

**THE SPANISH-DEFINED *SEPARATISMO* IN TAAL, 1895-96:  
A Prologue to a Revolution**

by

**Manuelito M. Recto**

In 1895, in the town of Taal, province of Batangas, the Spanish local authorities worked hard enough to denounce some of its inhabitants as subversive. They defined the objective of the Taal subversives as the promotion and instigation of anti-patriotic ideas and propaganda against religion to inculcate in the minds of the inhabitants of Batangas the existence of a subversive separatist idea. These "separatists", led by Felipe Agoncillo and followed by Ramon Atienza, Martin Cabrera, Ananias Diocno and many others, were persecuted for manifesting outwardly their nurtured ideas which were allegedly in complete opposition to the precepts of the Spanish constitution and ecclesiastical laws.

***Episode I: 1895 Subversion***

On July 23, 1895, a report was transmitted by the parish priest of Taal, Fr. Julian Diez, to his superior, Archbishop Bernardino Nozaleda, regarding the latest occurrence in that town. Here, he said, things had happened as a result of certain doctrines and certain personalities, that his loyalty to religion and his beloved Spain had forced him to write the prelate before anyone else. He stated that on

June 24, during the interment of a daughter of Felipe Agoncillo at the Taal cemetery, Agoncillo spoke offensive words against Spain and its religion after the parish priest refused to have the corpse buried in an untaxed coffin. Fr. Diez attributed to Agoncillo these statements.<sup>1</sup>

What I have said to you always, (is) that religion is a lie, a despicable farce that we do not have anymore remedy but to swallow it for it was imposed to us by the poorest and most miserable nation of all Europe. But everything will be settled and the day is not very far when we will till our farms not with the carabao, but with the friars and Spaniards, no, no, I will not have peace until I would be satiated with the Spaniards' blood.<sup>1</sup>

Eight days later, a testimonial signed by thirteen residents of Taal and San Luis, a neighboring town, was sent to the Batangas civil governor, Leandro Villamil, wherein they denounced the anti-Spanish and anti-religious propaganda being spread by some residents of Taal. They alleged that these Taaleños not only degraded Spain and the Catholic religion in their meetings, but also in public, whereby they imposed through threats their anti-religious ideas.<sup>2</sup> The denunciations were so serious that Villamil ordered the accusers to ratify the contents of their letter and to submit themselves to a thorough, but secret investigation. The investigation, held in the capital of Batangas for several days with the governor acting as the judge (*juez instructor*), yielded a unanimity of accusations in the testimonies presented.<sup>3</sup> Villamil summarized them fittingly into ten important items:<sup>4</sup>

- 1st That Felipe Agoncillo, supported by Ramon Atienza, Martin Cabrera, Filomeno Encarnacion, Flaviano Agoncillo, Mariano Generoso, Brigido Medina, Mariano Medina, Elias Agoncillo, Eulalio Villavicencio, Mariano Cubral (sic), Jose Isla, Eulalio Calanog, Ananias Diocno (sic), Teofilo Atienza, Vicente Ilustre, Juan Gocco (sic), Valentin Buceta and Candido Rojas, has publicly manifested impudently the propaganda of his anti-religious and separatist ideas.
- 2nd That, through the said individuals, a subscription has been brought about for the purpose of collecting funds to favor the escape of Jose Rizal who was detained by the Spanish authorities as a stalwart of the propagation of separatist ideas.
- 3rd That Rizal has been called publicly by Agoncillo and the other individuals mentioned with such epithets as the "future liberator of the Philippines", "martyr of liberty" and other pompous and ridiculous description.
- 4th That the same individuals have circulated or tried to circulate among their townmates, libels and proclamations against the institutions and religion.
- 5th That said individuals have frequent secret meetings in which treat, among other matters, of attacking by all means the Spanish institutions, in general, and, in particular, the religious confraternities which they consider opposed to their ideas.

- 6th That during the diocesan visit to that town by His Excellency, the Archbishop of Manila, in June 1892, these same persons, leaning on the authority of the then *gobernadorcillo*, Flaviano Agoncillo, admonished the *principales* that under no pretext should they offer themselves to carry the pallium, prohibiting them absolutely any manifestation of respect towards the prelate up to the extreme, such that the Archbishop made his entrance to the church under the pallium carried by the sacristans.
- 7th That His Excellency, the Archbishop, upon his return to Manila, sent to the parishioners of the town of Taal a pastoral edict manifesting his grief by the acts of irreligiosity and lack of respect that he observed during his visit; such document was, on the part of Agoncillo and his friends, the object of commentaries so disrespectful as they were public and impertinent.
- 8th That having gone in a procession, the Image of Our Lady of Caysasay which many faithful of that town venerate with special devotion, the then *gobernadorcillo*, Martin Cabrera, committed an abuse of returning the image to the Church from where it came, without finishing the procession and not considering the protests of the parish priest and the great number of faithfuls who attended.
- 9th That from that date, the parish priests who succeeded in the care of souls of that town have abstained from taking the said image for a procession, fearing it to be trampled by the local authorities and by the referred persons.
- 10th That during the last days of the month of June of the present year (1895), Felipe Agoncillo uttered in the cemetery of Taal, before various persons, these or similar words: *with the friars and the rest of the peninsulars, it is necessary to finish them as soon as possible; I am confident that sooner the day will come when they will till the land for us and then we will drink their blood.*

With the investigation concluded, the Batangas governor sought to gain wider information regarding the denounced misdeeds through confidential questionnaires he sent to the parish priests of Bauan, Batangas and Taal. He wished to be informed further about the persons in Taal who had distinguished themselves for their anti-religious and separatist opinions and the specific acts to corroborate these ideas. Conspicuous at this early start of the investigation regarding the Taal "separatist" movement was the confidential manner in which it was handled.

Regarding the matter, the Bauan and Batangas parish priests were not really in a position to lend authoritative statements because of their physical distance from the town of Taal. However, the Taal priest, Fr. Diez, who had earlier written a report to Archbishop Nozaleda, knew better and he did make another weighty and substantial one.<sup>5</sup>

According to the priest, the Taal leaders who harbored anti-religious and separatist opinions were Felipe Agoncillo, Ramon Atienza, Martin Cabrera, Filo-

meno Encarnacion, Brigido Medina and Mariano Generoso. Their followers consisted of Teofilo Atienza (the incumbent *capitan municipal*), Flaviano Agoncillo, Ananias Diocno (sic) and others mentioned by the thirteen Taal and San Luis residents. These individuals, he said, came to acquire influence, in the year 1882 during the cholera scourge which swept over the province when they manifestly resisted the orders of the provincial government regarding the epidemic. Their influence grew to a point when they came to control the local government of Taal. All of them, especially the leaders, regularly held assemblies or meetings to tackle the problems at hand and to dictate orders regarding the town. Prohibition of greeting the parish priest, going to the convent and sending the children to state schools were some of those decreed to the people. They also ordered to crush "the religion of the frairs" and were partly successful in it.

Fr. Diez also revealed that Taal sent a commission to Manila in 1888 to participate in the so-called "Manifestation of March 1st," an anti-Spanish public demonstration. He even mentioned the distribution of subversive writings by the aforesaid individuals and of the collected subscription intended for Jose Rizal. Recounting the words allegedly delivered by Felipe Agoncillo during his daughter's interment, the priest added that Agoncillo's anti-friar pronouncements were seconded by Ramon Atienza and Martin Cabrera.

In order to justify the special hatred for the friars manifested by the accused Taaleños, the venerable minister of the church offered an unsolicited explanation. He wrote that he was sure, even without written proofs, that these anti-Spanish propagandists "obey the countersigns of the masonic lodges," intimating further that the assemblies he had mentioned earlier could be a true masonic lodge.<sup>6</sup>

Masonry, on the other hand, was never expressed by the lieutenant commander of the section of the *Guardia Civil* of Lemery, Rafael Garcia Casero, even as a rationale for the anti-Spanish ideas of some prominent Taaleños. The military officer, who was also ordered to furnish information about the Taal "separatists," declared that a list of them would definitely be long, however, he singled out Felipe Agoncillo, a property-owner and lawyer, as their representative.<sup>7</sup>

According to Casero's account, Felipe Agoncillo stood out as the Chief of those who professed anti-Spanish ideas in Taal. He, Casero said, was such an influential figure in the town that "he has reached to impose himself over all social classes in it" and imprinted his judgments over all important cases affecting the town. His opinions were sought by the municipal captain and the justice of the peace, and even the orders of all the highest authorities of Batangas were subject to his approval before they were enforced; yet he carried no responsibility whatsoever. His stature as the chief activist of Taal was effected by his comfortable position, his education and his friendship with high government officials.

Due to these advantages, the people looked up to him as omnipotent and superior, enabling him to exercise a great influence in the whole province of Batangas and in the neighboring places.

Felipe Agoncillo was considered the *soul* of all events that could happen in Taal, as directed and inspired within the capacity of his law office; thus, he was freed from any responsibility. Casero continued that, to carry out his resolutions, Agoncillo surrounded himself with a "staff," comprised by all the individuals named by Fr. Julian Diez, together with Candido Rojas. They were all powerful, he stated, because they alternated themselves for years in the discharge of high positions in the municipal government. A domination of some sort was exercised by the group which would be difficult to oppose.

About the corroboratory proofs showing the anti-Spanish tendencies of Agoncillo, Casero was evasive, and he spoke of the difficulty of collecting such proofs which were, he said, "self-evident to the Peninsular element of this province." To save his face, nevertheless, he mentioned, in passing, the incident at the Taal cemetery on June 24, 1895. He also enumerated one by one the instances of aggression committed by the Taaleños against Spanish officials, stressing the "resistance" of the *principalia* to the orders issued by the provincial government during the 1882 cholera epidemic.

This letter-report, dated September 9, 1895, was received by Governor Villamil the next day. Now, with sufficient information, the worthy governor wrote Governor-General Ramon Blanco, disclosing the impunity wrought by the Taal propagandists and the investigations conducted. The investigations were undertaken in confidence, explained Villamil, because of the special circumstances attendant to the case, and, in order, not to attract the attention of the accused propagandists, who could, otherwise, restrict or distort the declarations of the accusers. Fearing further disturbance of public order if corrective measures were delayed, the Batangas civil governor proposed the deportation of Felipe Agoncillo and his followers, and the immediate dismissal from office of all suspects, who were partisans of Agoncillo and were still performing official functions in the Taal local government.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, in Taal and Lemery, secret political meetings were convened by their municipal captains and attended by the "separatists." This was the gist of a supplementary report sent by Lieutenant Casero to Governor Villamil and to his Chief, Captain Antonio Rebolledo of the Batangas *Guardia Civil*. The gatherings, the report stated, were called to grant powers in favor of certain high personalities of the Spanish court of justice for the defense of the "separatists" rights. The report further added that the notary of Batangas legalized the grant of these powers. The Casero report also disclosed a circulated subscription in the two towns, conducted under the pretext of collecting funds for future contingencies.

Governor Villamil copied this letter and sent it to Blanco, informing the latter of his need to know the text of the powers conferred in order to establish its link with the activities of the Taal activists.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, Captain Rebolledo ordered all commandants of the *Guardia Civil* of the Lemery section to exercise special vigilance on these same persons.<sup>10</sup>

Governor-General Ramon Blanco, on securing the vital information regarding the events in the town of Taal, decreed, on November 17, 1895, the appointment of Luis Sein Echaluze as an extraordinary commissioner or delegate of central government to Batangas to assess the Taal situation.<sup>11</sup> Earlier, he ordered the detention of several Taaleños: Felipe Agoncillo, Ramon Atienza, Martin Cabrera, Filomeno Encarnacion, Flaviano Agoncillo, Teofilo Atienza, Mariano Generoso, Brigido Medina, Mariano Medina, Elias Agoncillo, Eulalio Villavicencio, Mariano Cabral, Jose Isla, Eulalio Calanog, Ananias Diocno, Valentin Buceta and Candido Rojas.<sup>12</sup> This detention decree, however, was not implemented at once due to a petition sent by Felipe Agoncillo to Blanco justifying his moral, political and religious conduct, and due to some developments in Taal regarding the collection of the unpaid or residue of *cedulas* or poll taxes.

A circular of the central government dated October 12, 1895<sup>13</sup> reiterating its decree of September 19<sup>14</sup> of the same year which ordered the collection of the residue of *cedulas* was received by the Batangas civil government. In compliance to the order, the provincial treasury office formally calculated the debts of each town of Batangas in terms of personal taxes. Taal turned out to have a deficit of 28,949 pesos. To collect this amount, the Spaniard, Julian Fraga, was appointed the *comisionado de apremio* since the circular provided for the designation of such a delegate against the debtors.<sup>15</sup>

Julian Fraga arrived in Taal on October 28, 1895 and lodged himself for three days at the residence of the municipal captain, Teofilo Atienza, after which he transferred to the convent. His work officially started the next day when he ordered Atienza to summon all the *cabezas* who had back accounts as well as all the *gobernadorcillos* from July 1, 1884 to December 21, 1894. The municipal captain immediately ordered the presentation of these past town officials. The majority of those called presented themselves and some closed their accounts. The names of those who were absent or were not found in their homes were appropriately reported by Atienza to the provincial government so that it could dictate the proceedings proper for them.

For almost three days, the municipal employees of Taal patiently undertook the tasks involved during the tax-residue collection, shelving all other business matters. Moreover, all the needs of the delegate were attended to. It was even in his presence that Atienza exhorted the delinquent-debtors to settle their accounts as early as possible or else suffer the corresponding punishment.

In spite of all the efforts of the Taal municipal Captain for a speedy settlement of the matter, he received, to his dismay, a bitter reprimand and a harsh warning from Governor Villamil. Atienza was accused of manifesting "passive resistance" and "lack of zeal" in complying with the orders of delegate Fraga who sent unfavorable and slanted reports to the governor. One such telegram, which he wired through Lieutenant Casero, stated the impossibility of notifying the *cabezas*-debtors due to Atienza's refusal to gather them in the municipal building. This was the provocateur to the governor's warning.

The delegate's report had been based on the following incident. On November 14, a Thursday, Fraga summoned some *cabezas* to appear at the municipal hall at 3 p.m. Either due to forgetfulness or design, the commissioner reported at the hall a day ahead of the appointed date. Naturally, he found nobody, not even the municipal captain. Delegate Fraga, then proceeded directly to the telegraph station and wired the provincial governor about Atienza's manifestation of passive resistance. To correct this bad impression, Atienza explained clearly to the governor what really transpired.

Meanwhile, delegate Fraga proceeded with the confiscation of the property of Flaviano Agoncillo and Ramon Atienza to cover up for the alleged debts in terms of uncollected *cedulas* during the time that they were *gobernadorcillos*. The property of Martin Cabrera, another alleged debtor, was also supposed to be confiscated; but this was prevented by Fraga's failure to produce before Atienza the required judicial authorization to confiscate. The continued request of Atienza from the delegate to show him that authorization and Fraga's insolence, believing that it was not necessary, increased the animosity between the two. Once again, the Taal municipal captain received rebuke and warning from Governor Villamil, who pointed out his uncooperativeness and systematic opposition.<sup>16</sup>

At this point, Fraga was beginning to feel that his situation in Taal was becoming unbearable and critical.<sup>17</sup> He feared for his life, alleging that Atienza would likely attack him with a razor.<sup>18</sup> Under the excuse of imminent danger to his person, he asked for relief from his duty. This was granted by the governor; however, Governor-General Ramon Blanco ordered Fraga to go back to Taal.

The return of Fraga to Taal on the first hour of the night of the 18th of November was momentous.<sup>19</sup> He was not only accompanied by the Batangas governor, but was also escorted by eight *Guardia Civiles*, who were later joined by other military men coming from several places. Due to this, panic and dread enveloped the residents of the town and drove them to the residence of the municipal captain. At eight that same night, Atienza went to see Villamil to tell him the truth of the events in Taal; but, he was not received.

Early next morning, Atienza again went to talk to Villamil. This time, he

was received and ordered to obey blindly the governor's orders.

The situation in Taal as of the 19th of November, 1895 was described by Teofilo Atienza in his telegram to Governor-General Ramon Blanco:<sup>20</sup>

It seems that there is a siege. *Guardia Civil* forces reconcentrated here. They inform us about collection, but there is no resistance here and proof of this is the presentation of old *cabezas* and some confiscation made. Our civil governor, it seems, gave much credit to the unfounded denouncements of the commissioner. It is not true about the danger to his life nor to anybody. In the town reigns the most submission and tranquility.

Atienza begged the governor-general to reestablish the normal conditions in the town.

When the most important part of the proceeding of the Taal *cedula*-residue collection was completed, Villamil ordered the Batangas *Guardia Civil* captain to withdraw the military forces concentrated in the area.<sup>21</sup>

Soon after, on November 22, 1895, Luis Sein Echaluze, the special delegate of the central government, arrived in Batangas. Upon arrival, he immediately conducted investigations by interviewing the leading Spanish civil and religious officials of the province and the Taal *principalia*. Relying mostly on the testimonies of his co-Spaniards, Echaluze formed his conclusions in his final report<sup>22</sup> to Governor-General Blanco, stating that there is, in Taal, a most complete perturbation of the political and religious order and a most absolute demoralization of the municipal administration. Furthermore, his investigations yielded that Felipe Agoncillo exercised a very powerful *caciquismo*, which enabled him to influence the agitation of the political and religious order of Taal and other Batangas towns.

Agoncillo was believed to have exercised an "insane" *caciquismo* among his people, leading Echaluze to presume that he had hypnotized or obliged them by using evil means to impose his ideas. These evil means, the delegate averred, were employed in the scandals which have occurred in Taal, such as during the concealment of native recruits for the Spanish army and of those in the census of taxpayers, and regarding the question of the *prestacion personal* or forced labor which was utilized for fixing impassable roads. Even if the town was rich, according to the Echaluze report, it owned the treasury more than 28,000 pesos for tax-residue which was still unrecovered because of the "passive resistance of the local officials."

The Echaluze report also contended that the *caciquismo* of Agoncillo was exploited by the Atienzas and the Cabrerias, in order to accomplish the complete separation of the inhabitants of the town from the parish priest. And that even if not all of the Taal residents have, as yet, become anti-Catholics, their frequent propaganda diffusing the ideas of Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar, can deal a great influence.



Echaluce also claimed that Agoncillo and his friends had constantly exhorted the Taaleños to avoid the parish priest and the celebration of weddings, baptisms and burials and prohibited Taal parents from enrolling their children in public schools so the teachers would not be able to bring them to mass and fulfill the precepts of the Catholic religion.

Echaluce, based on his findings which collaborated those earlier sent by Governor Villamil of Batangas against some residents of Taal and which were aggravated by further "unpardonable acts" of the same residents against the *comisionado de apremio*, Fraga, presented the following recommendations. Since, according to him, disaffection to Spain had already been deeply incorporated in the people of Taal, he recommended that the decree of deportation, ordered before by Blanco, but was suspended, be carried out for Felipe Agoncillo, Ramon Atienza, Martin Cabrera, Filomeno Encarnacion, Flaviano Agoncillo and Teofilo Atienza. Regarding the present town officials, Echaluze recommended their total dismissal from office, to be replaced with responsible and trustworthy persons.

Heeding these propositions, Governor-General Ramon Blanco decreed, on February 1, 1896, the dismissal from office of all municipal officials of Taal and their substitution with loyal appointees.<sup>23</sup> The reason given was that the Taal municipal officials had so influenced the minds of the inhabitants as "to prevent them to live a christian life, enjoy moral peace" and recover the tranquility of the town. The dismissed municipal officials, most of whom were denounced as "separatists", were Teofilo Atienza, municipal captain; Ramon Benitez, chief lieutenant; Teodoro Bello, chief of police; Jose Isla, chief of fields and harvests; Pioquinto Reyes, chief of livestock; Mariano Cabrera, lieutenant, first substitute; Vicente Ilagan, lieutenant, second substitute; and Saturnino Noblejas, Aguedo Cabrera, Ananias Diocno, Gaspar Encarnacion, Cornelio de las Alas, Graciano Punsalan, Eduardo Benitez, Martin Cabrera, Mariano Generoso, Silverio C. Cruz, Brigido Medina and Vicente Marella, delegates.

An extension to this February 1 decree, which Blanco issued, on February 17, 1896, was a decree of Deportation<sup>24</sup> of six leading Taaleños: Felipe Agoncillo to Siasi (Jolo), Ramon Atienza to Sarangani (Mindanao), Flaviano Agoncillo to Matti (Mindanao), Martin Cabrera to Bongao (Jolo), Filomeno Encarnacion to the fortress of Jolo and Teofilo Atienza to Davao. The decree stated that these men, termed as rebels, who were elevated into *caciques*, had caused through their stratagems and propaganda, an abnormal situation in Taal, thus, dragging the town into an attitude of disaffection to Spain.

However, before their arrest could be effected, a coded telegram deciphered, "*Cafe en baja, fuera existencias*"<sup>25</sup> (literally translated as "The price of coffee falls, no stocks") opportunely forewarned these Taaleños, who, in turn,

looked for means of escape. So that when the decree was effected, all those to be deported were not found in their residences and, according to the information gathered by Governor Villamil, were already staying in a tug-boat in Manila Bay.<sup>26</sup>

Felipe Agoncillo, however, who was said to be staying in house number 34 at Magallanes street, was followed by the agents of the city government, who were ordered to arrest and send Agoncillo on the first boat bound for Jolo.<sup>27</sup>

When the *Guardia Civil Veterana* arrived at the residence of Telesforo Chuidian, they were informed by a servant that Agoncillo was no longer there. The servant was said to be Felipe Agoncillo, himself, who was able to elude the searchers by disguising himself.<sup>28</sup> Agoncillo, then, went to hide in the house of another friend, Antonio Alfon, who, according to rumor, spent some 10,000 pesos for the telegram which warned the Taal deportees and for other assistance extended to Agoncillo while in hiding.<sup>29</sup>

On April 14, 1896, the Japanese mail steamer, *Hiorime*, departed from Manila with Felipe Agoncillo said to be hidden in the steamer's coal bunk. He gave the captain of the ship the sum of 350 pesos as gratification and, upon arriving at Kobe, the captain put at his disposal a ship's boat.<sup>30</sup> Agoncillo stayed in Japan for less than two weeks because Spain had consular jurisdiction in the area. From Japan, he proceeded to HongKong, where he stayed at hotel Pico.

His escape was reported to Governor-General Blanco by the Manila secret police on May 2, 1896 in the following manner: "Notice is hereby given to the departure to Japan of Felipe Agoncillo, property-owner from the province of Batangas, who will place himself at the disposition of the *Junta Magna*, bringing with him some 80,000 pesos collected in Lipa, Taal and other towns to sustain the anti-Spanish propaganda."<sup>31</sup>

### *Episode II: 1896 Subversion*

Events in the province of Batangas, specifically in the town of Taal, following the escape of the deportees, developed more dramatically. In fact, as the Spaniards claimed, the escape of Felipe Agoncillo was, perhaps, "the key to later events."<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards, in the wake of Agoncillo's escape, sought a scapegoat.

On August 6, 1896, Rafael Garcia Casero, a *Guardia Civil* lieutenant, of his own volition; forced a scrupulous search of the house of a nephew of Felipe Agoncillo, Jose Agoncillo. The domiciliary intrusion was allegedly very fruitful, yielding ten revolvers, ten Winchester carbine's, ten Lefaucheué shotguns, one case of explosive bullets and some explosive bombs which were either loaded

with dynamite or were being prepared to be loaded.<sup>2</sup>

An important find was a flag with a blue upper band, a red lower band and a yellow rising sun in the center. There were also three yellow masonic points in the blue band. This was suspected to be the flag of the future Philippine Republic.<sup>3</sup> Other materials said to have been discovered and confiscated were documents and bills and bonds of the people of HongKong. Among the bills was a receipt by Jose Rizal.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the search, Jose Agoncillo was taken to Batangas and imprisoned. The incident was faithfully reported to Governor Villamil who, in turn, lost no time in notifying the governor-general.

Governor-General Ramon Blanco, recognizing the gravity of the matter, immediately consulted some of the high government officials, namely, General Echaluze, *Audencia Fiscal* Castaño, *Audiencia* president Fernandez Victorio, Civil Director Bores Romero and Archbishop Nozaleda, who were formed into a Council of Authorities, to deliberate on the Batangas problem. General Echaluze indicated the necessity of creating in the said province a military tribunal. This suggestion was rejected by the governor-general, who assumed that a special civil tribunal would be enough. Fiscal Castaño, the 1886 Batangas governor, recommended that the prevailing condition was the best time to declare the provinces of Manila and its vicinities, Batangas included, in exceptional state, thus, suspending the effectivity of the Penal Code, in order that domiciliary intrusions could be carried out freely, and that the establishment of a military tribunal could be necessitated.<sup>5</sup>

Blanco, however, chose not to follow the drastic advice of the members of the Council and instead sent on special commission the judge of Quiapo, Isaac de las Pozas, to Batangas. On August 15, 1896, this special judge transmitted an uncoded telegram to the Manila civil governor, stating.<sup>6</sup>

I beg that you order with urgency the capture of Felipe Agoncillo, Ramon Atienza, Flaviano Agoncillo, Martin Cabrera, Teofilo Atienza, Filomeno Encarnacion, Flaviano Cabrera, Juan Goco, Elias Agoncillo, Pedro Marella, Eulalio Calanog, Ananias Diocno, Mariano Medina, Pedro Marino and Irineo Ariola, indicted in case number 195 for attempt of rebellion. . .

It is worthy to note, at this point, that thirteen of these men had been charged before of being "separatists" by Lieutenant Casero and Father Diez, and that one of them had already fled to Japan. Also, at the behest of Governor Villamil, two circulars were issued and sent by the Cavite governor to the municipal captains of the towns of that province to search and arrest these same individuals.<sup>7</sup> Except for Ramon and Teofilo Atienza and Flaviano and Elias Agoncillo, all the rest were not found and arrested. So, they were issued a subpoena by the infantry captain, Rafael Ripoll Lopez, for their appearance in the specified court. This subpoena was published in the *Gaceta de Manila* and in *El Comercio* on

September 12, 1896. How many of them presented themselves to the proper authority was not known, although it was established that Elias Agoncillo was imprisoned in Bilibid on September 5, 1896<sup>8</sup> and the brothers, Teofilo and Ramon Atienza, together with Flaviano Agoncillo,<sup>9</sup> were deported to their destinations in Mindanao as set forth in the February<sup>10</sup> decree of deportation of Governor-General Blanco.

### *Statements to Conclude: The Inside Story*

From the declarations and allegations imputed by the Spanish authorities, whether civil, ecclesiastical or military, it can be gleaned that lawyer Felipe Agoncillo had consistently been imputed the leadership of the "separatist movement" in Taal. At this point a question begs to be asked: "What is it in Agoncillo that caused him to be uniformly singled out among his "co-separatists"? The Spaniards themselves claimed that it was the man's practice of *caciquismo*, literally translated as political bossism. The word, however, had an intense connotation and was tendentious, at that time. If they merely meant political influence, they could have referred to the various governmental positions held by Agoncillo in Batangas province in his capacity as a lawyer. Since 1886, he had been appointed as a member of the Board of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry in Batangas, Judge of the Peace of Taal, Substitute Registrar of Property of Batangas, acting *Promotor Fiscal* of the District of Batangas and other positions worthy of note.<sup>1</sup>

The Spaniards, and present scholars of Philippine History, are inclined to attribute Agoncillo's influence to be a result, not of his public positions, but that of a conviction to defend the trampled rights of his people, especially of the poor, within the context of the political system of his time. This conviction, which won for him the respect and admiration of the common people, also won for him the enmity of the Spaniards, especially the friars. It was said that when he opened his law-office in Batangas, he posted on his door an announcement: "For the poor at all hours, papers and fees free of charge."<sup>2</sup> The poor who flocked to his law office in search of counsel was attended to with preference. Agoncillo, for the Taaleños, always stood for justice and righteousness and humane public administration, virtues which were hard to come by in a period of oppression.

Yet, Felipe Agoncillo was not a separatist, as he, himself, claimed. In his petition addressed to Governor-General Ramon Blanco in Manila dated November 17, 1895,<sup>3</sup> Agoncillo affirmed his loyalty to the Spanish government and his religiosity, supporting his contentions with numerous copies of documents attesting to his irreproachable conduct.<sup>4</sup> As for the reasons behind the accusations directed against him, he explained himself thoroughly by citing the cases where he intervened legally and aroused the animosity of the friars and the military officers.

The first case happened in 1882 during the terrible cholera scourge in Batangas. Because of the lack of necessary hospitals in Taal, the parish priest and the physician converted the rectory of Caysasay into a provisional hospital. Both ordered that all those afflicted with the disease, whether rich or poor, should be brought to the hospital, even if it was already filled up with patients. Due to this announcement, the *principalia* of Taal explained to the priest and the doctor that there was a government decree reserving hospitals of that nature for the needy class only. Moreover, they contended that the hospital erected was too small to accommodate all the sick townspeople and was lacking in necessary sanitary facilities. Because of this protest, the priest and the doctor wired the governor-general and the *alcalde mayor* that Taal had risen in rebellion. The *alcalde*, as a result, ordered the apprehension of the *principales* concerned. Among those arrested were Flaviano Agoncillo, Nicolas Encarnacion and several others. They were imprisoned in Batangas. Felipe Agoncillo, who happened to be practising his young career in that capital, went to see the provincial *alcalde mayor* and proved the innocence of the prisoners, who were ultimately, released. Because of Agoncillo's intervention, the parish priest received a stern recrimination from the governor-general and was, finally, removed from his post.

The second case involved the discord between the Taal residents and their new parish priest, Fr. Martin Hernandez. At that time, the election of the *gobernadorcillos* and the ministers of justice of Taal took place. However, by some design, the results of the election, in favor of Ramon Atienza, Flaviano Agoncillo and Eulalio Villavicencio, were declared null. Designated acting *gobernadorcillo* by the governor-general was a person recommended by the priest, but who did not even participate in the elections. Resenting the decision, various negotiations were presented by the *principalia* to the governor-general to approve the election of Ramon Atienza, who was legally qualified. Atienza finally got his post as the *gobernadorcillo*.

The third case enumerated by Agoncillo involved a police search made in the house of Leon Apacible. Agoncillo was consulted by Apacible, informing the former of the military officer's refusal to present the needed papers prior to inspection. Agoncillo advised the latter to present his case to the district notary, proving through witnesses present during the inspection, the officer's refusal to present the papers asked for and confirming that said officer did not find the object of his search, lawyer Gregorio Catigbac of Lipa. The notarial act was given; and from then on, the *Guardia Civil* Captain was heard to make unsavory remarks against Agoncillo. This and other similar incidents mentioned made Felipe Agoncillo an object of resentment by both the parish priest and the military.

On December 28, 1894, the Provincial Board of Batangas unanimously elect-

ed Felipe Agoncillo as the Delegate Adviser (*Concejero Delegado*) to the Council of Administration (*Consejo de Administracion*),<sup>5</sup> representing the provinces of Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Tayabas, Mindoro and Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur. This office was powerful because it was the consultative body of the central government. With this position, Agoncillo could be a leading national figure. As such, he would be in a better position to carry out his ideals on a larger scale, exercising a wider degree of influence.

To say the least, Agoncillo's election was opposed by powerful enemies, who endeavored to set up obstacles in order to prevent the central government's approval of his election to the Council of Administration. As early as the end of March, 1895, Agoncillo was informed by friends in Batangas that, according to the clerk of the Court of First Instance, he, Agoncillo, would be prevented from occupying the position to which he was elected because all the parish priests and the *Guardia Civil* of Batangas were plotting for his deportation.

At this point, it can be surmised that the Spaniards—particularly the priests and the *Guardia Civil*, feared the consequences of allowing Agoncillo's alleged *caciquismo* to extend over a larger territory should he occupy a seat in the Council of Administration. Redoubling their efforts in this direction, they planned a scheme to discredit Agoncillo before the eyes of the governor-general by denouncing him as a "filibuster," "anti-Catholic" and "anti-Spaniards." Other prominent Taaleños, who were disagreeable to the Spaniards by virtue of their affinity to Agoncillo, were also implicated in the secret plot.

Fr. Julian Diez, the Taal parish priest, set the plan against Agoncillo into operation. Personally aggrieved by Agoncillo's statements in the Taal cemetery, Diez found a cause to set the plan in motion. In doing this, he utilized his friendship with Jose Scarelle and other residents of San Luis, who happened to be the personal enemies of Felipe Agoncillo. He induced them to solicit, in his name and that of the provincial governor, signatures from the citizens of Taal for a document, the contents of which were to be explained by the priest and governor after it was signed. The group was able to solicit thirteen signatures. During the Lemery *fiesta* on August 15, 1895, a conspiracy was hatched in the convent of Lemery among the friar-priests of several towns in Batangas and various *principales* from San Luis, including the municipal captain.<sup>6</sup>

Governor Leandro Villamil was, at that time, a newly-designated civil governor of Batangas.<sup>7</sup> On the day he assumed his governorship, there was already a decided move, on the part of the enemies of Felipe Agoncillo, to bar his election to the Council of Administration by discrediting him. As a newcomer, not only in Batangas, but in the Philippines, Villamil had to educate himself about the manners and ways of the natives. This vulnerability easily made him a willing tool of the machinations of the Spaniards who surrounded him. At a very early phase of

Villamil's term as governor, a disagreeable picture of Felipe Agoncillo had already been drawn by the latter's personal enemies.

Due to this, Governor Villamil had already formed at this early stage, an antagonism toward Felipe Agoncillo, a sentiment which he showed soon enough. During the first days of Governor Villamil's term of office, several persons, including Agoncillo, visited him to pay their respect. Showing courtesy, the governor returned their visits with the exception of Felipe Agoncillo's. This studied oversight on the governor's part showed to Batangas citizens, especially, to those who harbored resentment against Agoncillo, Villamil's indifference to the latter. At this point, Villamil had formed the opinion that Agoncillo was "a supporter and propagandist of disastrous doctrines against the Institutions and Religion." The plan worked out fully as intended when Agoncillo, trying vainly to solicit Villamil's aid to expedite his election papers as Delegate Adviser in the Council of Administration, was coldly received by the governor.

Subsequent events showed the full development of the plotter's plan in their favor. First, upon being informed by certain plotters that active propagandists labored constantly in Taal, Governor Villamil immediately proposed their deportation and dismissal from office. Second, he relied solely on the reports of Julian Fraga, the *comisionado de apremio*, and, even if there was a possibility of falsity in the reports, he believed them to the point of reprimanding the Taal municipal captain, Teofilo Atienza, whom he probably forgot was also a representative of the Spanish government in the town.

The malicious scheme of the Taal priest and the insouciant attitude of the Batangas civil governor to both Agoncillo and Atienza, which led to a move to deport the two, revealed the employment of repressive tactics against the native officials when such methods are required to protect or further even the personal interests of those in power. Even a person's basic right to seek means to defend himself or to redress his grievances was thwarted by the Spanish colonizers so as to advance their interests.

This is evident in the desire of the governor of Batangas, Villamil, to know the text of the powers granted by some residents of Taal to several high personalities of the Spanish court of justice for the defense of their rights. The "*Escritura de mandato*" protocolized by the Batangas notary public on August 30, 1895<sup>8</sup> was just a conferment of powers to several leading lawyers of Spain and Manila to represent some Taaleños in any case they would file in court. A case in point was the representation made by lawyer Geronimo Jose of Manila for his client Ramon Atienza in the latter's complaint against the order of Julian Fraga on November 4, 1895 to pay a certain amount of uncollected *cedula-tax* in vacant *cabecerias* for 1891 and 1892. Jose, in his defense, pointed out clearly that his client had already been absolved of the offense by the administration of the treasury on April 26, 1895, and that the order of Fraga was anomalous for having revived a

case absolutely finished and decided upon.<sup>9</sup> Situations like this when an aggrieved native could be defended by a Procurador of the Royal Audiencia of Manila were observed with apprehension by the Batangas Spanish authorities.

From every indication, a very well-organized plot was planned, cooperated upon and executed. The friars and the Spanish governmental authorities of Batangas, including its military officials, were all participants in a force which had made separatism an ambivalent concept in Philippine history. So, regardless of historical implications and to achieve their ends, these Spanish authorities proved capable of forcing their way into any suspected domains and producing tangible proofs of booty to serve as evidence, such as, in this case, a suspected flag of the future Philippine Republic, to substantiate a charge of subversion.

In reality, Felipe Agoncillo, together with his friends who were indicted with him, were merely victims of injustice, not political agitators. He had become a victim of the evil which he tried to combat since the start of his career through legal and accepted procedures. His failure to defend the poor and the helpless was not his fault. In the same way, it was also not a political virtue. Such can be attributed to only one historical personage — Andres Bonifacio.

The 1896 revolution caught Felipe Agoncillo in Hong Kong. At first, he could not believe that it had erupted since his idea of a revolution was an impotent one. He thought the revolution was an infamous stratagem of the *frailocracia*, and, in his words, a pretext "to erase from the face of the world my poor compatriots, who distinguish themselves for their wisdom and position," but [he added], "if they really have employed it with the same ends as that of the year '72, this time it will be costly for them because my country is tired of so much evil." When he learned that a *real* revolution was underway in his country, Felipe Agoncillo resolved to consecrate his pen and possessions for the defense of the cause even as he thought,<sup>10</sup>

That it aborted out of time, but it was the beginning of our regeneration; thus it was necessary to help those who were in arms; in the end theocracy encountered its own penitence in its sin.

## FOOTNOTES

### EPISODE I: 1895 SUBVERSION

<sup>1</sup>Letter of Fr. Julian Diez to Archbishop Bernardino Nozaleda, dated at Taal, July 23, 1895, in *El Grito del Pueblo*, July 24, 1900, found among the *Philippine Insurgent Records*, Selected Documents, Box 16, Folder 425. The newspaper is given the document number as SD 425.3. The published letter, unfortunately, is unfinished. These revolutionary papers are found in the Manuscripts and Rare Books Section, Filipiniana, National Library.



<sup>2</sup>The residents were Jose Scarella, Cecilio Noble, Juan Aseron, Cornelio Villalobos, Juan Cabrera, Victoriano Mendoza, Juan Huerto, Antero Salvacion, Mariano Huerto, Bernardo Bonsol, Luis Magsino, Ruperto Balbacal and Victoriano Hernandez, in "Expediente instruido en el Gobierno Civil de Batangas, con motivo de una denuncia hecha al mismo por varios vecinos de Taal y S. Luis relativa a hechos graves cometidos en el primero de los citados pueblos", hereafter cited as "Expediente de denuncia". This is incorporated in "Expediente (reservado) promovido por el Gobernador Civil de Batangas y contra varios vecinos del pueblo de Taal denunciados como propagandistas de ideas anti-patrioticas y anti-religiosas", hereafter cited as "*Expediente reservado*", in Philippine National Archives (PNA), *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, 1888-1898 pp. 3-4. *Sediciones y Rebeliones* refers to the bundle of documents in the PNA from which the *Expediente* is taken, and is hereafter cited as *SR*, followed by the indicated year or province or both.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 6-35 back.

<sup>4</sup>Letter of Governor Leandro Villamil to Governor-General Ramon Blanco dated at Batangas, October 12, 1895, in *ibid.*, pp. 78-90 back.

<sup>5</sup>Letter of Fr. Julian Diez to Governor Leandro Villamil, dated at Taal, September 16, 1895, in "*Expediente Reservado*," PNA, *SR*, 1888-1898, pp. 61-73 back.

<sup>6</sup>Concerning masonry in the province of Batangas, Governor Antonio Diaz Valdez, the predecessor of Villamil, was not able to prove the existence of masonic lodges in the whole province as of April, 1895, although he noted that to some "anti-patriotic associations" were affiliated a few natives from Lipa, Taal and Bauan, in the letter of Antonio Diaz Valdez to Bernardo Echaluze, dated at Taal, April 7, 1895, in PNA, *SR*, Manila, 1897.

<sup>7</sup>Letter of Rafael Garcia Casero to Governor Leandro Villamil, dated at Lemery, September 9, 1895, in "*Expediente reservado*", PNA, *SR*, 1888-1898, pp. 41-60.

<sup>8</sup>Villamil to Blanco, Batangas, October 12, 1895, in *ibid.*, pp. 78-80 back.

<sup>9</sup>Letter of Leandro Villamil to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Batangas, October 20, 1895, in *ibid.*, pp. 82-87 back.

<sup>10</sup>Letter of Col. Francisco Prutos to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Manila, October 26, 1895, in *ibid.*, pp. 88-92 back.

<sup>11</sup>Order of Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated November 17, 1895, in "Expediente gubernativo contra vecinos de Taal y ampliado por una comision extraordinaria", hereafter cited as "*Expediente gubernativo*", in PNA, *SR*, 1888-1898, pp. 7 back-8.

<sup>12</sup>"Copia de los nombres que figuran en el oficio del Gobierno General para ser detenidos", in PNA, *SR*, 1897.

<sup>13</sup>Copy of a circular of the central government sent by Bernardo Echaluze to the Batangas civil governor, dated at Manila, October 12, 1895, in PNA, *SR* Manila, 1897.

<sup>14</sup>*Gaceta de Manila*, September 28, 1895, p. 1109.

<sup>15</sup>The events which happened during the collection of unpaid *cedulas* are based on the untitled extract of events occasioned by having appointed a *comisionado de apremio* for Taal, done in Batangas, November 25, 1895 (hereafter cited as extract of events), in PNA, *SR*,

1897 and the letter of Teofilo Atienza to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Taal, November 30, 1895, in PNA,SR,Manila,1897. The extract is selectively used.

<sup>16</sup>Copy of a letter of Governor Leandro Villamil to Teofilo Atienza, dated at Taal, November 16, 1895, in PNA,SR,Manila,1897.

<sup>17</sup>Critical in the sense that according to Fraga, he had to perform his duties only with the accompaniment of the military men because of the threatening attitude of the local authorities, thus he foresaw an imminent danger to public order. Extract of events, PNA,SR, 1897.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.* The alleged assassination attempt on the life of Fraga was conveyed by Governor Villamil in his letter to the Governor-General, dated at Batangas, November 17, 1895, in PNA, SR,1888-1898.

<sup>19</sup>Atienza to Blanco, Taal, November 30, 1895, in PNA,SR,Manila,1897. Atienza made an error in stating that Fraga and Villamil arrived in Taal on November 17, 1895 since it was on November 18 that Villamil asked from Blanco to allow him to accompany Fraga to Taal which was answered back favorably on the same day, see the telegram of Governor Villamil to Blanco, dated at Batangas, November 18, 1895, in "*Expediente reservado*", PNA.SR,1888-1898, p.95. Villamil's telegram of November 19 confirmed his arrival in Taal on November 18, see *ibid.*, p. 98. Also, the reconcentration of Taal of an additional twenty men was accomplished late in the afternoon of November 18, a fact corroborated by Atienza's statements about the arrival of more military men upon the coming of Villamil and company, see the telegram of the Captain of the Batangas *Guardia Civil* to the Colonel of the Manila *Guardia Civil*, dated November 18, 1895, in *ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup>Telegram of Teofilo Atienza to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated November 19, 1895, in "*Expediente reservado*", PNA,SR,1888-1898, p.99.

<sup>21</sup>Telegram of the Captain of Batangas *Guardia Civil* to the Colonel of the Manila *Guardia Civil*, dated at Batangas, November 20, 1895, in PNA,SR, Manila,1897.

<sup>22</sup>Letter-report of Luis Sein Echaluze to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Manila, December 29,1895, in "*Expediente gubernativo*" PNA,SR 1888-1898.

<sup>23</sup>Decree issued by Governor-General Ramon Blanco on February 1, 1896, in *ibid.*, pp.42-45 back. Exactly 38 days before the issuance of the said decree, Blanco, on December 24, 1895, sent a coded telegraphic order to Governor Villamil "to send as early as possible the list of persons of more trust and responsibility to constitute the *Municipio* in Taal", see the telegram of Governor-General Ramon Blanco to Governor Leandro Villamil, dated December 24, 1895, in PNA,SR,1896. It is thus shown that even before the February 1 decree was issued, the fate of the Taal local officials was already sealed with Governor Leandro Villamil sending the list of their future substitutes on a Christmas day even, in *ibid.* It could be stated that the December 24 secret telegram showed that Blanco no longer recognized by that early period the incumbent Taal local officials. Thus, it is inferred that the February 1 decree is just a formal pronouncement of this order of December 24, 1895.

The appointed municipal captain to succeed Teofilo Atienza was Cecilio Noble, one of the denouncers of the prominent Taaleños as propagandists.

<sup>24</sup>Decree of Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Manila, February 17, 1896, in PNA,SR,1896.

<sup>25</sup>Note 20 of "Extracto de las informaciones de la Policia secreta anotada por I. Caro y

Mir(?), 17 Abril a 19 Agosto de 1896”, in Documentos Sobre la Revolucion de 1896 a 1898 del Archivo de Santo Tomas, Seccion de Folletos, Tomo 33. University of Santo Tomas microfilm, Ro11 65. The entry is hereafter cited as “Extracto de las informaciones de la Policia secreta”, in Archivo de Sto. Tomas, UST mcf 65.

<sup>26</sup>Telegram of Governor Leandro Villamil to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated March 1, 1896, in PNA,SR, 1896.

<sup>27</sup>Copy of a letter of Governor-General Ramon Blanco to the Manila civil governor, undated but probably written on the first week of March, 1896, in *ibid.*

<sup>28</sup>Note 20 of “Extracto de las informaciones de la Policia secreta”, in Archivo de Sto. Tomas, UST mcf 65.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup>W.E. Retana, “Noticias”, in *La Politica de España en Filipinas*, September 30, 1896, p.328. Retana based his account on *Heraldo de Madrid* September 16 issue.

<sup>31</sup>“Extracto de las informaciones de la Policia secreta”, in Archivo de Sto. Tomas, UST mcf 65.

## EPISODE II: 1896 SUBVERSION

<sup>1</sup>V. Barrantes, “Rompecabezas Filipino”, in *La Politica de España en Filipinas*, November 30, 1896, p.444.

<sup>2</sup>Retana, *loc. cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup>W.E. Retana, “Noticias-Juicios-Hombres y Cosas”, in *La Politica de España en Filipinas*, October 15, 1896, p.354, footnote 1. The description of the flag is based on the *Heraldo de Madrid*, October 7, 1896. See also the copy of the Governor-General’s letter to the Ministry of Ultramar, dated at Manila, September 2, 1896, in PNA, *Masoneria* 1.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>Retana, “Noticias”, *loc. cit.*, pp.328-329.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 329.

<sup>7</sup>*Historia Civil de Filipinas*, Tomo 6, Documentos Suelos, 1896-1900, Doc. 7, año 1897, UST microfilm, Roll 50, Original in Archivo de la Provincia del Santisimo Rosario.

<sup>8</sup>*Philippine Insurgent Records*, Selected Documents, Box 44, Folder 2012.

<sup>9</sup>“Sobre indulto de los deportados de San Ramon [sic], Ramon Atienza, Teofilo Atienza y Flaviano Agoncillo”, in PNA, *Deportados* 1897.

## STATEMENTS TO CONCLUDE: THE INSIDE STORY

<sup>1</sup>“Copias de los nombramientos de diferentes cargos, que el Letrado Don Felipe Agoncillo y Encarnacion ha ejercido en la provincia de Batangas”, in “Expediente reservado”, PNA, SR, 1888-1898, pp. 115 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup>J.L., “Los Hombre de la Revolucion”, *Filipinas Ante Europa*, November 10, 1899, p.15.

<sup>3</sup>Letter of Felipe Agoncillo to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Manila, November 17, 1895, in “*Expediente reservado*”. PNA, SR, 1888-1898, pp. 104-113. All the incidents which happened to Agoncillo given in the text of this paper are based on this enlightening letter.

<sup>4</sup>See these “Copias de correspondencias dirigidas al Letrado: Don Felipe Agoncillo y Encarnacion”, in *ibid.*, pp. 142-192.

<sup>5</sup>Copy of Agoncillo’s appointment as *Concejero Delegado* in “Copias de los nombramientos de diferentes cargos, que el Letrado Don Felipe Agoncillo y Encarnacion ha ejercido en la provincia de Batangas”, in “*Expediente reservado*”, PNA, SR, 1888-1898, p.115.

<sup>6</sup>Letter of 17 Taal *principales* to Luis Sein Echaluze, dated at Taal, November 28, 1895, in PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos* 36. They had come to know about the machinations directed against the prominent Taaleños through the informations furnished to them by persons like Jose Scarella.

<sup>7</sup>Villamil’s appointment was contained in a royal decree dated 16 April 1895. See *Gaceta de Manila*, 26 May 1895, p. 580.

<sup>8</sup>“Protolization de una escritura de mandato otorgado por (29 Taaleños) a favor de los Excelentisimos Don German Gamazo, Don Franciso Silvela (y 8 otros) . . .” done in Batangas on August 30, 1895, in PNA, *Batangas Protocolos* 1153.

<sup>9</sup>“Copia de la Escritura Num. 104 Otorgada por Don Ramon Atienza, Don Eulalio Villavicencio, Don Vicente Marella, Don Ananias Diocno. . . y otros al los Exmos Sres Don German Gamazo, Don Francisco Silvela . . . y otros autorizada por Don Lucio Tiangco- Notario Publico del Distrito de Batangas”, in PNA, *Batangas* 5.

<sup>10</sup>J. Luna, “Los Hombres de la Revolucion”, *Filipinas Ante Europa*, January 10, 1900, p. 49.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY SOURCES

(A few words. All the materials used in this paper are primary sources. With the exception of the periodicals they are in manuscript form, nearly all of which were taken from the Philippine National Archives, *Sediciones y Rebeliones* bundles, hereby cited as PNA, SR, followed by the indicated year or

province or both. Microfilmed documents are properly indicated. I consider the extracts and copies of some documents as primary sources since they are written contemporaneously with the events they mentioned. For the two *escritura* documents, their titles which are rather lengthy are conveniently short-

ened. Chronological arrangement is followed in this Bibliography under each heading, except the entries under Periodicals.)

### *I. Compilation of Documents*

"Expediente instruido en el Gobierno Civil de Batangas, con motivo de una denuncia hecha al mismo por varios vecinos de Taal y S. Luis relativa a hechas graves cometidos en el primero de los citados pueblos". PNA, SR, 1888-1898.

Contains the letter of denunciation of thirteen residents of Taal and S. Luis dated at Taal, July 31, 1895 and the record of their verbal declarations.

"Expediente (reservado) promovido por el Gobernador Civil de Batangas y contra varios vecinos del pueblo de Taal denunciados como propagandistas de ideas anti-patrioticas y anti-religiosas." PNA, SR, 1888-1898.

A voluminous *expediente* containing less than 300 pages of confidential letters, telegrams, orders, testimonies. Significantly included is the letter-petition of Felipe Agoncillo to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Manila, November 17, 1895 justifying his moral, political and religious conducts with copies of his appointments to various governmental positions, letters attesting to his patriotism, religiosity and friendship with various Spanish personalities and certifications of his irreproachable character. Incorporated also here is the *expediente* immediately pre-

ceding this entry.

"Expediente gubernativo instruido contra varios vecinos del pueblo de Taal en la provincia de Batangas y ampliado por una Comision extraordinaria". PNA, SR, 1888-1898.

Contains importantly the reports of the delegate-designate to Batangas, Luis Sein Echaluze, and the decree of Governor-General Ramon Blanco on February 1, 1896 removing from office all the municipal officials of Taal and substituting them with loyal appointees.

"Copia de la Escritura Num. 104 Otorgada por Don Ramon Atienza, Don Eulalio Villavicencio, Don Vicente Marella, Don Ramon Atienza, . . . y otros á favor al los Exmos. Sres. Don German Gama-zo, Don Francisco Silvela . . . y otros Autorizada por Don Lucio Tiangco, Notario Publico del Distrito de Batangas". PNA, Batangas 5.

Importantly incorporated here is the letter of lawyer Geronimo Jose to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Manila, March 20, 1896, explaining vividly and accurately the case of his client, Ramon Atienza, supported with necessary enclosed documents.

*Historia Civil de Filipinas*, Tomo 6. Documentos Sultos, 1896-1900, Doc. 7, año 1897. Microfilm. University of Santo Tomas Microfilm Section, Roll 50. Original in Archivos de la Provincia del

Santisimo Rosario or the Manila Dominican Archives.

Contain documents pertaining to the Philippine revolution.

*Philippine Insurgent Records*. Selected Documents.

Contains some scattered documents dealing with the first phase of the Philippine revolution.

## II. Letters

Letter of Antonio Diaz Valdez to Bernardo Echaluze, dated at Taal April 7, 1895, regarding the state of separatism and masonry in Batangas province. PNA,SR, Manila, 1897.

Letter of Batangas civil governor, Leandro Villamil, to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Batangas, November 17, 1895, asking authorization to accompany the *comisionado de apremio* to Taal, giving his reasons. PNA, SR, 1888-1898.

Letter of 17 Taal *principales* to Luis Sein Echaluze, delegate of the central government to Batangas, dated at Taal, November 28, 1895 seeking redress of their grievances. PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos* 36.

Letter of the municipal captain of Taal, Teofilo Atienza, to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Taal, November 30, 1895 regarding the activities held during the collection of residue of *cedula*-tax and others. Written in

the body of the letter are several communications between Atienza and Governor Villamil. PNA, SR, Manila, 1897.

Letter of Governor Leandro Villamil to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated at Batangas, December 25, 1895 sending the list of persons to be appointed as municipal officials of Taal. PNA, SR, 1896.

## III. Telegrams

Telegram of Captain of the Batangas *Guardia Civil* to the Colonel of the Manila *Guardia Civil*, dated at Batangas, November 20, 1895, informing of the removal of forces reconcentrated in Taal, PNA, SR, Manila, 1897.

Telegram of Governor-General Ramon Blanco to Governor Leandro Villamil, dated December 24, 1895, ordering him to remit the list of trustworthy persons to occupy the seats of the Taal municipal Tribunal. PNA,SR,1896.

Telegram of Governor Leandro Villamil to Governor-General Ramon Blanco, dated March 1, 1896, giving information regarding the deportees. PNA,SR,1896.

## IV. Copies of Documents

"Copia de los nombres que figuran en el oficio del Gobierno General para ser detenidos". PNA,SR, 1897.

Copy of a circular of the central government sent by Bernardo Echaluze to the Batangas civil governor,

dated at Manila, October 12, 1895  
re the collection of residue of  
*cedula-tax*. PNA,SR,Manila,1897.

Copy of a letter of Governor Leandro Villamil to Teofilo Atienza, dated at Batangas, November 16, 1895, reprimanding Atienza about his supposed uncooperation and "systematic" opposition". PNA, SR, Manila,1897.

Copy of a letter of Governor-General Ramon Blanco to the Manila civil governor, undated but probably written on the first week of March, 1896, ordering the arrest of Felipe Agoncillo. PNA, SR, 1896.

Copy of the Governor-General's letter to the Ministry of Ultramar, dated at Manila, September 2, 1896, re the rebellious conditions of several provinces, including Batangas. PNA, *Masoneria* 1.

#### V. Extracts of Documents

Untitled extract of events occasioned by having appointed a *comisionado de apremio* for the town of Taal, done in Batangas, November 25, 1895, PNA,SR,1897.

"Extracto de las informaciones de la Policia secreta anotada por 1 Caro y Mir (?), 17 Abril, a19 Agosto de 1896"? Documentos Sobre la Revolucion de 1896 a 1898 del Archivo de Santo Tomas. Section de Folletos, Tomo 33. Microfilm. UST Micorfilm section. Roll 65. Original Manuscripts in Archivo de la Provincia del Santisimo Rosario or the Manila Dominican Archives.

#### VI. Miscellaneous Documents

"Protocolizacion de una escritura de mandato otorgado por (19 Taaleños) a favor de los Exelentisimos Don German Gamazo, Don Francisco Silvela (y 8 otros). . ." done in Batangas, August 30, 1895, re the conferment of powers to these prominent lawyers from Spain and Manila. PNA, *Batangas Protocolos*. 1153.

Decree of Governor-General Ramon Blanco on February 17, 1896 ordering the deportation of six leading Taal natives to the islands in the South. PNA,SR, 1896.

"Sobre indulto de los deportados de San Ramon [sic], Ramon Atienza, Teofilo Atienza y Flaviano Agoncillo", containing the letter of M. Dias Jaen (?) to the Gobernador P.M. of Mindanao, dated at Manila, October 1, 1897, making known the order of pardon to the three Taaleños. PNA, *Deportados* 1897.

#### VII. Periodicals

*El Comercio*, September 12, 1896.

*Gaceta de Manila*, May 26,1895, September 28,1895, and September 12, 1896.

*El Grito del Pueblo*, July 24, 1900.

*Filipinas Ante Europa*, November 10, 1899, and January 10, 1900.

*La Politica de Espana en Filipinas*, September 30, 1896, October 15 and 31, 1896, and November 30, 1896.