instruction and fine arts, all of whom shall be appointed by the President of the United States upon the recommendation of the governor of the State. There should be parliamentary responsibility. The President of the United States should be the Moderating Power. The governor should be advised by a privy council composed of six Americans, to be known as High Advisers, and seven Filipinos, who are members of the Cabinet, and, in addition, the President of the Philippine Republic, Emilio Aguinaldo.

Mabini opposed serious objections to the Paterno plan. The role of Moderating Power given to the President of the United States, according to Mabini, exercised by men who of necessity must have the support of parties that succeed each other in power, would not be dangerous; but, when exercised by an entity supported by an army and a navy, powerful and alien to the people, it might become omnipotent and fraught with danger to the extreme. The plan had, further-
more, the defect of being characterized by great pomp, ostentation, and grandeur—"many and unnecessary posts for the busybodies in politics and many pompous and high-sounding titles to attract the armed forces. With the system provided for the central government and for each department or province, we would encourage the seeking of public office to an incredible degree... Why not ask for a simple and modest government as civilization and our poverty require? Why not provide only for an indispensable number of employes, to consist of persons who have previously demonstrated their high moral character and ability? In that way, at least, we should give the lie to those who believe we are helpless children."

This plan of Paterno, however, led to his return to prison by order of the military authorities, for having published it without their express authorization.

14. Guilty of High Treason.—The following month (July, 1900), Paterno was again to the fore with a program for a festival to show the gratitude of the people for the Amnesty Proclamation. The idea was to designate July 28 and 29 for the celebration of a popular holiday by erecting triumphal arches, with parades, fireworks, concerts, public races, and later a banquet to which General MacArthur and the members of the Taft Commission should be invited as the guests of honor. It was said that the idea had had the previous approval of General MacArthur. When the preparations were well under way, Aguinaldo issued a manifesto which ran thus:
“If the banquet you are to give on the 29th instant is for the amnesty and not for the honorable peace which the country wants, it constitutes a crime of high treason, because it is honoring American sovereignty in these Islands, and because that amnesty is precisely an official demonstration of that sovereignty, absurd in our country.

“In that case, the celebration of the banquet is the greatest act of contempt, under the present circumstances, for our national rights.

“By virtue of the foregoing,

“I decree: that if the celebration be dedicated to the amnesty, all Filipinos who take part in it, directly or indirectly, shall be adjudged guilty of high treason, and that the full rigor of the law be meted out to them in due time.”

Mabini wrote the following letter to Paterno:

“You want to know my opinion and I give it to you frankly and sincerely: I believe that you should first ask the American authorities to recognize the freedom of the press and of peaceful lawful gatherings, in order that the state of public opinion, uninfluenced by either fear or expediency, may be known. It is not a question of organizing a party, for there is always time enough for such things, but of finding a formula which would restore in the towns not only material, but also, above all, moral peace. Even granting that Aguinaldo side with you, if the masses of the people are dissatisfied, at most you will have found a palliative, not a cure.”

15. The Amnesty Banquet.—The idea of Paterno, according to Rafael Palma, was to take advantage of the Amnesty Proclamation for the presentation to the commission of a conciliatory formula which, in Paterno’s opinion, would be acceptable to the Filipinos still under arms, to the end that hostilities might cease. So the picture of Aguinaldo appeared on the triumphal arches in the streets of Manila as well as
the Philippine flag and inscriptions in favor of Philippine independence under an American protectorate; but the military authorities, noticing the turn events were taking, ordered that the picture of Aguinaldo and the inscriptions on independence be removed from the arches.

As regards the banquet, when President Taft was informed that Paterno would take advantage of the occasion in such a way that he and his companions would deliver speeches in favor of independence, Taft sent a letter to Paterno, notifying him that no member of the Commission would attend the banquet, for “we have no authority to consider or to discuss such a proposal.” This letter was received when the banquet was already in progress, and “in order to mitigate the failure, Paterno had to go personally to the members of the Commission, who, persuaded by very insistent request, went, at last, to the banquet, after having been assured that there would be no speeches.”

The speakers designated by Paterno to speak at the banquet were, besides himself, Aurelio Tolentino, Aguedo Velarde, Leon Ma. Guerrero, Fernando Ma. Guerrero, and others, all of them leading nationalists. Despite orders to the contrary, Paterno had his speech printed and distributed far and wide. It contained the following paragraphs:

“On the one hand stand the American people exacting obedience to their sovereignty that they may comply with their international obligations. On the other hand, the Filipino people, led by Aguinaldo, asking for the recognition of their internal freedom at the sacrifice of the last drop of their blood.”
Between War and Peace

"Are there honorable means to conciliate these two divergent views?
"The Filipino people unanimously answer: a protectorate.
"It is now for the American people to speak."

The Madrid Republican Committee bitterly censured Paterno and the other Filipinos who organized the amnesty festivals. "The hateful epoch of artful understandings has passed never to return," said the Filipinos in Madrid. "We do not want, and neither do our heroic people, clowns and sycophants to entertain us and make us laugh, for these are not the times for us to shout hosannas and halleluiahs, but to intone the de profundis, dying or causing death to others."

16. Mabini Before the Taft Commission.—At four o’clock in the afternoon of August 1 of the same year (1900), the Taft Commission was in conference with Mabini, who asked to be received in audience. The meeting was conducted in the following manner, according to Mabini himself, who described the event thus:

"When the meeting began I said: I have been a prisoner since last December and I shall not be set free unless I swear allegiance to American sovereignty. The word ‘allegiance’ in international law has no precise and exact definition; in the problem of South Africa, Great Britain still pretends to exercise sovereignty over the two republics, notwithstanding the fact that she had recognized their complete independence with reference to their internal administration. My efforts in behalf of my country have no other object than the institution of an enduring guarantee for the rights and prerogatives of the Filipinos; if, therefore, American sovereignty offers, more or less, the same guarantee as would be of-
fered by a government of our own, I shall have no hesitation to swear allegiance for the sake of peace. I ended saying that I asked for the conference in order to know in what degree American sovereignty would limit what naturally belongs to the Filipino people.

"After listening to the remarks of his companions, Mr. Taft replied: 'American sovereignty has no purpose other than to institute for the Filipinos a good government; the sovereignty which the United States of America will impose is the same as that which Russia and Turkey would impose, if they were to occupy the Philippines, only with the difference that the exercise of that sovereignty will be in consonance with the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.

"Inspired by that Constitution, the Commission would attempt to establish in the Philippine Islands a popular government, patterned after that which was recently adopted for Porto Rico.'

"To this I replied that the principles upon which the American Constitution rests declare that sovereignty belongs to the nations by natural right; that the American Government, in not remaining contented with limiting the sovereignty of the Filipino people, but annulling it completely, commits an injustice which, sooner or later, will demand retribution; that there can be no popular government when the people are denied real and effective participation in the organization and administration of that government.

"They rejoined, saying that they were not authorized to discuss abstract questions, for they had orders to impose their opinion even through the use of force, after hearing the opinions of the Filipinos.

"I remarked, therefore, that I presumed the conference terminated as I considered it idle to discuss with force and to express my opinions to one who refuses to listen to the voice of reason.

"Mr. Taft asked me if I would not help them in the study of taxes which they might impose on the people; to which I replied that, considering unjust all taxes imposed without the intervention of those who would have to pay them, I could not help in that study without the representation and the mandate of the people.
"I see that the Americans are bent on driving us to choose between dishonor and death. Such being the case I shall comport myself like an honorable man who considers duty and honor paramount to all else. Between dishonor and death, it is our duty to prefer the latter."

17. The Katipunan is Revived.—After the débacle in Tarlac and coincident with the plan of extending the guerrilla system, the Filipino leaders seriously considered the plan of reviving the famous secret and semi-masonic organization of Andres Bonifacio, called Katipunan, as a powerful aid in the war. Ambrosio Flores, Secretary of War, gave official authority, in a letter dated January 5, 1900, for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Katipunan to the province of Nueva Ecija. Teodoro Gonzalez, governor of Manila, also authorized, on the 7th of the same month, the re-organization in Manila of the Sanguniang Bayan. The other military commanders issued orders, within their respective jurisdictions, for the prosecution of the campaign.

In August and September, the Katipunan was once more widely organized, especially in the provinces of north and central Luzon. Into the society were admitted "such Filipinos and aliens as wish to help the cause, outside of actual service in the war, either by collecting donations in cash or in specie, or by morally and materially helping the wives and children of Filipino soldiers who had been killed or disabled, or by organizing a system of espionage which would transmit to the nationalists in the fields information about the movements or plans of the enemy, or by obstruct-
ing, though indirectly, the enemy maneuvers, in order to allow sufficient time for warning the Filipinos.”

By August, 1900, there was organized in Manila a society, also secret, known as the Junta de Amigos, whose president was the old Katipunero and newspaperman Aurelio Tolentino, with authority from Aguinaldo to form and organize guerrillas. The orders of the commanders of the Filipino troops in those days urged the persecution and the imposition of the severest penalty on traitors or spies for the enemy, for whose capture a system called dúkot or sequestration, in conjunction with the Katipunan, was enforced.

18. Guerrilla Warfare Everywhere.—From its inception until 1902, when the revolution, as an armed organization, was overpowered by the superior force of the enemy, guerrilla warfare was practiced everywhere in the Archipelago. It was the terror, the most frightful nightmare of the American troops. Manila itself, which had been the theater of many encounters since December, 1899, was the object of an offensive in March and, again, in July, 1900. The latter was carried out with the greatest vim as the result of the activities of General Artemio Ricarte. Ricarte was later captured in that city. With but few exceptions, the Filipino troops would let the invaders enter the towns only to attack them later by surprise or to lead them into a deadly ambuscade by means of their moving columns. Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, and Tayabas were under Generals Trias, Noriel, Cailles, and Malvar, who checked all enemy offensives. Generals
Belarmino, Guevara, and others held back the enemy columns in the Bicol region, while Generals Lukban, Mojica, and Flordelis operated efficiently in Samar and Leyte. In Cagayan de Misamis, General Capistrano was in charge. The great island of Panay had, among others, Martin Delgado, Adriano Hernandez, Angel Corteza, Quintin Salas, Ananias Diokno, and Leandro Fullon, who engaged the forces of General Hughes. In Cebu Generals Climaco, Sepulveda, and Maxilom defended the island. Sanson and Valmoria fought in Bohol. In central Luzon, Generals Alejandro, Pantaleon Garcia, Lakuna, Sandiko, San Miguel, Mascardo, Tekson, Torres, Geronimo, and others faced the enemy. Generals Tinio, Natividad, and Aglipay were in command in northern Luzon, and Juan and Blas Villamor in the mountains of Abra.

Speaking of the situation, General Hughes, of the American army, said that the Filipino revolutionists were the masters in the barrios. After the ambushes, they walked about in their sinamay clothes, and, "as everybody was against us, there was no Judas to denounce them." In order to show how bitterly the war was fought, suffice it to say that the American generals who operated both in the Visayas and in Luzon had asked Manila several times for reinforcement, a fact which contradicted the first optimistic reports of General Otis. So General MacArthur, who succeeded General Otis, said in his report in October, 1900, that the war continued, and that that fact was a characteristic proof of the loyalty of these towns
to the cause of the revolution, and that there existed among the Filipinos a true unity of action, resulting from the "ethnic homogeneity which impels men to respond to the call of their brother leader even against their own interests." General Bates touched in his report on the same critical condition in which the American troops found themselves. It was necessary, he claimed, to station troops in each town where civil government had been established; otherwise, anarchy would obtain. "I believe that some time will have to elapse before I can recommend the curtailment of forces in my department."

19. Francisco Flordelis.—In the history of guerilla warfare in Leyte, there is none to equal the achievements of Francisco Flordelis, a prominent and wealthy resident of the municipality of Hilongos. General Mojica appointed him commanding officer of that zone. His forces were composed of "macheteros," principally, for they had but few guns. When the American forces captured the town, the first thing they did was to interview Flordelis in his own home, one of the best in town. Flordelis, who was heart and soul in favor of the revolution, refused to have any understanding with the invaders, and took up arms and organized a force to fight them. In the meantime, the Americans occupied the house of Flordelis. Notwithstanding this, Flordelis attempted twice to capture the fortress, but in vain, for he had scarcely any guns. Then he ordered his own house, in which the Americans had fortified themselves,
burned, as also the warehouse across the road where he had deposited hemp valued at thirty thousand pesos. The American forces were at last isolated by those of Flordelis until, realizing the danger they were in, a circumstance which gave them courage and serenity, they managed to gain the seashore, after firing continuously, and took advantage of the presence of a boat which carried them to Baybay.

The Americans returned and again attacked the town to engage the forces of Flordelis. Both sides suffered considerable losses, and the rich and important town of Hilongos was razed to the ground. Flordelis was later killed in an ambush planned by his enemies. His memory is reverenced in the locality owing to his unselfish patriotism and tried courage.
CHAPTER IX

AGUINALDO COUNSELS PEACE

1. The Political Parties in the United States.—

Inasmuch as the presidential elections in the United States were approaching, the Philippine problem was the main issue in the platforms of the parties. The enemies of the McKinley administration denounced his imperialistic policy of governing the Philippines against the will of the Filipinos.

On May 9, the Populist Party, meeting at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, declared:

"We denounce the conduct of the administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our national life in war, with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the plain precepts of humanity. Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals of the people, who asked only the establishment of a free government in their own land. We demand the cessation of this war of extermination assuring the Filipino people their independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation."

The Republican Party, meeting in Philadelphia on June 19, declared:

"Our authority can not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples."
The Democratic Party, meeting in Kansas City on July 4, declared:

"We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has embroiled the Republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of its noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of having crushed with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.

"The Filipinos cannot become citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot become subjects without imperilling our form of government; and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization, or to convert the Republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and third, protection from foreign interference such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America..."

The Silver Republican Party, meeting in Kansas on July 4, declared:

"We believe in the republican form of government; we are opposed to monarchy and to the whole theory of imperialistic control. We believe in self-government, a government by the consent of the governed and are unalterably opposed to a government based upon force. It is incontrovertible that the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago can not be made citizens of the United States without endangering our civilization. We are, therefore, in favor of applying to the Philippines the principle we are solemnly and publicly pledged to observe in the case of Cuba."

A group of Anti-imperialists and Gold Democrats, meeting in New York on July 18, declared:

"First, a return to the political doctrines of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and
"Second, the recognition that not only Cuba and the Philippines but Porto Rico and Hawaii are entitled to independence."

2. The Platform of the Anti-Imperialists.—The Anti-Imperialist League, meeting in Indianapolis on August 16, declared:

"We are absolutely opposed to the policy of President McKinley, which proposes to govern millions of men without their consent, which in Porto Rico establishes taxation without representation, and government by the arbitrary will of a legislature unfettered by constitutional restraint, and in the Philippines prosecutes a war of conquest and demands unconditional surrender from a people who are of right free and independent. The struggle of men for freedom has ever been a struggle for constitutional liberty. There is no liberty if the citizen has no rights which the Legislature may not invade, if he may be taxed by a Legislature in which he is not represented, or if he is not protected by fundamental law against the arbitrary action of executive power. The policy of the President offers the inhabitants of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines no hope of independence, no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the Congress which taxes them. This is government of men by arbitrary power without their consent. This is imperialism. There is no room under the free flag of America for subjects. The President and Congress, who derive all their powers from the Constitution, can govern no man without regard to its limitations.

"We believe the greatest safeguard of liberty is a free press, and we demand that censorship in the Philippines, which keeps from the American people the knowledge of what is done in their name, be abolished."

3. Bryan, the Hope of the Filipinos.—The presidential elections in the United States were of supreme interest to the Filipinos. President McKinley, who
aspired to reelection, which meant a ratification of the imperialistic policy, was opposed by William Jennings Bryan, candidate of the Democrats and Anti-Imperialists, whose victory for the Filipinos, who were fighting for their independence, was one of their dearest hopes, as evidenced in the confidential letters of the Filipinos and their diplomatic committees abroad, as also in the orders and manifestos of Aguinaldo.

Bryan delivered his speech of acceptance on August 8, a notable peroration, the principal theme of which was unqualified condemnation of the American occupation of the Philippines, as a flagrant deviation from the most sacred American principles and traditions. The following paragraphs, taken at random from his speech, reveal the attitude of Bryan and of those who agreed with him on the Philippine problem:

“In what respect does the position of the Republican party differ from the position taken by the English government in 1776? Did not the English government promise a good government to the colonists? What king ever promised a bad government to his people? Did not the English government promise that the colonists should have the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and their duty to England? Did not the Spanish government promise to give to the Cubans the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and their duty to Spain? The whole difference between a monarchy and a republic may be summed up in one sentence. In a monarchy the king gives to the people what he believes to be a good government; in a republic the people secure for themselves what they believe to be a good government.

“The Republican party has accepted the European idea and has adopted the attitude of George III., and by every ruler who distrusts the capacity of the people
for self-government or denies them a voice in their own affairs...

"We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we allied ourselves with the Filipinos and armed them to fight against Spain, we disputed Spain's title. If we have bought Spain's title we are not innocent purchasers.

"There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Filipinos, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence, and I submit that history furnishes no example of greater turpitude than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke.

"Let us consider briefly the reasons which have been given in support of an imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine Islands. But duty is not an argument; it is a conclusion. To ascertain what our duty is, in any emergency, we must apply well-settled and generally accepted principles. It is our duty to avoid stealing, no matter whether the thing to be stolen is of great or little value. It is our duty to avoid killing a human being, no matter where the human being lives or to what race or class he belongs.

"Every one recognizes the obligation imposed upon individuals to observe both the human and the moral law, but as some deny the application of those laws to nations, it may not be out of place to quote the opinions of others. Jefferson, than whom there is no higher political authority, said:

"'I know of but one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively.'

"Franklin, whose learning, wisdom, and virtue are a part of the priceless legacy bequeathed to us from revolutionary days, expressed the same idea in even stronger language when he said:

"'Justice is strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and the nation that makes an unjust war is nothing but a great gang.'