

SPANISH AND AMERICAN COLONIZATION PROCESSES IN SAMAR

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A. Hispanization Process

Until the close of the nineteenth century, Spain's colonial interests in the Philippines centered on the religious, economic and political activities in Manila, which means that most parts of the country remained free from Hispanic influence, either through administrative or political means.¹ One clear angle of the Hispanization process was Spain's negligence of the countryside's rich natural resources. Spain solely attached more attention to the unpredictable resources of the Acapulco trade. In this light, Manila remained a somnolent port between China and Mexico — meaning

“this superficial commerce did little to develop the productive capacity (potential) of the countryside. But it stimulated an unforeseen migration that directly affected village economics. Merchants were reinforced by artisans, coolies and farmers.”²

As early as 1600, the interdependent systems of Hispanic politico-religious-economic activities yielded an embryonic western economy concentrated in Manila, a traditional economy centered in the villages and a Chinese economy merging and segregating the two extremes.

As regards Spain's preoccupation with Manila and nearby provinces, ecclesiastical priorities determined the activities in many of the localities beyond Manila or Luzon. In most of Spain's colonial rule, the priests of the various missions constituted the only Spanish entity in the provinces. Because people in these areas attuned their hearts and minds to spiritual or religious activities, they readily responded to the proselytizing efforts of the clerics.³ Spain's early introduction of political and economic modi-

¹ An excellent study on the Filipino response to Spanish rule is in John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959). Also in Nichols P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* (Manila: n.p., 1971).

² David R. Sturtevant, *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840-1940*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 29.

³ Early clerical activities were discussed by Ignacio Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina*, 1688. Madrid: Instituto Historica de Marina.

fications to the native society lagged behind the religious changes. While Manila evolved into a legal and cultural expression of Hispanic civilization and culture, beyond the city's walls existed an ambience almost unaffected by Spanish colonial activities. Consequently, many of the colony's provinces remained backwaters.

Because the Spanish empire lost vast possessions in the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Madrid assessed the direction of Spain's colonial policies in the Philippines. With the liberation of most of Spain's colonies in South America, Madrid maximized the utilization of the resources of the remaining colonies. Hence, there was a shift of interest in the Philippines — from religion to agriculture and commerce. Increased production of cash crops, like tobacco, hemp, copra, sugar, and coffee was highly encouraged to support the dwindling economy of the Iberian monarchy. Accompanying these productive activities were Spain's establishment of institutions integrating both political and economic dependency of the country. Moreover, roads, bridges, ports and markets were constructed. Included in this infrastructure program was the development of legal-bureaucratic structures which oversaw the steady flow of activities in the cash crop economy.⁴ Such modifications started in the 1880s. Consequently, the country opened its ports to world trade and commerce because the necessary elements for commercial transactions were all set.

The resulting changes stimulated the Filipinos to experience incipient forms of national consciousness, triggered by the general increase in the composition of the *ilustrado* or *principalia*⁵ and the growing rate at which rural Filipinos required to render labor for the various economic and productive activities of the country. The involvement of the people in these structures grew into proportions arousing in the Filipino intellect a sense of nationalism and revolutionary consciousness which became evident in the Reform Movement and the revolution of 1896, where people started questioning and repudiating Spain's forces of colonial oppression.

A facsimile copy is in the Divine Word University Museum, Tacloban City, Leyte. See also, John N. Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979).

⁴ Benito Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the 19th Century Philippines, Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1955. This provides an ample discussion of the various economic activities which the Spanish regime engaged in the country which was directed at producing export crops for the world market.

⁵ A convenient survey of the political system under Spain is in Edward Bourne, "Historical Introductions," *Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, 56 vols. Emma Blair and Alexander Robertson (eds.) (Cleveland, Chicago: The Arthur H. Clark and Company, 1903-1909) I: 49-56. Also in Onofre D. Corpus, *The Philippines* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965).

Samar is the Philippines' third largest island.⁶ Because of its abundant natural resources, it lures colonial intrusion which keeps its economy poverty-laden and under-developed. The Samareños, of course, knew fully well the consequences of being another country's colony. With this perspective, they unanimously resisted Spanish colonial rule and American imperialism.

Before the coming of the Spaniards in the islands up to the early eighteenth century, the civilized natives of the island usually lived along or near the coasts, for the sea was the primary source of food and the main thoroughway for transportation and communication. Most of the towns of island were originally situated in these areas, except some, like, Gandara, which is in the interior.⁷

Samar's interior had a great natural barrier: a trackless jungle cleft by mountain gorges which should be crossed by ropes or by letting oneself down hundreds of feet clutching the *bejuce* vines and climbing up on the other side using the same precarious support. There were numerous deep and rapid river streams winding amidst forbidding mountains. There were only about five miles of road in the island passable by vehicle in 1884. There were no trails in the interior which horses could penetrate.

It was in these conditions where the Spanish authorities attempted to rule Samar and where the Americans conducted their counter-insurgency campaigns from 1892-1902.

Historically speaking, Samar was the first island subjugated by the Spaniards in 1521.⁸ Centuries of Spanish rule proved that it remained a backwater when viewed against the overall Hispanic colonization schemes.

When the Spaniards first set foot on the island, they found the natives warm and friendly. Pigafetta, one of the chroniclers of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage, described the initial encounter between the Spaniards and the Samareños:⁹

On Monday afternoon, March 18, we saw a boat coming towards us with men in it... when those reached shore, their chief went immediately to

⁶ Samar has an area of 13,080 square kilometers. It has a rhomboidal outline, stretching from the northwest to the southeast, from 12°32' to 10°54' with mean length of 32 miles and breadth of 11 miles. Samar is separated from Leyte in the south by the narrow San Juanico Strait. Many years ago, it was called Tandaya, Ibabao, Achan, and Filipinas, severally. Antonio Pigafetta, "Voyage Around the World," *The Philippine Islands*. Blair and Robertson (eds.) 33: 103.

⁷ The Spanish term for settlements can be misleading. For instance, the term *pueblo*, often translated into town was really a municipal district, with which is located a poblacion, and smaller groups known as *sitios*, *visitas* or *barrios*. For this paper, the term *native* refers to the non-European, non-Chinese residents of the island.

⁸ Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," *Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 33: 103.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

the captain general, giving signs of joy because of our arrival. Five of them ornately adorned remained with us, while the rest [to get] some others who were reasonable men, ordered food to be served before them, and gave them red capes, mirrors, combs, bells, ivory, bocasine and other things. When they saw the captain's courtesy, they presented fish, a jar of palm wine which they call uraca and coconuts. They had nothing else then, but made signs with their hands that they would bring *umay* or rice and coconuts and many other articles of food within four days.

This initial sign of friendliness and hospitality continued even until the early days of colonial rule of the Spaniards in Samar.

During the Spanish regime, Samar was backwater. Within three centuries, only Catbalogan knew a Spanish secular administrator; most towns followed orders emanating from the *residencias* of the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Augustinians. For over these centuries, the Samareños patiently suffered from the pressures and pangs of colonial life. However, sporadic and collective expressions of the people—which originated in the anti-secular and anti-clerical sentiments—compounded their revolutionary tradition and found utmost demonstration and manifestation in the guerrilla warfare led by General Vicente Lukban from 1898-1902.

The Jesuit missionaries started converting the Samareños into the Christian faith when they came to Samar in 1596.¹⁰ They continued doing so until their expulsion from the country in 1786. Essentially, the Jesuits played a major role in the evangelization and conversion of the natives. Aside from religious activities, they supervised the construction of stone churches and plazas in the various pueblos where the missionaries resided.¹¹

The Jesuits maintained two *residencias* encompassing several pueblos and independent settlements. One residence directly faced Spain; the other stood on the opposite coast. The former included the pueblos of Catbalogan, Calbiga, Paranas, Bangayon, Ybatan, and Capul. The latter subsumed the pueblos of Palapag, Catubig, Buraben, Catarman, Bonbon, Bui, Bacor, Tubig, and Borongan.

When the Jesuits left Samar in 1786, they had successfully erected 16 pueblos and pooled 15 resident missionaries in the island. This same year the Franciscan order took over the administration of the *residencias*.

¹⁰ "The Jesuit Missions in the Philippines, 1665," *Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 36: 55. For an extensive discussion of early Jesuit influences in the country, see Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979). Also in Joseph Schumacher, *The Church and the Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982).

¹¹ The workable relationship between the Samareños and the Jesuit missionaries could be seen in "Report of 1599 of Diego de Otazo (Jesuit missionary in Samar) in P. Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (Rome: Eslevan Paulino, 1604), pp. 107-180. See also, Ignacio Alcina, *La Historia de las Islas Filipinas Indios de Visayas del Padre Alcina*, 1688. A facsimile copy of this book is in the DWU-Museum, Tacloban City, Leyte.

The Franciscans were largely responsible for the primary education of the people. They wrote and translated materials and books for the schools they established. With their characteristic missionary zeal, they penetrated the interior towns to spread the gospel and to encourage the people to leave their mountain hamlets, and to establish their houses in the coastal pueblos.¹² The priests felt that the people's proximity to the centers of the pueblos would make their teaching of the gospel a lot easier and fuller.

The Franciscans, however, became critical of the previous missionary efforts of the Jesuits. In a letter of the Franciscan mission to the vicar of Manila, it said:¹²

The Jesuits only did one thing well and efficiently. This was commerce and for the greater profit, they allow the indios to live in the hills and along coasts so that they could gather wax, medicinal plants and others which the priests bought so cheaply and sold dearly in Manila.

The Franciscans felt the Jesuits used religion to convince the people to trade with them, with the latter at a disadvantage. They also felt that the *residencias* were not fully used in converting souls to the faith, but in negotiating, transacting, and finalizing trade and commercial activities. When the Franciscans took over, they put an end to these activities and rescinded commerce. The cold and reluctant acceptance of the people to the missionary efforts of the Franciscans soon found expressions in the various attempts of local traders to challenge the authority of the priests in the pueblos. The Franciscans failed to see one thing; by stopping the flow of trade and commerce in Samar, they were directly working against the interests of local elites, who acted as middlemen in the exchange of commodities between the interior producers and the pueblo priests. The interior producers were affected because their produce stopped generating income.¹⁴

Bruce Cruikshank discussed the roles of the Jesuit order in the social and economic activities of the Samareños.¹⁵ He noted that the Franciscan order, with their vows of poverty and emphasis on religious activities,

¹² "The expulsion of the Jesuits, (1768-1769)," *The Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 50:269-273. See also Cantius Kobak, *Samar Materials from the Spanish Era*. This collection is in DWU-Museum. Kobak documents this source as: "Bull of Suppression of the Jesuits and other Implementing Decrees," Cedula Book of 1771-1778, pages 170-196b.

¹³ *Historical Data Papers, Catbogan* (Manila: Philippine National Library, 1951). This is a collection of historical and social histories of the different provinces of the country which were prepared by the public school teachers in fulfillment of President Elpidio Quirino's instructions. While the materials are good reference materials, care was taken in handling the data from this source, since the teachers who collected the data were not abreast with historical methodology. The page numbers given in this dissertation follows that of the xeroxed copy which the DWU-Museum holds.

¹⁴ Pedro Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas* (Madero: Imprinta Estereotypia y Galiano Puastan, de Ariban y Ca., 1878), p. 225. Also in: Bruce Cruikshank, "A History of Samar Islands," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975, p. 32.

¹⁵ Cruikshank, *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

sowed the seeds of discontent and rebellion in the people which were expressed in the various forms of revolts in the 1880s and 1890s.

However, to say that these were the only cause of the revolutionary fervor of the Samareños is to miss the truism that the people had been freedom fighters even before the coming of the Spaniards.

Extant records in the National Archives described valorous accounts of the defense of the natives against invasion of "Moros" from Mindanao. From the fifteenth century to the sixteenth century, the Muslims continually raided and plundered the western and northern portions of Samar.¹⁶ They came to Samar because of their growing slave trade business and their interest to rob the people of whatever treasures they possessed. When the Spanish missionaries established their foothold in Samar, they became targets of the piratical raids because of the ransom money that they were able to exact from the order for their release.¹⁷

The Spanish administrators in the province as well as in Manila were alarmed over the increased piratical raids in the eighteenth century that they sought assistance from the King of Spain. The King decided to issue a Royal Decree on July 31, 1766, which expressed his desire to prevent the unabated intrusion of the "Moros" in Samar.¹⁸ He said that it was time for the Spanish forces to use full power to end these raids. Subsequently, a boatload of soldiers was dispatched to the Philippines with the expressed mission to assist the soldiers initially deployed in Samar. With the subsequent fortification of the coastal towns, the piratical raids decreased, and at the turn of the century, Samar was no longer besieged by the pirates. After this period, the Spanish authorities in Manila concentrated on the secular activities in the island and sought to include the province as one of its tribute-sources.

Consequently, in 1771, Governor Arda of Samar's military district formed a flotilla of light gunboats to protect the coastal towns and organized the *Armada de Pintados* for the Visayas.¹⁹ Watch towers were constructed to alert the people of the coming of the pirates. The priests in the pueblos of Catubig, Catarman, Laoang, Capul, Pambujan, Catbalogan, Basey, Balangiga, and Borongan were active in all these activities. The church bells were rung to signal the people to prepare for battle and the churches

¹⁶ "Moro Raids in Samar, 1751-1765," *Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 48:49.

¹⁷ Cantius Kobak (trans.), "An Account of the Ransom of Don Miguel del Castillo, Alcalde Mayor of Catbalogan from the Hands of the Muslims," *Leyte-Samar Studies*, 12 (1978), pp. 61-67.

¹⁸ "Moro Raids Repulsed, 1751-1765," *Philippine Islands*, Blair and Robertson, eds., 48:52.

¹⁹ Manila, Philippine National Archives, *Cedulario 1766-1778*, Expediente 15, pp. 148-183.

were used to keep women and children. Gradually, a sense of heightened communality developed in the ranks of the Samareños.

In 1830, the first military governor of Samar got his appointment. It was an offshoot of the failure of the Cebu-based Governor General of the Visayas to collect tributes and other revenues systematically from the people.²⁰ Three years later, the staff of the military governor was increased because of the increasing secular activities in the province. This included a public defender of prisoners. The number of Samareños in jail increased because of their failure to pay taxes and other tributes.

From 1830 to 1896, the governor's staff grew in membership because of the increasing complexity of the bureaucracy since 40 pueblos received supervision from the governor.²¹ With this was an increase in the governor's responsibility which included the swift administration of justice and implementation of the laws and decrees which Madrid and Manila issued. Also, the *guardias civiles* got more members because of the increased police activities needed in the province.

In December 1888, Governor General Juaquin Garcera of Samar reported that the troops deployed in Samar included 80 *guardias civiles* who were responsible for peace and order in the government's center in Catbalogan and in other pueblos.²² They were also charged with efficient trading and transporting of agricultural products from the producers to the government-controlled merchant ships for transport to Manila or Cebu.²³

In 1890, the staff in Catbalogan proved incapable of handling the administrative and paper work of a big province like Samar.²⁴ While the Manila-based Spanish authorities attempted to ameliorate the situation by sending an additional staff or two, they ignored the idea of a strong staff for the province because economically and politically the distance of the province from Luzon and its uneconomical position were considered by these authorities as negative factors in the over-all colonial structure they developed.

Because Samar was a backwater, the governor of Samar obviously became the key person in the Spanish administration of the province. He was

²⁰ During the early days of Spanish rule, Samar was under the politico-military jurisdiction of Cebu. Samar was ruled domestically by a *gobernador* whose activities were supervised by the Politico-Military Governor of Cebu. In 1735, because of the increased political and economic activities in Samar, it was transformed into a district province with Calbayog as capital. HDP, Catbalogan. See also Felix Huerta, *Histografía de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Manila, 1865), p. 72.

²¹ Kobak, Bundle No. 29, No. 5 (Report of Joaquin Garcia, September 29, 1888).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Manila, PNA, *Sediciones y Rebelliones, 1884-1888*, one unnumbered legajo. (Report of Joaquin Garcia, governor of Samar undated.)

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, Cruikshank, p. 152.

the vital link between Manila and Samar. Such a situation proved difficult to handle, especially with the emergence of hostilities between the Spanish forces and the Samareños.

The first and major organized uprising in the country happened in Samar on June 1, 1649.²⁵ Montero y Vidal in his *Historia de Filipinas* said:²⁶

The first region to declare war against us is the province of Ibabao, which is in the island of Samar in the northern portion of the province.

Montero y Vidal also added that the revolt was a reaction of the natives against oppression embedded in the public works project of the central government which he felt was unwarranted because the people clamored for protection and defense of their coastal pueblos against any form of interference.²⁷ Obviously, the authorities believed that it could only be done if the financial position of the government would improve after losses in the galleon trade.

These losses incurred by the galleons in the seventeenth century paved the way for the decision of Manila to maintain a shipyard in the province, as it was one of the provinces where the galleons got agricultural products, especially copra and hemp for export in the foreign ports. Consequently, this needed the drafting of carpenters and workers from the pueblos of Samar.²⁸ The people naturally disliked this political compulsion. Nevertheless, they supplied the shipyard with the required manpower of one man for every village. Such a gesture was shortlived. The natives decided to fight against this unjust scheme. Actually, the people only waited for a trusted leadership. And Sumoroy provided the qualities of a good leader and fighter. Sumoroy led the Samareños to fight against conscription and forced taxation. They agreed to end the simpler expression of exploitation in the pueblo—the parish priest and his church. Father Miguel Barberan became the target.²⁹ Sumoroy hurled a javelin at the priest after his Sunday mass which pierced his breast and instantly killed the latter.

Such a valorous manifestation of inflicting destruction upon a seemingly unconquerable institution, the church, served as an example for the Samareños who subsequently defied the orders of the governor-general of Samar. In effect, the people of the other provinces in the Visayas and in Luzon defied the Spanish decree one after the other.³⁰ The failure of the govern-

²⁵ HDP, Palapag, p. 136.

²⁶ "The Insurrection of the Filipinos, 1674 1678," *The Philippine Islands* ed. by Blair and Robertson, 38: 117-118.

²⁷ The moros plundered and burned the towns of Catubig, Catarman, Calbayog, Capul and Pambujan.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, HDP, Palapag, p. 136.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

ment to pacify the rebellious fervor of these people immediately forced them to require the Spanish priests in Samar and in other rebel strongholds to leave their churches. The exodus of these priests occasioned the burning of the churches.

Naturally, the beleaguered governor of the province asked for reinforcements from Cebu and Manila. Before aid arrived, the rebels sought refuge in the forests. A running battle, therefore, ensued between the two factions.³¹ The revolutionary zeal of the Samareños fanned the stamina of the people of Camarines and Ibabao to replicate the achievements of their fellow rebels.

Sumoroy's revolutionary career ended abruptly because his brother-in-law bartered the fighter's life from Spanish authorities with a few *pesetas*.³² The soldiers captured him eventually and was executed in the public square of Calbayog.

The Spaniards in publicly executing Sumoroy thought that such an experience would prevent them from defying their orders again. However, from this time on, the history of Samar was full of minor uprisings which the Spanish governor of the province dismissed as isolated expressions of the people's ignorance of the law. Also, since most of the manifestations of unrest emanated from the interior dwellers, they were considered insignificant when compared to the peaceable coastal dwellers. However, this situation was intermittently defied by even the coastal dwellers, as they were dissatisfied with the colonial rule of Spain expressed in its oppressive and unjust system of taxation and tribute collection.³³ The Samareños felt that while they contributed to the up-keep of the government, they were still in the quagmire of poverty and underdevelopment.

On August 7, 1873, the Governor of the Visayas ordered Sr. Enrique de la Vieja, governor of Samar, to investigate the truth of the existence of subversive movements in the island.³⁴ He was ordered to confiscate firearms owned by the natives. This order came about due to resurgence of rebel movements in the island, which gained more members from the "ignorant masses", who were promised by some leaders a better government and a richer life. The leaders of such a movement lectured on detachment of the present world and enjoined the people to work with fervor for the establishment of a better government to be led by a great ruler in the

³⁰ "The Insurrection of the Filipinos in the 17th Century, 1674-1683," *The Philippine Islands*, 38: 1060-1067.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

³² *Op. Cit.*, HDP, Palapag, p. 138.

³³ The relevant archival materials are in 19 unnumbered legajos of *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, 1884-1896; PNA.

³⁴ Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1840-1892, Exp. 1, folder I-216. (Order of Governor Enrique de la Vieja to investigate subversive activities in Samar, August 7, 1873).

future. However, some vagueness appeared in the manner the alternative could be achieved. With certainty, the Spanish authorities knew that the force of the movement would become another Palapag if it remained unobstructed. The governor-general said something like preventing the tree from living by uprooting it immediately.³⁵ The movement ushered in the birth and growth of the Dios-dios movement in the island, which in the succeeding years became the source of strength of the guerrilla forces of General Lukban and the pulajanes.

Consequently, several people were arrested and deported. Sources showed the following as victims:

1. Candido Llamaran and Cesario Cabagaran were apprehended in Guiuan by the military and deported to Paragura. They were suspected of engaging in subversive activities.³⁶
2. Francisco Paragatos, Narciso Parajates, Matias Paragatos, and Aniceto Tarampos of Villareal were deported because of involvement in subversive activities and secret alliance with Leon Petac, a Dios-dios member, whom Spanish authorities considered criminal.³⁷
3. Fabian Ortonio of Calbayog was deported for vagrancy and illegal possession of firearms.³⁸

Extant sources mentioned these persons. It may be speculated that the Spanish administrators sowed the seeds of terror in the provinces to discourage the Samareños from asserting and fighting for their rights.

The governor thought that religious instruction was wanting, so the church had to work harder to discipline the people and force them to tow the line. In March 1844, he directed everyone to attend religious functions and instruction because non-attendance was tantamount to subversion or usurpation of authority.³⁹

³⁵ *Ibid.*

Pulahanism was a very complex organized movement of the peasants of Samar. It grew out of the cultural and economic lag which permeated the coastal and interior towns. Moreover, its predecessor, the Dios-Dios movement was inspired by nationalistic and religious motives.

The Pulahanes had its beginnings during the Spanish regime when scores of Samareños refused to follow the decrees of the church and fled to the mountains to organize the Dios-Dios movement, a religious and fanatical organization. Spanish reaction was fierce causing the death of many Dios-dios members. Others, to escape death, went further into the mountaints.

The members of this organization fought the Spanish forces mostly with bolos.

Their bolos were usually crescent shaped, to easily decapitate a man by a single blow. Their battle preparations consisted of prayers and the consecration of their anting-anting (amulets) and other religious paraphernalia. Their battle cry was "*tadtad!*" which means chop to pieces.

³⁶ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos*, Expediente 21, Folder I-366, bundle 1880-1882 (Order of arrest of Suspected Dios-Dios members, August 8, 1881.)

³⁷ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos*, Exp. 23, Folder I-45, bundle 1884-1887 (Deportation of Francisco Paragatos, et al. from Calbayog, June 5, 1887).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos*, Ex. 24, bundle 1884-1886 (Order of Chacon, Governor of Samar, Calbayog, March 23, 1844).

For the churches of the towns to consolidate and expand their religious involvement in the island, Sr. Adolfo Rodrigues decreed the political reorganization of the townships by dividing them, for the authorities to manage, identify, and monitor the movement of the people (natives) by the parish priest.⁴⁰ Thus, the towns of Catbalogan, Zumaraga, Calbiga, Paranas, San Sebastian, and Dapdap were subdivided into political districts. The governor believed that the earlier political subdivision of the province into townships facilitated the movement of insurrectos in the towns since the boundaries of the political units were not clearly defined. With this reorganization, it would be easier for the government to identify and to keep track of the movement of the people in their jurisdiction.⁴¹

On November 1883, Dionisio Mendiola sent three prisoners to Catbalogan to seek audience with the Spanish Governor, Enrique Chacon, and to answer the charges of inciting people to subversion and rebellion as phoney by informing the government about the advent of a new king called Conde Legnes because they worked closely with Isidro Reyes, whom Mendiola in January 1843, imprisoned in Catbalogan.⁴² Reyes was accused of promising miraculous recovery from various ailments, attracting people and gaining financial profit from the same from August to October 1883. He was well received by the people as shown by the number of people who visited him bringing eggs, hens, rice, and other foodstuff.

Actually, Mendiola instructed Bio Bismar, head of *guardia civil* in Gandara,⁴³ to establish an outpost at the Lapinit river to contain the rebels and prevent them from moving and affecting other people in other sitios or towns.

The uprising in Gandara occurred because of the issuance of a general decree which imposed a monthly due of 20 centavos on each adult member of the town.⁴⁴ The people got furious with this decree because they generally suffered from dire poverty. They saw clearly the consequences of the scheme: their lives became miserable; therefore, all would be deprived of food and other basic needs.

In the beginning, the failure of the people to pay their regular contributions to the government was not a result of the people's resistance. In reality, the initial problem centered on their failure to produce enough agricultural products to support their everyday needs.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the

⁴⁰ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos*, Exp. 25, bundle 1884-1886 (Order of Adolfo Rodriguez, Governor of the P.I., May 24, 1844).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gubernativos*, Exp. 24, bundle 1884-1886 (Mendiola to Chacon, November 1883).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* See also PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebellenes*, unnumbered legajo, bundle 1883-1887. (Report of Mendiola about the Gandara uprising, undated).

⁴⁵ On November 9, 1885 for instance, Enrique Chacon reported:

governor's staff could not effectively reach the population, but still they demanded from them contributions.

Before the late nineteenth century prosperity in the trade and sale of abaca, tribute payments were hard to collect. In 1832, as a case in point, a governor of Samar commented that any collection of tribute on Samar was a miracle because it was not possible to remedy the situation using force.⁴⁶ Resorting to force only encouraged people to flee into the interior. In any collection scheme, the government never tolerated remiss payers and granted exemptions. About 1845, the *principalia* of Gandara requested not to pay the year's tribute because the typhoon destroyed their crops. The governor replied harshly:⁴⁷

. . . rare is the year without one, two or three *baguios* which destroy the crops, leaving the pueblos virtually in a state of languor from the loss of their harvests. But these people are never in absolute misery nor denied recourse because of the fertility of the soil and abundance of other resources to which only their lack of stimuli makes them indifferent. . . .

He ended his request by saying that North Gandara or any other pueblo in Samar had no right to request for a respite to pay tribute for a year.⁴⁸ However, the governor failed to ascertain the main cause of low produce from the people's farm and mass indifference.

Samar, unlike the coastal plains of Luzon, has narrow strips of land suited for the cultivation of rice and other crops. The land area from the Palapag plains, Catubig valley, and western portion of Catarman is the largest available farmland for rice.⁴⁹ Because of the inadequacy of farmlots, rice and corn production was way below adequate levels for the sustenance of the population.

Lowlands were, without exception, coastal and therefore limited in extent. Until today, the chief problem of Samar pivots on inadequate extensive agricultural lowlands and the distinctly limited accessibility of those that exist.⁵⁰

The province is poor especially in the west and east coasts, while also the lack of communication and transportation facilities greatly impede the sale of the products. — Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Enrique Chacon), bundle 1884.

⁴⁶ *Op. Cit.*, Cruikshank, p. 145.

⁴⁷ Manila, PNA, *Provincia, Samar*, unnumbered legajo, bundle 1884-1888. This document is undated and bears no signature of writer. However, since this is a directive, this must have been insisted by the governor-general of the islands.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ A good source for Samar's physiography is in Hubert Schneck, "Physiography and Geology of Samar Islands, P.I.," *The Philippine Journal of Science* 20 (March, 1922): 231-246.

⁵⁰ Michael Perry McIntyre, "Leyte and Samar: A Geographic Analysis of the Rural Economies of the Eastern Visayas," (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1965), p. 63.

In lieu of these, the natives cultivated rootcrops which amplified their meals of rice, meat or fish. These rootcrops were important to the Samareños: *camote* (sweet potato), *kamoteng-kahoy* (cassava) and *gabi* (taro).⁵¹ They could be grown anywhere and needed only minimal tillage.

However, production of these crops was insufficient to enable them to fulfill their yearly contributions to the government regularly and constantly.

To make the decree on taxation compulsory, the governor of Samar created the municipalities of Dapdap, Gandara, Laoang, Catubig because these places were largely populated.⁵²

To further assure the collection of taxes, the *guardia civiles* were strengthened and given more powers. On April 7, with the arrival of nine more troops in Samar,⁵³ Enrique Garcia was appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the *guardia civiles* for the whole province.

As the entire machinery of the Spanish secular and military forces went to exact by force from the people their contributions to the bureaucracy, sporadic and isolated rebellions occurred in the province. In May, 1884, 1,500 rebels were apprehended and deported to Dapitan.⁵⁴

An unusually large gathering of people numbering about 2,000 alerted the *gobernadorcillo* of Dapdap, Tarangan. He noticed that people from the pueblos of Catbalogan, Zumaraga, Jiabong, Paranas, Calbiga, San Sebastian, and Calbayog had been meeting for several days in the *visita*. When queried, the crowd said that they were just fulfilling their familial vows for the *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*.⁵⁵ They added that to complete the fulfillment of their religious pledge, they should proceed to Tarangan to say their prayer for St. Francis Asisi, their patron, and St. Vicente Ferrer for the barrio of Tinambacan, Calbayog. The pilgrimages according to them were the people's fulfillment of a vow, for they escaped the claws of the cholera epidemic of 1882-1883. Ceferino Protesto was responsible for this gathering.⁵⁶

Governor Chacon was immediately informed of this gathering. He sent troops to disperse this unwarranted congregation. With a formidable force

⁵¹ From the agricultural inputs, the industry in Samar was confined to weaving and the distillation of oil. Some of the people also engage in the trade of vino or *tuba*. In 1870, there were 105 weavers and 5,727 oilers in the province. These data were taken from Felix Huerta, p. 80.

⁵² Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, unnumbered legajo, bundle 1884 (Order of Chacon creating new pueblos, March 23, 1844).

⁵³ PNA, Manila, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, unnumbered legajo, bundle 2884 (Order of Chacon regarding assignments of *Guardia Civiles*).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ PNA, Manila, *Sedieiones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1893, unnumbered legajo.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

of fully armed soldiers and the parish priest of Gandara, 267 persons were captured and taken to Catbalogan. From the interrogation that followed, Governor Chacon learned that the devotees believed that:⁵⁷

this island on which they lived were going to sink, the world was going to end. To evade this first cataclysm, they moved to the *visita* of Bonga when each paid one-half real to register and for expenses of this organization. Those that preached in this meeting were Locreo, Nicolas, Ramon and Carlos, all from Gandara. . . .

Governor Chacon concluded that these people were simply deluded by some who were out to exploit them.⁵⁸ All were ordered to return to their respective *visitas* and live a peaceable life. Chacon hoped that the situation in the island would be greatly improved.

However, the leaders of this meeting eluded captivity. On March 19, the pueblo officials and *cuadrillos*⁵⁹ of Gandara who carried out mapping operations, for the leaders of the Bonga meeting encountered a group of armed men and women in one of the pueblo's *sitios*. The scouts pursued them, but decided to backtrack since the armed group outnumbered them.⁶⁰

This group, which in the beginning started with a purely religious theme, evolved into a political force which challenged the supremacy of the Spanish rule in the island. This group was led by Locreo. In attracting more adherents to the cause, Locreo said:⁶¹

A great city would appear that they would return to the ancient customs and dress, that the prices of commodities would decline and that they would grow strong and numerous enough to kill the *gobernadorcillo* of Gandara and the authorities.

It was clear that Locreo envisioned the possibility of a counter institution, the structure of which would free the people from all forms of economic and political oppression. However, while the process of change was not clear, it was definite that change could only come by a definitive change of the poor's conditions: death of the *gobernadorcillo* and resistance against authorities. The goal was to topple the old order (Spanish) by replacing it with a new one. Moreover, it needed the concerted action of the people to enable the leadership to fulfill its plans.

Governor Chacon, as in the Bonga encounter, reacted quickly, with a reinforcement of 125 *guardia civiles* from Cebu, he set out to meet the

⁵⁷ Kobak, Exp. 123, legajo, 5528. Chuikshank in his dissertation identified this document in his book to be taken from the Archivo Historico-Nacional, Ultramar, Spain.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Cuadrillos* are local or town policemen.

⁶⁰ Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1896, unnumbered legajo. (Report of Mendiola about Bonga encounter, March 22, 1884).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

rebels.⁶² Upon arrival, he was met by 1,500 men drawn on the beach in a battle formation. The rebels were asked to surrender, but they refused. The use of force by the Spanish soldiers became necessary: rifles and bolos clashed. In the end, three rebels died, 23 wounded and 95 captured. The rest fled. The Spanish soldiers reported no casualty.

When Chacon assessed the outcome of the encounter, he deplored the death of these men.⁶³ However, he believed that the uncivilized acts of the Samareños dramatized the looseness of the morality and the lack of religious discipline that he expected the people to value. He, therefore, asked the various chiefs of the *guardia civiles* in the sub-districts to be on their posts and to report other untoward incidents in their respective area of jurisdiction.

The governor noted that the well-to-do people's leaders were the instigators of several acts against the authorities.⁶⁴ He warned and asked them to cooperate fully with the government in its civil and religious activities.

General Chacon, in a letter to the *Sr. Teniente de la Guardia del Distrito de estas Islas*, reported that he be given the authority to fully exercise his discretion to arrest similar problems in the future without prior approval or permission from central authority.⁶⁵ He declared that the distance from Manila and time lost in the dispatch of request for military action proved crucial in the easy suppression of rebellion. Thus, the Governor-General of the island, commanding the resurgence of the rebellious activities of the people and the rule of force necessary to check the "sedition schemes of the ignorant Samareños", empowered Chacon with the authority to use his best discretion in an armed confrontation with the Samareños.⁶⁶

Chacon thought that peace would soon happen in the island. However, he was mistaken. By September of 1882, Borongan became the site of a *Dios-dios* movement. Active preaching and recruiting characterized the activities of the movement.⁶⁷ Like Borongan, the leaders promised the emergence of a new city and a new king. However, additional promises were given like resurrection of those who died in the cholera epidemic, protection from Spanish bullets, and use of magical prayer and supernatural intervention.⁶⁸

⁶² Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1896, unnumbered legajo. (Report of Enrique Chacon, March 28, 1884).

⁶³ PNA, Manila, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, Exp. 24, bundle 1884-1886 (Enrique Chacon's report, undated).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1886, unnumbered legajo, April 7, 1844.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1897, unnumbered legajo, (Report of Enrique Chacon, October 15, 1884).

⁶⁸ *Sediciones Y Rebelliones. Ibid.*

An important aspect of their teaching was the need to use force and violence in the creation of conditions that would permit the attainment of a better condition and life. Thus, resistance and rebellion were more pronounced in their teaching, superstition, and the religious aspect of the group was given secondary importance.

On November 4, 1884, the parish priest of Borongan reported to Governor Chacon that his parishioners followed again their heretical practices. He said that the people had forgotten their Christian duties and neglected to participate in the religious activities. The people, in their desire to express their disgust over the ways in which the civil government and the religious group conducted their work, sought to demonstrate their disobedience by engaging in cockfighting, gambling, and drinking on Sundays.⁶⁹ From extant records, the leader of these protests wanted to draw the civil guards into their territory for a bloody hand-to-hand combat. This came when soldiers came upon the suggestion of the local parish priest. The movement was temporarily quelled.

The priest thought that people resorted to heretical practices because they needed teachings on catechism and its practices. To ensure this, the Bishop of Cebu on November 20, 1884, declared that he would visit local parishes and talk on the role of conversion to Catholicism.⁷⁰ The bishop decreed that the people should receive the holy sacrament, baptism, confirmation, and matrimony. He said that only these ignorant and Godless people were in the fold of the church and that these people should also be within the fold of the state.

A subsequent order was decreed by Governor Chacon. He instructed the priests and the religious orders to participate in the formation of *celdas* to track down the movement of the people in the towns.⁷¹ They would see to it that curfew was observed and bar outsiders without proper identification and legitimate business in the town. They were also ordered to supervise the sanitation and cleanliness activities of the town. However, these *celdas* were under the jurisdiction of the *guardia civil*.

Borongan was attacked twice in November.⁷² The ensuing conflict was more intense than the previous. Many people were killed because rifles proved more lethal than bolos.

The government hastened to disperse the meeting of these people, but favorable terrain and knowledge of various pathways helped them

⁶⁹ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, bundle 1884 (Chacon's reaction to a letter by the parish priest of Borongan, November 4, 1884).

⁷⁰ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, bundle 1885-1896, unnumbered legajo (Instructions of the Bishop of Cebu, November 20, 1884).

⁷¹ Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Enrique Chacon, December 17, 1844).

⁷² Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones* bundles 1884-1890 and 1888, unnumbered legajos (Report of Enrique Chacon, *undated*).

escape from the pursuers. Once, a band of rebels ambushed a squad of *guardia civiles* and killed four.⁷³

Chacon felt that another attack was needed to totally paralyze the movement. The soldiers, with more reinforcements from Cebu, easily repulsed the rebels.⁷⁴ By December 22, all were reported quiet, except for a small group of rebels near Libas and Lanang. By January 1885, most who engaged themselves in fanatical meetings returned to the fold of the law. Leaders were either killed or incarcerated; many members returned to their houses.

In 1888, another *Dios-dios*-led uprising occurred in Borongan. Soledad Alas was its leader. She established her stronghold in the barrio of Surat.⁷⁵ The movement that she led slowly transformed the religious movement into a politically-motivated uprising. She outlined the aims of the uprising as follows: return to folk religion through the abolition of the Catholic religion and its affiliate institution and abolition of taxation and forced labor.

She clearly showed that these could be attained only through armed conflict. She prepared the people for the battle and ordered the production of large quantities of bolos and spears.

However, she underestimated the brutality of the Spanish colonizers. Alas and several of her men met their deaths in the hands of the *guardia civiles* and *cazadores*. For the period following the turmoil-laden years, occasional pocket demonstrations of resistance surfaced. Most of them were instigated and led by members of the *Dios-dios*. Their leader was a man called Leno Anteja who had been "charged by God to redeem his converts." In December 1885, the government seized 12 *Dioses* near San Sebastian.⁷⁶ In January 1886, 38 insurrectionists called *Dios-dios* were captured. In October 1886, some *Dioses* were arrested in the mountains behind Sulat and Libas.⁷⁷ The captured rebels all admitted that part of their activity was to peddle oraciones/magical prayers written on slips of paper for a *peseta* each as protection against cholera. They also said that they prepared the island for the coming of a new king who would rule them with kindness and benevolence.

The *Dios-dios* movement, forerunner of the *Pulahanism*, found adherents in other pueblos. Some more people vowed to the aims of the movement and prepared themselves to fight. The authorities started to consolidate its power and apprehended leaders and followers of the movement. In June 1887, Teodoro Legau, Patricio Herica, Geronimo Sacaya,

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*.

⁷⁵ HDP, Borongan, p. 49.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Marcelino Acebar, Calixto Juan of Sulat, Pambujan, Laoang and Catubig were caught and jailed for launching activities inimical to the principles of the church.⁷⁸ On November 1887, Miguel Fajardo of Villareal reported to Governor Chacon the existence of the *Dios-dios* movement in Bilat, Villareal. For the state to take interest in these people, the church accused them of subverting the people against the Spanish rule.

The Spanish authorities, on the other hand, facilitated the institution to prepare itself against local protests.⁷⁹ In 1884, members of the *principalia* of each town were appointed as affiliates of the civil government. They were responsible for disciplining the people and reporting of any unusual activities in their territories. At this point, the Spaniards used the Samareño against his fellow Samareño. Most of the members of this elite group rallied behind this policy and started to implement a hard line policy against any violation of Spanish laws and decrees. They were promised among other things access to various lands and percentages of trade and commerce in their towns. With this, the antagonism between the patrons and clients heightened.

To establish a semblance of law and justice, Governor Miguel Fajardo ordered in 1887 that all persons accused of a crime should receive fair trial and that everyone could appeal decisions of the bodies that condemned him to the next higher office.⁸⁰ However, experience showed that nothing much could be expected from his pronouncement on justice, for many of those who were arrested were deported or jailed without a fair day at court. Some cases tried simply sustained the ruling of the lower judicial bodies. In several instances, sentences became more grievous. A case in point was the trial of Eugenio Gonzales who was convicted of theft. He was sentenced to several months of imprisonment, but when the case was appealed to a higher court, Alvarez Ramos added to the previous sentence of imprisonment for six months hard labor.⁸¹

In a related case, the *Juzgado de la Instancia de Borongan* on October 15, 1887, sentenced several people in Borongan for inciting sedition and rebellion.⁸² They were found guilty and were asked to render indefinite prison terms with hard labor. All those charged were common workers, who felt that taxes levied on them were excessive. They agreed among themselves to refuse payment of taxes and avoid conscription.

⁷⁸ Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Enrique Chacon, June 1887).

⁷⁹ Manila, PNA, *Expedientes Gobernativos*, bundle 1884, unnumbered legajo (Chacon's order appointing civil officials from among the town's *principalia*, undated).

⁸⁰ Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Miguel Fajardo), bundle 1887.

⁸¹ Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1888, unnumbered legajo. (Order of Governor Miguel Fajardo, 1887).

⁸² Manila, PNA, *Sediciones Y Rebelliones*, bundle 1884-1898, unnumbered legajo (Proceeding of the *Juzgado de la Instancia de Borongan*, October 15, 1887).

After 1888, no reports of *Dios-dios* activities were heard. The governor of Samar thought that tranquility had finally settled in the island.

However, in 1893, with the setback suffered by the Spanish crown in the foreign colonies, attempts were made to secure the cooperation of the Filipinos to enable the crown to curtail the effects of various economic and political failures of the empire all the world over. Governor Ricardo Nomuta of Samar, issued a decree which further made the life of the common Samareño difficult.⁸³ He ordered the census of each town to determine taxation and manpower resources. He also regulated the flow of trade and commerce by laying down harsher tariffs on products sold in the local markets. During this year, ₱40,000 came from tariff alone. The people reacted negatively to this policy. Their leaders asserted that the Filipinos should be the beneficiaries of progress and development from the proceeds of their labor. They thought that the people, because of their industry, were superior to the Europeans. As a result, the ignorance of the people permitted them to accept the situation which the Spanish forces imposed on them. A bitter struggle ensued between these people and the Spanish forces. Most of their leaders were arrested and deported to the smaller islands of the province. The Spanish governor, in his intention to fulfill the decrees of the government, only used force if needed.

By the end of the Spanish regime, forty towns had been founded in Samar.

At this juncture, too, commerce in the island was controlled by the foreigners. Manila's most important commercial houses conducted business in Samar. They purchased products of the natives—wax, rice, abaca, oil, sugar cane, and the like.⁸⁴

In 1900, the province shipped to Manila 157,377 piculs of hemp and 6,214 piculs of copra. This greatly enabled the Samareños to increase their purchasing capabilities. However, as figures showed, this improve-

⁸³ Manila, PNA, *Memorias* (Ricardo Nomilla), bundle 1893.

⁸⁴ To illustrate this point, consider hemp production and marketing. Hemp was primarily produced to enable the natives to purchase food, clothing and other necessities. Cleaning and drying hemp, transporting system included, involved physical or manual exertion. Dried hemp was usually brought to the coastal or riverside areas where it was loaded for marketing in the hemp center in Calbayog, Laoang, Palapag, Pambujan, Catubig and Oras. These marketing centers bought the product from the mountaineers: subsequently, they sold the same to the foreign commercial houses in the island like Warner Barnes and Company, Compania de Tabacos de Filipinas, Smith Bell and Company, Ynchausti and Company, The Pacific Oriental Trading, American Commercial House and Gutierrez Hermanos. These houses compete with four huge Chinese commercial houses in Laoang and the Oria Hermanos. See also: Taylor, John, *Report on the Administration of Civil Government*, Section on Samar's Administration.

ment in trade and commerce did not benefit the common Samareño, but only forced them to retreat into the hinterlands to escape the exploitation and oppression of the authorities. This basic discontent developed into a compounding restlessness, which found expression in the various revolts people waged, even before General Lukban came to Samar.

Before the actual defeat and fall of the Spanish forces in Samar in 1897-1898, the Samareños, with their spirits heightened by the various successes of the Filipino forces in Luzon because of the return to power of General Emilio Aguinaldo, attempted to kill all the Spaniards in Calbayog and Catbalogan in 1897.⁸⁵ This plot was drawn by the members of the civil guards who were in this period mostly natives armed by the Spanish government. The plan was discovered, and the plotters imprisoned.

General Aguinaldo, in a move calculated to convince the people to join the revolt against Spain, appointed Don Antonio Muñoz as Samar's governor.⁸⁶ He was responsible for organizing the local forces, securing popular support and arming the forces in preparation of the armed conflict with the Spaniards.

General Lukban arrived in Samar in December 1898. Meanwhile, all the Spaniards left for Iloilo.⁸⁷ At the outset, General Lukban prepared to accomplish his revolutionary mission in Samar.

B. American Colonization Process

American involvement in the social and political unrest of the Cubans and Filipinos resulted in a war declaration between America and Spain.⁸⁸ The resulting defeat of the Spanish forces—naval and land forces vanquished in the Philippines—allowed Admiral George Dewey to blockade Manila while they waited for the reinforcements to come to finally conclude the occupation of the Philippines.⁸⁹

Initially, the Filipino leaders hailed the victory of the American naval forces as they continued to harass the remaining strongholds of the Spanish

⁸⁵ Kobak, Bundle 29, Folder 463. (Report of head, guardian civiles of Catbalogan, undated).

⁸⁶ HDP, Catbalogan, p. 38.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ An extensive account of the US-Spanish War can be gotten from a perusal of relevant documents in the U.S. Adjutant General's Office. *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain Between the Adjutant General of the Army and Military Commander in the United States, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands*, Vol. II, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902).

⁸⁹ The Filipino forces did not know that an agreement had been reached between the Spanish and American forces. They agreed to stage a mock battle. See also, James Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1912). Also in Leon Wolff, *Little Brown Brother* (Garden City: Double Day and Company, 1961), pp. 129-131.

forces in Luzon. They thought that the Americans were sincere when they promised to assist the Filipinos in their struggle to gain independence from Spain.⁹⁰ Emilio Aguinaldo, believing completely in America's promise, urged all Filipinos to fully support the campaigns of the Americans, when in reality Filipino troops liberated all provinces except Intramuros which the Americans surrounded.⁹¹

Three months after Aguinaldo's return to the country, he held again the helm of the revolutionary army's hierarchy. The people were, therefore, challenged to rally behind his forces to wipe out the vestiges of Spanish colonial rule. Soon Aguinaldo's rhetorical calls to arms spread like wild fire. Almost before the outbreak of the Filipino-American war, 30,000 *voluntarios* pitched their camps in the different encampments of the revolutionary army and carefully organized themselves into fighting units.⁹²

In August 1898, the Filipinos' sustained enthusiasm dismayed the Spanish forces.⁹³ When the Spaniard's last stronghold was almost vanquished, the Filipino forces around Intramuros received an order from the Americans to vacate the trenches and outposts which they occupied leading to the fort city. Emilio Aguinaldo did not know, at this point, that a clandestine plan of surrender was arranged between the Spanish and American forces: The Spaniards agreed with the Americans to stage a mock battle because they loathed seeing themselves captured by the *indios*.

After the mock battle, with the victory of the American forces secured, Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the country and established the republic.⁹⁴

The relation between the Filipino and American forces, as of late December 1898, seethed with hostilities. The Filipinos, by then, knew with certainty the implications of America's interest in the Philippines, right after the conclusion of the peace talks in Paris.⁹⁵ One major import of this talk was the emergence of a treaty which thought of ending hostilities between Spain and America by ceding the Philippines to the United States, with the payment of \$200,000. Such treaty when finalized by the

⁹⁰ Emilio Aguinaldo discusses this position in his book — *Resena Veridica de Revolucion Filipina* (Tarlak, 1898). See also, Teodoro Agoncillo, "Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic," *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 25 (1960): 25.

⁹¹ Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution* (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1969), p. 52.

⁹² Blount, p. 261. Also in Wolff, p. 132.

⁹³ Mabini, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Aguinaldo's message at this juncture was obviously in keeping with his understanding of the alliance he negotiated with the Americans, specifically with Consul General Spencer Pratt.

⁹⁵ Maximo Kalaw, *The Case for the Filipinos* (New York: The Century Company, 1965), p. 59.

representatives of both governments awaited confirmation in the United States Senate; it needed two-thirds vote for ready passage.⁹⁶

With full consciousness, the Filipinos knew that the Treaty of Paris signalled the eventual conquest of the Americans over the Philippines. Consequently, America's intention to secure a foothold in the country became fully manifest. It would be sheer insensitivity if a discerning eye believed that the Americans never desired to manipulate the Philippines and turn it into a colony, an interest which earlier reverberated in the statements of Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana when he articulated that:⁹⁷

American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. We will cover the world with our merchant marines. We will build a navy to the measure of our greatness. The Philippines is logically our first target. The Philippines is ours. Beyond them are China's illimitable markets.

Apparently, the actions of the American command in the Philippines betrayed their true intentions. The gradual military build-up of their forces and the issuance of President McKinley's proclamation of benevolent assimilation and the virtual occupation of Manila by the American forces under General Green were received by the Filipinos and their leaders as virtual signs of American occupation of the country.

As a reaction to this, General Aguinaldo issued statements protesting the enemies' calculated moves to conquer the country. On January 5, 1899, he issued a proclamation criticizing President McKinley's benevolent assimilation proclamation:⁹⁸

The government of the Philippines has considered it a duty to set forth to the civilized powers of the world the facts determining the rapture of the amicable relationships with the army of the United States in these islands, to the end that they may thereby reach the conclusion that I for my part, have done everything possible to avoid it, although at the cost of many rights uselessly sacrificed.

Again a discerning observer may notice that all along General Aguinaldo still hoped the Americans would remain faithful to the oral promises given him in Hongkong. Moreover, the same observer may see him insensibly stupid because he lacks insight to discern several calculated moves of the Americans against the vaunted independence.

Back in the United States, the pro-annexationist faction in the government, after assessing their number in the coming discussions of the Senate

⁹⁶ Blount, pp. 121-137. See also Agoncillo, pp. 353-359.

⁹⁷ Wolff, p. 63.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

of the Treaty of Paris when it would convene in January 1899, knew that they were one vote short of the two-thirds majority concurrence required by their constitution. President McKinley was himself worried over the situation because he deeply apprehended the growing public sentiments against the policy of colonialism.

In the evening of February 4, 1899, a skirmish happened between the American and Filipino forces. Both Generals Otis and Aguinaldo were quick to label the encounter as premeditated by the other side and both forces did not want to fire the first bullet. The truth, however, as to its instigator disseminated freely and pinpointed that the American forces deliberately planned the attack under direct instructions from Washington.⁹⁹ The outcome of this initial encounter reached the American public, with the mass media gloating over the savage attack inflicted on the American outposts by Filipino troopers. This reached the ears of the American decision makers, the real targets of this propaganda. On February 6, the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris, with a margin of one vote in its favor, which opened the formalization of America's colonial conquest of the Philippines.

During the night of the outbreak of the hostilities between the two forces, Emilio Aguinaldo noted the fiasco of his peace-keeping efforts. With the news of the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, he issued a statement addressed to the Filipino army and the people. He declared:¹⁰⁰

No more can I deplore than this rupture of friendly relations. I have a clear conscience that I have endeavored to avoid it at all costs, using all my efforts to preserve friendship with the army of occupation, even at the cost of not a few humiliations and many sacrificed rights. But it is unavoidable duty to maintain the integrity of the national honor and of the army so unjustly attacked by those who, posing as our friends and liberators, attempted to dominate us in place of the Spaniards.

Then, he announced the following decisions:

1. Peace and friendship between the Philippine forces and the American forces of occupation are broken and the latter will be treated as enemies within the prescribed limits of the laws of war.
2. American soldiers who may be captured by the Philippine forces will be treated as prisoners of war.
3. This communication shall be disseminated to the accredited consuls of Manila, and to Congress, in order that it may accord the suspension of the constitutional guarantees and the resulting declaration of war.

While the Filipino fighters stood their ground against the onslaught of the powerful war machines of the American army, a British observer

⁹⁹ Agoncillo, p. 174.

¹⁰⁰ Taylor, 2:163. Also in Agoncillo, p. 201.

spotted some lopsidedness of the initial encounters between the two forces. His observations of the fierce fighting ran as follows:¹⁰¹

This is not war, it is simply massacre and murderous butchery.

With this statement, Admiral Dewey, commander of the American Navy Squadron in the Philippines, replied:¹⁰²

The Filipinos have swollen heads, they only need one licking, and they will go crying to their homes, we shall drive them . . . within the next three days.

True enough, they delivered deadly blows against the Filipino forces in the ensuing battles. However, the Filipinos stood defending themselves by fighting bravely.

For General Otis, the present insurrection could be crushed in a matter of three months using only about 30,000 soldiers. To him, the uprising, being a Tagalog-led insurrection, was a local affair.¹⁰³ By June of the same year, he felt it would totally collapse. However, the subsequent realities of fighting in the fields belied his skimpy analysis of the situation. On August 15, faced with an insurrection which reached the Visayas, General Otis cabled Washington for an additional 60,000 troops.

Emilio Aguinaldo hurriedly prepared the country for war against American colonization. He reorganized the revolutionary army and assigned a politico-military head for each province. It was here when Antonio Luna became the Secretary of War.¹⁰⁴

As a result of this reorganization, many new military leaders were appointed to head their respective provinces in the war preparation. One such leader was Vicente Rilles Lukban whose preliminary activities in Southern Luzon and Bicol provinces won him the appointment to serve in 1898 as the politico-military head of Samar and Leyte. Consequently, the history of Samar from 1898 to 1902 revolved around General Lukban who earned the distinction of being the most formidable leader of the revolution and the last general of the revolutionary army to be captured.

¹⁰¹ Wolff, p. 266.

¹⁰² Wolff, p. 227.

¹⁰³ U.S. War Department, *Report of Major General E. S. Otis, U.S. Volunteers on Military Operations and Civil Affairs in the Philippine Islands, 1899*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 67.

When the war broke out in the night of February 4, 1899, the Americans controlled only the Walled City. The Filipinos, on the other hand, controlled the rest of the country. The Filipinos then fighting the war could not be called insurgents.

¹⁰⁴ *El Heraldo de la Revolucion*, September 26, 1898.