

Nineteenth Century
Conditions and the
Revolution
in the Province of
LAGUNA

Rhina ALVERO-BONCOCAN

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UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies

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FOREWORD

We had always felt the great need to write a history of the province of Laguna during the revolution. As one of the first eight provinces to take part in the revolution of 1896, Laguna's struggle should have been written about by both local and national historians. Other provinces have developed an intensive literature on their role during the revolutionary period. The struggles of Cavite, Bulacan, Batangas, Manila and Pampanga to overthrow the shackles of colonialism have all been extensively documented. This has not been the case for Laguna.

When we heard that the University of the Philippines was offering grants to members of the academe to do research with the Southern Tagalog Studies Program, we immediately took the opportunity to write about Laguna and its part in the revolutionary struggle. Several years have since passed, and during that time, we had grown to appreciate the nobility of the province's history.

We decided early on to produce two complementary but independent essays on the subject. Rhina Alvero-Boncocan would write on the socio-economic background of Laguna. This would provide the backdrop to the revolution in Laguna and explore the trends in the social structure, economic activities and the political fabric that would persist or be disrupted during the revolution. It would also provide the necessary introduction to the revolution by explaining the social, political and economic pressures that pushed the province and the nation as a whole, toward an armed revolt.

Dwight David Diestro would write on how the revolution developed in the province and the links between the national and the local revolutionary movement, the spread of the movement and the armed engagements between the Spanish forces and later, the Americans with the Filipinos. This would chronicle the struggles of the people of the province, the elite as well as the masses, in attaining the goal of national liberation. So too would it indicate the peculiarities of the revolution as expressed on the local level.

Although we were not able to complete the study in time for the centennial celebrations which would have been symbolically apt, we are nonetheless proud to have gathered materials on Laguna and the revolution. With these, we have produced a manuscript and hopefully, contributed to a greater understanding of our national past.

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Nineteenth Century Conditions and the Revolution in the Province of Laguna

The Literature on Laguna

Since the 1960s, a sizeable part of historical literature in the Philippines has been devoted to local histories or the histories of provinces, towns, barrios or regions. Among historians, this zeal in writing local histories derives largely from a belief that Philippine national history is in need of reevaluation since it is based on data and generalizations that are not entirely representative of a varied and vast country.

For the most part, that premise is valid. Most of what is considered national history is limited in scope to the activities and preoccupations of a small historical segment of Philippine society that has lived in the general vicinity of historic Manila. The documents and sources historians have consulted have almost entirely emanated from the center. Much of these materials not only limit the geographic extent of the study, but also focus nearly exclusively on a few social classes that have control over these materials.

The question has been asked: How “national” is national history? The reevaluation of historical generalizations and statements in national history can best be done with a pool of local historical literature.¹ The history of localities provides a counterpoint that can challenge or validate a statement.

There is also a certain preoccupation with enabling the “voiceless” and mostly “invisible” masses to gain a measure of historical “empowerment.” Indeed, while historians speak of royal decrees or independence missions or social reform, they have not sufficiently investigated their effects on the majority, and whether the masses initiated their own movements. The mostly unschooled and inarticulate masses have left the contemporary historian very little material with which to chronicle their development. Historians thus

have only tangential references that provide an outline of what the majority may have seen, felt, and thought. The quest to discover more about the silent masses is an imperative to discover sources other than the body of literature that historians regularly consult.

That is why a more focused, more compact field of study becomes attractive to the historian. It is a more manageable endeavor because the amount of materials he or she needs to consult is whittled down, and the opportunities to use “local” and alternative sources are greatly enhanced. At the same time, by shedding light on the history of localities, there is a greater opportunity for the minute voices that are usually drowned out in larger histories to be heard.

Writing local histories has also become a popular historical endeavor because it enables historians to use a variety of philosophies, scholastic currents and explanations that have been discussed in historical circles. In the last twenty years, scholarship has focused less on providing data for reevaluating Philippine history in the light of local histories than on creating smaller and more integrated and organic units of study. Socioeconomic and historical organisms exist within the political, cultural, and economic construct of the Philippines.

Laguna thus makes an excellent field of study. Situated close to Manila, Laguna shares much of the country’s national history. In fact, many important events in Philippine history involve Laguna. Laguna is also one of the so-called organic regions and is a province built around the Lake of Bai or Bay. The lake, which is shared by the other inhabitants of the lakeshore, is important to the identity of Laguna. Within Laguna itself, there are subregions markedly different from each other.

Surprisingly, no significant body of work has been done on the province, except the town histories of several settlements. National historian Gregorio Zaide, a Lagunense from Pagsanjan, wrote several short histories of Laguna. Gil Gotiangco wrote a more extensive study of the province during the Spanish regime and the Philippine Revolution for a master’s thesis. However, he admits that his study is far from exhaustive. This book hopes to fill the gaps by doing two

things: it will contribute to the pool of literature on localities and it will focus on the revolution in Laguna.

Local histories point to the existence of divergences from the “official” national picture because of realities that evolve at a local level. These divergences are best observed from the local point of view and involve themes such as subcultures, little and big traditions, and dichotomies. Perhaps that is what local history is all about: it is an attempt to understand the general from the specific point of view and vice versa. This study is a contribution to the endeavor to gain a fuller understanding of the Philippines’ national history by exploring the development of one of the more significant provinces of the country.

Geography and Population

Geography is an important backdrop against which the history of the province unfolds. The province’s land features, its climate, and its flora and fauna helped shape the economy, settlement patterns, and culture of its people.

Geologically, the province of Laguna occupies part of a large basin. It is bounded on the east by the Sierra Madre Range which forms one of the smaller faults that run parallel to the Philippine fault. To the west of the lake lie the flat lands of Cavite and Muntinlupa. Several volcanoes complete the ring around the lake, the most notable of which are the mountains of Makiling, Banahaw, and San Cristobal. In the center of the basin is the lake of Bay. Fray San Antonio describes it as:

... eleven leagues² long from Biñan to Siniloan and 9 and a half leagues wide from Morong to Bai, and its perimeter measures 36 or 37 leagues. Its “mouth” is formed by the two points of Buting to the south and that of Taytay to the north with a width of about two leagues. Two islets are found in the middle of the mouth, Tagui (Taguig) on the north and Agonoy to the south. Tagui is about a league and a half long and half a league wide and the other one is shorter. There is a strait between them that can be navigated by medium-sized boats.

The island of Talim is found in the middle of the lake. It is elongated from northwest to southeast, being three and a half leagues long and one and two-thirds leagues wide from northwest to southeast. This island forms two straits within the lake. The one in the northwest is called Guinabutasan... The other strait to the southeast is about two leagues wide with the point of Talim to the southeast and Pila opposite it. The other point of this island on the same side forms another strait consisting of the point of Jalajala, which faces to the right with the southeastern point of Talim. This mouth runs northwest to southeast and is about one long league wide. Another small point called Ynoor protrudes from this same point of Jalajala, forming a small cove with it.

This point of Jalajala juts so far into the lake that it not only forms a narrow passage with Talim island but also with the coast of Pila, leaving a passage of only a league and a half with it. From this point, it bends to a northeast by east forming a corner towards Siniloan about 4 leagues long and two leagues wide. On the side of Guinabutasan, it also forms a corner to the southeast called the corner of Morong which has but a small perimeter.³

Laguna de Bay was once an inlet of Manila Bay, which was isolated from the main body of the sea by an upthrust that sealed the inlet and created the largest freshwater lake in the Philippines. The lake itself occupies an irregular area of some 922 sq kms and was measured at a maximum depth of 15 to 16 fathoms. The surface elevation is almost the same as Manila Bay's. While more than 40 rivers drain into the lake, its only true outlet is the short, meandering Pasig River. The river's gradation from the inland sea out into the saline bay is so slight that tidal surges bring brackish water into the lake at high tide. This tidal relationship between Manila Bay and Laguna de Bay points to an interdependence of the lake and the bay, which would provide the pattern of control by Manila over Laguna during much of their shared history.

The ebb and swell of the Pasig creates a distinct anomaly for a river. It has two mouths, one at the bay, between Tondo and Intramuros, and another in Taguig. The alternating inflow and outflow of both brackish and fresh water created a unique ecosystem along

the Pasig and parts of the lake. Marine species that thrive in the Bay have also found a niche in the lake and along the river. The *bangus* (milkfish), for example, is a fish that spawns in salt water and returns to the freshwater lake after hatching in the bay.

The variable salinity and the nutrients that fall into the lake from the rivers and streams make it home to many species. The richness of the lake's fishing resources has drawn the yearly in-migration of thousands of birds from China that have made the lake their wintering hole.

The lake is also exceptionally shallow, with an average depth of only three meters. During the dry months, this exposes large areas of the lakebed to the sun. Continuous sedimentation brought by the short streams that empty into it from the mountains has also made the lake shallower. At some points, sandbars have formed along the mouths of rivers. The lake's shallowness has served to make it ideal for fish culture. A significant acreage is currently devoted to the culture of *bangus* and *tilapia*. The shallowness has also prevented the use of large draught vessels in the lake, limiting its use to vessels of shallow draught, like *cascos* and *bancas*.

Active volcanism has also shaped much of Laguna's geography. Several peaks exist within or along the boundaries of the province, the most notable being the mountains of Makiling, San Cristobal, and Banahaw. The town of Los Baños, which was formerly called *Mainit* (Tagalog for "hot"), is the site of many volcanic hot springs that draw heat from the hot core of the volcano, Mount Makiling. In 1613, the Franciscans established a hospital in Los Baños called *Aguas Santas* (Spanish for holy waters) in the belief that the hot springs of the site were therapeutic.⁴ Mount Banahaw is also a volcano; it erupted in 1730, collapsing its southeastern flank and releasing the water from the crater lake.⁵ Banahaw continues to imperil the towns surrounding it because large rocks occasionally roll down its slopes together with gushes of water.

In the western part of Laguna are wide alluvial plains that stretch from Calamba up to San Pedro Tunasan (San Pedro). These form part of a much larger plains region that extends into Cavite and

Manila. There is an absence of volcanic activity in this area although small tectonic plate fractures do exist. This region was created by the gradual upthrust of the land. The soil types of the western region are suitable for the cultivation of rice, sugar and a diversity of other crops. Although only 8,692.9 hectares of the total 34,000 hectares of land covering the present municipalities of San Pedro, Biñan, Cabuyao, Santa Rosa, and Calamba are classified as plains type, the rest of the land is classified as rolling hills, sufficiently flat to allow cultivation.⁶

The topography of the regions beyond Calamba is more varied. Although several plains regions exist from Los Baños up to Siniloan, the greater extent of the regions' lands is classified as rolling-hills type. Some areas are unsuitable for agriculture because of their steep inclination. The mountainous boundaries of Laguna provide a windbreak for the southwest monsoon which brings in typhoons that blow through the northern half of the Philippines. These mountains shelter most of eastern Laguna from the strong winds; the eastern part of the province usually suffers less damage as a result. However, the open country that stretches from Calamba to San Pedro is exposed and vulnerable to howlers.

There are at least two pronounced climatic regions in the province. In the east, the seasons are undifferentiated while there are pronounced dry and wet seasons in the west. West of Santa Cruz, the province experiences a dry season from November to April and rains the rest of the year. The eastern and southernmost portions do not have distinct seasons, with rainfall more evenly distributed throughout the year.⁷ From the month of May until November, much rain falls in Laguna, with precipitation highest in the month of August. These climatic conditions invariably create a wide divergence in the ecosystems that exist within the province.

The western portion of the province supports grasslands and deciduous woodlands. The eastern portion of the province supports rain forests. These climatic and geographic variables have fostered the marked difference in the economies of the eastern and western zones which shape the history of the province. While the east supports

rice and sugar, the west is primarily engaged in the cultivation and production of coconut for oil. This economic pattern would, in turn, support a divergence in the development of settlements in eastern and western Laguna, which would persist all throughout history.

Laguna's rich and teeming fish, forest and agricultural resources have made conditions ideal for human settlements. It is considered one of the "heartland" Tagalog provinces. Indeed, when the Spaniards came in 1572, the shores of the lake were thickly populated.⁸ The settlement of Bai (Bay) which residents called *Dagat* or *Dagatan* (literally, sea or region near the sea) was considered one of the largest lakeshore settlements in the area.⁹ Besides Bay, there were other large settlements, notably Lumban, Pila, Cabuyao and Majayjay. These settlements, based on their relative importance as centers of population and of agricultural activity, became the mother settlements of all the towns in the province.

Most Laguna settlements were small clusters of huts organized into traditional political structures called the *barangay*. These political structures were based on kinship ties which bound members of the settlement into a tightly knit entity. The *barangay* also functioned as a self-sufficient economic unit that produced a minimal surplus, which in turn became the occasional article of trade for whatever the community did not produce on its own. Almost all of the *barangays* in Laguna are clustered along rivers and the lake, primarily because they were engaged in economic activities that required water.

The Laguna Tagalogs were mostly engaged in wet-type rice or *tubigan* agriculture which required the building of levied plots on level land flooded with water. This type of agriculture was widespread in Laguna, due in part to the availability of cultivable land and water, both rain and irrigation. Wet-type contrasts with dry-type or *kaingin* rice agriculture, which requires the clearing of forests or scrublands and the use of planting sticks instead of the hoe or the plow.

Wet-type rice agriculture precluded the transfer of settlements from one place to another. This allowed the *tubigan* settlements a measure of permanence the *kaingin* settlements did not have. The most desirable lands were those along rivers and the lake. This would

explain why most settlements were strewn along the coast of the lake, despite the constant threat of flooding in several low-lying districts.

The *tubigan* system also allowed settlements to grow in size beyond what *kaingin* agriculture could support. This accounts for the comparatively large populations of the settlements of Laguna at the time of Spanish conquest. In 1591, according to the survey of the province of Laguna, there were 48,800 persons living in several *encomiendas*.

Maribago	700	2800
Tabuco (Cabuyao)	1000	4000
Taitay (Taytay)	600	2400
Bay	2100	8000
Pila	1700	6800
Mahaihai	500	2000
Lumban	1700	6800
Tayaval (Tayabas?)	700	2800
Panguil	800	3200
Siniloa (Siniloan)	700	2800
Moron (Morong)	1000	4000
Nayun	700	2800 ¹⁰

The largest settlements were Bay, Pila, Lumban, Tabuco (Cabuyao), and Morong (in present-day Rizal province). These settlements were not primarily trading settlements in the same mold as Manila or Cebu. Their premium was their location in and control of some of the best agricultural lands of the lakeshore. Based on present-day soil typing, the centers of the towns of Cabuyao, Bay, Pila, and Lumban command the majority of the plains type soils in the province.¹¹ This type is the best suited for wet-rice culture.

But while *tubigan* culture was widespread, it was by no means the only economic activity. *Kaingin* or swidden agriculture continued to be practiced especially in the upland areas which did not allow the adoption of lowland technologies. While lowland rice culture allowed sedentary living, *kaingin* or slash-and-burn agriculture suggested a

highly mobile society that would move every year or so after the cleared land had been exhausted. These communities were generally small, because their resources were never secure and because mobility demanded prudent population policies. These *kaingin* communities augmented their rice harvests with the products of the forest, eating tubers and hunting game during the lean months when the rice was still unripe.

The divergence of agricultural technologies or economic activities, even within the Tagalog society of Laguna, meant the perpetuation of dichotomies between the lowland *tubigan* culture and the upland *kaingin* culture that persists, to a certain degree, until today. There are references to *ibaba* (lowland) and *ilaya* (upland) dichotomies among many Filipino communities. This dichotomy is especially marked among the Tagalogs, a people with a strong maritime tradition. The early Spanish missionaries noted and chronicled cultural distinctions between the Laguna Tagalogs of the *bundok* or mountains, and those of the plains. Those of the mountains had peculiar language patterns and retained more archaic customs.¹²

In pre-colonial Philippine society, these two cultures co-existed, although there were tensions. An *ilaya* community usually limited its dealings with an *ibaba* settlement to occasional trading. Upland settlements would usually bring forestal products like dried venison, dye woods and medicinal herbs to trade for iron, salt, and cloth. These occasional trade arrangements, however, would later be formalized with the coming of the Spaniards, as, the *ilaya* communities were attached to *ibaba* towns.

Among the lowland settlements, the control of access to and from a settlement also determined the relative prestige or importance of certain communities in comparison to others. Manila, for example, flourished because it controlled all the trade and navigation that entered the Pasig River from Manila Bay. This hegemony was acknowledged by the settlements of Laguna de Bay, whether heartily or grudgingly. Manila could rightly impose levies on all navigation on the Pasig, and most of the fortifications and guns the Spaniards found in the city in 1571 were probably oriented toward the river rather

than to the open sea. Manila used this advantage to corner the lucrative Chinese trade. The Rajah of Tondo, Lakandula, reputedly held a virtual monopoly of the China trade. He bought the entire stock of the Chinese junks that came thither and redistributed the goods to the inland towns as well as to the Visayas.¹³

Such "tributary" relations between coastal and inland settlements seem to suggest a similar upland-lowland relationship. However, in the case of Laguna de Bay—aside from Manila which was the choke point of all trade and navigation—there was no acknowledged "regional center". All the large towns, as well as smaller lowland settlements, had equal access to the lake. Among the lowland towns, there were no tributary relations that approximated the relationship of Pasig or Cainta with Manila. All the towns, whether large or small, had equal access to the lake, and this afforded them the facility to reach Manila directly.

On the whole, Laguna's dominant settlement pattern was the formation of small riverine or coastal settlements that were independent of each other. Despite this apparent lack of political centralization within Laguna, the region did develop certain socio-cultural and economic regions on the basis of a shared geography and economy. For example, the region from San Pedro down to Calamba shares a common flat to gently rising geography. This region is dedicated to the culture of wet rice and sugar. There was also an unusual concentration of *tulisanismo* (brigandage) in this region of the province. It is culturally the most distinct of all Laguna regions, sharing commonalities with Cavite and Manila.

There is an intermediate region that stretches from Los Baños to Santa Cruz. This region is primarily wet-rice culture, but it also has wide swaths of land devoted to the principal crop of the east, the coconut. A third region called Baybay begins in Lumban and occupies the small inlet of the lake. The region features a narrow coastal plain dedicated to rice and abrupt steep hills. It is not only dedicated to raising coconuts but also exploits easily accessed rich forestal resources.

A fourth region rises in the southeast and occupies the skirts of Banahaw. This region is the primary coconut growing region of

Laguna which activity has led to the growth of large population centers in what should otherwise be a sparsely populated district. This region is highly dependent on the export of coconut products to the lowlands. A fifth region, which centers on the two towns of Alaminos and San Pablo, is also primarily coconut growing. However, San Pablo has a distinct culture, perhaps because it was once part of the province of Batangas. It actually shares more similarities with the nearby towns of Quezon province.

In the course of Laguna's history, it is important to recognize the development and persistence of these "culture complexes" or subregions within Laguna because the distinctions between regions and their interaction with each other would play a significant role in the history of the province. It would also explain why Laguna, a province that was among the earliest to be formed under the Spanish, developed a stronger town or subregional cultural identity rather than a cohesive provincial identity. This would become a recurring theme in the province's history.

Spanish Conquest Changes Laguna Society

Following the colonization of Manila, the Spaniards immediately set out to conquer and pacify the surrounding areas. In 1572, Juan de Salcedo, following the directions of Captain-General and Governor Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, set out on a mission to conquer the towns of the lake for the Spanish Crown. The regions further east of Manila were said to be rich lands, and the Spaniards were not disappointed. What they found was a large freshwater lake surrounded by populous settlements. The region was variously named. The Manila natives called the lake *Pulilan* (Tagalog for lagoon); the people of the lake called it *Dagat* (sea) while those who lived in the mountains (Nagcarlan, Majayjay) called it *Duungan* (anchorage).¹⁴ The region surrounding the lake was called *Dagatan* or *Silangan* (east).¹⁵ The regions of the lake also maintained place names. The mountainous

districts between Nagcarlan and Lamon Bay were referred to as *Kalaylayan* (literally, the hem of a skirt).¹⁶

Salcedo met very little resistance as he crossed the Pasig and entered the lake. Most of the lowland settlements accepted Spanish colonization. Bay, the largest settlement on the lakeshore, and from where the name of the lake was derived, was Salcedo's main target. The town derived its wealth from its weaving industry and Salcedo believed that the town's subjugation would eventually cause other coastal settlements to similarly submit.¹⁷ However, the upland towns of Majayjay, Nagcarlan and Lilio (Liliw) refused to submit peacefully and set out to resist the Spaniards. The effort was to little effect. The Tagalogs of Laguna were dispersed and Salcedo went on to conquer the people of Tayabas and Camarines.

At the heels of Spanish guns were the Catholic missionaries. The Augustinians were tasked with establishing missions in Laguna, but for lack of adequate manpower, ceded much of that responsibility to the Franciscans. Fray Juan de Plasencia O.F.M. was among the first missionaries sent to establish missions among the Filipinos. The Franciscan missions began in 1578, with the establishment of the mission centers of Cabuyao and Lumban.¹⁸ The various other towns of the province were eventually subjugated from these two centers and instructed in the Christian doctrine.

The Spanish missionaries, hoping to expedite the conversion and maintenance of the native Tagalogs, tried to reduce the number of settlements scattered along the shore of Laguna de Bay. Using the policy of *reduccion* (forced resettlement), they sought to facilitate instruction in Christianity although it was also used to expedite colonization.

However, the resident Tagalogs refused to settle into large towns, preferring to modify the arrangement by creating center-satellite settlement patterns which preserved the autonomy of the settlements from each other. The primary allegiance of the Tagalog was to his *bayán*, or town or settlement.¹⁹ His loyalty was to his townmates, and it would have seemed strange to merge with another town. The arrangement called the *poblacion-visita* system required that the friar

curates rotate, create a base at the town center and pay visits to outlying settlements.

This relationship was more than just economic expediency. The native Tagalogs in Laguna were sufficiently settled and the lands they cultivated easily accessible. However, the union of settlements necessarily subordinated one barangay to another. This was not allowable. The *principalia*, or the hereditary Tagalog nobility, though theoretically reduced in power by the conquest of Spain, retained their prerogatives to direct the people and tried to maintain their prestige by retaining their town's independence. Although the center-satellite or *poblacion-visita* arrangement was not desirable, it was more acceptable than reducing a settlement to form part of a town.

Evidence suggests that it was the intransigence of the ruling class that formed the central theme of the settlements' reluctance to merge. As Spanish colonialism set in, Catholicism slowly became the new source of prestige. Hosting a church became the most important town-building endeavor, followed by the eventual formation of a separate town government. As the *gobernadorcillo* (current equivalent of a town mayor) was the highest office normally allowed the natives, it was the office most of the *principalia* aspired to occupy.

Laguna developed small, fiercely independent communities that resisted *reduccion*. The region of Baybay, for example, was the site of nine towns (Lumban, Kalayaan, Paete, Paquil (Pakil), Panguil (Pangil), Siniloan, Famy, Santa Maria de Caboan, Mavitac (Mabitac). These nine towns were so closely spaced that they could have been reduced to two or three. In fact, there were originally only two towns in the region, Siniloan (1579) and Lumban (1578).²⁰ However, in the next forty years or so, four more towns became independent: Santa Maria Caboan (1602), Paete (1602), Pangil (1611) and Mabitac (1618).²¹ Before the close of the seventeenth century, two more towns gained their independence, Pakil and Loños (present-day Kalayaan). All of these settlements already existed before Spanish colonization. However, since there were only a few missionaries to

man the parishes, settlements were attached to other settlements until a parish curate could be spared.

The process of applying for the separation of parishes and of towns usually fell on the lap of the local *principalia* who had to petition the Archbishop and the Governor in Manila. Sometimes the friar curates supported this process, but the initiative was generally local. Despite this tedious process, the *principalia* insisted on forming new towns and establishing new parishes from out of old *visitas* that had been attached to other settlements. What could have driven the *principalia* of the *visitas* to move toward independence as a town?

The old *principalia* jealously guarded their prerogatives as the traditional native ruling class. Under the system of government instituted by the Spaniards, the old system was subsumed in a quasi-democratic system that featured a *gobernadorcillo* for each town who was elected by the *principalia*. The *visitas* were relegated to mere barrios, under the control of the *gobernadorcillo*, but retained distinct political structures under the *cabezas de barangay* (literally barangay heads). This control was highly resented by the fiercely independent governing class who spared no opportunity to declare independence from an unrelated settlement.

One of the more interesting by-products of Spanish colonialism was the creation of centers of population and government. This created in-group, out-group dichotomies that reflected a spirit of independence of settled communities from one another. With governmental centers and peripheries, populations within the center developed a group identity quite apart from the peripheral communities or from other governmental centers.

The Tagalog vocabulary has frequent references to this dichotomy. People who live in the town centers are called *tagaloob* (those who live within) while the peripheral communities are referred to as *tagalabas* (those from outside). *Tagalabas* literally meant an outsider and could be used to refer to those living outside the town, or even to strangers or foreigners but assumed a pejorative connotation akin to bandits and thieves.²² The connotation captures a nuance of language which presupposes that outsiders also lived

outside the pale of the law. It further indicated that the town center was equated with rectitude in law and religion, going beyond mere geographic reference.²³

The first administrative center of the province of Laguna was the town of Bay, which had a population of about 8,000 at the close of the 16th century. It was also the earliest mission center in Laguna, with the Augustinians establishing a mission for the instruction of Christians.²⁴ The establishment of the center in Bay followed the common practice of locating administrative centers in the most important town. Bay's importance was based on its control of agricultural lands as well as its established weaving tradition. Pagsanjan later eclipsed it as a government and political center when trading became an important economic activity in Laguna.

The establishment of the Spanish settlement in Manila reinforced Laguna's relationship with the mouth of the Pasig. In pre-Spanish times, the relationship between the two was tributary and commercial. Laguna settlements traded with Manila which controlled the inflow and outflow of trade, largely as a consequence of its strategic location at a natural choke point. During Spanish times, because of the large non-agricultural population in Manila and Tondo, the excess production of Laguna was increasingly important to feed and to supply the needs of the metropole.

Laguna was in a good position to supply the capital with the products of the land. It was easily accessible, with almost all points having some access to the lake. And this relationship with Manila elaborated a nautical tradition within Laguna. Jean Mallat in 1850 noted that there were several boats used in the lake.

.. *Cascos* are even bigger sailboats with a load of 10 to 20 tons. They are still found in all lakes and rivers in the Philippines. The cascos of the lake of Bay are used for bringing to Manila various goods sent there by *pueblos* of the province and, among others, spirits, distilled from coconut for the government. But the most remarkable boats which do not go out of the lake at all because when loaded they draw too much water to be able to pass through the bars, are those called

paraos, veritable ships peculiar to the country, whose dimensions are those of the largest brigs; these transport goods and passengers going every week from Manila to the market of Santa Cruz. One could not imagine anything more picturesque than the sight of these big boats whose masts rise to a considerable height and support, each one, a sail of colossal dimension, made of dry-palm leaves.²⁵

However, unlike the trade relations of Laguna's towns with Manila in pre-colonial times, trade during the Spanish period demanded regularity in the frequency of commerce and an assured volume of goods. In pre-colonial times, trade was seasonal and sporadic. The Chinese junks that traded with Manila arrived during the northeasterlies or *amihan*, and it was at this time when trade usually commenced.

The demand of the Spanish colony for goods, mostly foodstuffs, required a collection and delivery system that the native traders could not adequately address. This trade inadequacy was then filled up by enterprising Chinese traders who settled in Manila.

A few years after the establishment of the Spanish settlement in Manila, a large Chinese settlement had grown around it. This colony of Chinese traders engaged primarily in trade in goods between Manila and the Chinese coast, but a sufficient number became the main gatherers of agricultural surplus from the surrounding provinces which they brought to Manila.

Most of the Chinese were itinerant traders, going from one settlement to the next buying rice, fruits or other surplus goods, and trading in cloth, metals, and porcelain. Even the common term for Chinese—*Sangley*—is derived from the Chinese, which means “come regularly”.²⁶ However, over time, some of the Chinese settled in strategic riverine or coastal towns and developed these towns to become centers of commerce.

Pagsanjan is one such commercial settlement. The town's growth was largely due to the settlement of Chinese in the area in search of foodstuff to bring to Manila. It was a small settlement under the jurisdiction of the larger farming settlement of Lumban, which later

eclipsed its matrix in size and importance. The town was an important junction between the overland route to Tayabas and Lucban in present day Quezon, and the road to the towns of Pila and Nagcarlan. This advantage was even more significant in the face of the better access Pagsanjan afforded to three of the five regions of the province. It developed during the 17th century and by 1688, became the capital of Laguna.²⁷

In the later half of the 18th century, another market town eclipsed Pagsanjan. Santa Cruz, a visita of Lumban,²⁸ gradually took over the commercial activity of Pagsanjan primarily because it was better situated at the mouth of a river, while Pagsanjan was several kilometers upstream.

In the western part of Laguna was another town of significant commercial importance. Biñan existed as a separate barangay in 1747 and as a town since 1782.²⁹ It had been a *hacienda* of the Dominican order since 1644.³⁰ The town derived its wealth from the rice trade, and was described by Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga O.S.A. as a wealthy town of rice planters and traders. This contrasted sharply with the surrounding towns of Santa Rosa, Cabuyao, and even Calamba, all of which were in varying stages of neglect despite the similarity in both soil and climate.

The only source of income, which has enriched the people and has attracted many Chinese is rice. This is raised in great abundance in the extensive and irrigated rice fields of this estate, located on a beautiful plain at the back of the town toward the mountain.

The Dominican fathers have given their lands to the natives and the Chinese half-breeds on a lease-rent basis by virtue of which the latter become the tenants of the religious order, paying what has been stipulated in the beginning as rent for the arable land allotted to them. The standard procedure was for the tenants to clear the land, cultivate it, and reap all the benefits for three or four years without paying any rent, after which period the tenants shall give the proprietor a share of five *cavans* [Tagalog volume measure equal roughly to a hectoliter] of rice for every patch of irrigated land

cultivated. For unirrigated patches they pay less, depending on the quality of the land.

The five-cavan share is paid for irrigated land upon which a cavan of rice seedlings is planted, and the payment of this share to the proprietor is but a trifle in proportion to the harvest from the lands and to the little work required in the cultivation. I have previously said that the Tunasan lands give a fifty or sixty-to-one share to the tenants; the same is true in Biñang. The time employed by the tenant to reap this enormous harvest is very short because he does nothing but plow the soil once (if we can consider as plowing the turning over of the muddy soil) and mixing it with water, of which there is an abundant supply during the planting season. I said "during the planting season" and not during the sowing season because in this country, rice is planted like the European cabbage.

First, the seeds to be planted are prepared. After the soil has been thoroughly turned over and the field leveled, a group of planters come to sow the seedlings in symmetrical distances until the whole field is covered. This handiwork is very easy because the soil is very soft; hence, the transplanting is done with speed.

After the planting is over, not much care of the plants is necessary except to increase or decrease the water supply in the field, an operation lasting an hour or so, repeated only three or four times during the planting season. After all these, the native tenant is assured of a share of 50 or 60 cavans, giving the proprietor only one tenth thereof, or 5 cavans.³¹

Land, Tenure and the Estates

Almost immediately after the Spaniards completed the conquest of the province of Laguna, grants were farmed out to many Spanish soldiers for their subsistence in the colony.³² However, over the course of time, many of these estates were sold by their owners or donated to religious orders. These lands formed the core of what were to become the friar estates, which would become a serious bone of contention between native *indios* (Spaniards called the natives as such

since the former considered the Philippines as part of the Indies) and the Spanish religious orders.

It is interesting to note that there were very few land disputes at the beginning of Spanish colonialism, despite the land grants that the king parceled out to the Spanish settlers. Two things may have contributed to this lack of conflict. For one, many Spanish residents were only too willing to part with their grants for money to invest in more lucrative activities such as speculative trading in the China-Acapulco trade.³³ Others clearly had no intention of working the land and abandoned the estates.

For another thing, land hardly had any real value in pre-colonial and early Spanish Laguna. This was not to say that land had no value. However, the real currency of wealth and power was not the extent of land under a barangay's or an individual's control.³⁴ Human labor was of far greater value. Land was a resource that was easily available. Sedentary as well as mobile communities had very little use for land titles. What basically developed was a sense of territorial control over areas.

Sedentary communities, however, had already developed land-ownership arrangements.³⁵ Land watered by rivers, the lake and by springs commanded a higher premium than rain-fed land. The pattern of land ownership evolved with highly desirable parcels coming under private ownership while less-prized rain-fed lands were apportioned accordingly.

Different concepts of land ownership governed arrangements of tenure and usufruct, which already existed in pre-colonial society. Tenurial arrangements existed especially among the sedentary communities. These arrangements evolved from the communal arrangements that had been practiced by the barangays. The *datu* (village chief) and the *maguino* (term for nobility in pre-colonial Tagalog society) usually apportioned the communal land among the members of the community. The members of a barangay were usually divided into groups with varying levels of access to the resources of the community. The *datu* and the *maguino*, plus the freemen, were

entitled to the use of communal lands. Slaves or tenants who were attached to specific persons were not entitled to communal land but were allowed, also in varying degrees, to till the soil of their master and to a part of the harvest or usufruct of the land under their charge. The datu and his family or that of the nobility of a barangay usually held the largest pieces of land, aside from owning private tracts. The amount of land a barangay could put under the plow, theoretically, was limitless, but the constraints of human labor usually limited how much land could be cultivated.

It was this evolving concept of land ownership and usufruct that the Spaniards happened upon in the Philippines in the late 16th century. Fray Plasencia, who worked extensively with resident Tagalogs in Laguna, wrote about the slave arrangements employed to keep the lands of the nobility under cultivation. The Spaniards also measured their jurisdictions in terms of men, or souls, rather than in territories. Essentially, the *encomienda* system was control of human resources, not of physical territories. Except in Manila and other highly settled areas, land titling remained unpracticed.

However, in response to the growth in the need to guarantee a steady supply of foodstuffs to Manila, concepts of land ownership and usufruct were also shifting from vague concepts of shared ownership and varying degrees of exclusivity in usufruct toward a more defined concept of absolute titles. Trade and commercial agriculture required this guarantee of permanence which had not existed outside of the Spanish settlements.

There were several forms of land acquisition during the Spanish regime. One was the royal grant which, in essence, was a right of the conquering Spanish king over his Filipino vassals. Another was the cession of territory which the Spaniards elicited from the Filipino nobles. These lands covered communal territory although the terms of cession were unclear. A third form of acquisition was by direct sale.³⁶ This presupposed that the 'owner' had a legitimate title to the property. The various methods of acquisition clearly extended the use of titles to the land which had hitherto been non-existent. At the same time, the titles implied absolute usufruct of the land,

something which was not inherent in the native Tagalog customary practices concerning land.

Several estates were established in Laguna by virtue of royal grants; many of these grants were eventually abandoned or sold to the friar corporations. Within the province, these grants were consolidated to form four major friar estates, San Pedro Tunasan, Biñan, Calamba and Santa Rosa. In 1901, three of these estates were sold to the Philippine Sugar Estates Development Co., Ltd. which reported that Calamba covered a total of 41,024 acres, with Santa Rosa and Biñan covering 21,148 acres.³⁷

The Spanish authorities recognized the uniqueness of customary laws. In recognition of ancient Tagalog land customs, the Spanish crown amended the Laws of the Indies to stipulate that land which was unsettled or uncultivated after five years was alienable, and *indios* could settle and claim title to it. This was necessary especially in the hill regions where shifting agriculture cleared and left land to fallow. Such land was deemed no longer a person's property. At the same time, the law also recognized the existence of Spanish land laws that believed in cessions in perpetuity. The existence of these two sets of laws would eventually clash.

In 1745, a series of revolts in the Tagalog region was set off by conflict between Tagalog or indio customary land conventions and Spanish land laws. These clashes centered on the friar estate of Biñan but affected the residents of the town of Silang in Cavite. The clash occurred more than 150 years after the conquest, pointing to the relative stability of the tenurial relationships between the friars and the natives before that time.

However, in 1745, the friars tried to dispossess the Silang residents of land that had traditionally been held as communal.³⁸ These territories represented ancient communal lands that had been cultivated by residents of Silang. Apart from being a clear case of landgrabbing, the friar estate also tried to restrict the use of the land. The Dominican friar corporation barred settlement and entry into the land of those who believed they held communal rights to the use of the land. This disrupted the customary practices by the people of

Silang who used the land for rice production and the gathering of wood and other products of the land. The friar corporation tried to prevent such claims by using the Spanish legal system.

The revolt focused on the renegeing of the friar estates on the customary indio conventions regarding the use of communal lands or territories deemed common property. The barangays allowed men to harvest the products of idle lands, regardless of the actual ownership. Ownership, in Tagalog customary law, meant not title or claim to the land, but actual residence and cultivation or husbandry. This was an important component the Spanish law failed to consider. The invention of titles failed to codify the intricacies of common and private land use insofar as access to the resources of the land were concerned, thus spawning the clashes of 1745.

Formalizing property rights and ownership also strained relations within native indio society. The idea of absolute title meant that men who had hitherto cultivated land could be disenfranchised from owning it, when customary law assured them that they “owned” it. This concept of absolute rights over land was incomprehensible. The dispute over ownership was mediated by the Jesuit curate of Silang so that the residents of the town of Silang would continue to enjoy use of their lands, subject to the hacienda of Biñan. However, they were dispossessed following moves of the estate management to force them to transfer their residence to the town of Biñan.³⁹

The revolt quickly spread to other haciendas owned by the friars in the provinces of Cavite, Tondo, and Bulacan. Its resolution came in the form of assurances from the state that the haciendas would be resurveyed and communal usufruct rights such as pasturage and forage would be restored to the people.⁴⁰ While not really a crisis, the events of 1745 hit a raw nerve. Progressively increasing in value, land was still rather abundant. But the clash between the estates and the native landowners was the beginning of a series of increasingly disruptive disputes over the ownership of lands. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the challenges to titles were such a huge

business that legal experts among the Indios became routine in all land transactions.

Whenever an estate brings a lawsuit against the natives regarding ownership of lands, it is usually followed by disturbances in the towns concerned. The Augustinian fathers have won over them several lawsuits in Paranaque, but due to the existence of these kinds of revolt, they have succeeded in delaying possession of the lands under litigation up to this time. It sometimes happens that the natives have unjust demands but they entrust their cases usually to a native who speaks Spanish so as to be understood, who, being a prattler and a meddler, discusses the case with the Spaniards. This fixer is usually a spender and a gambler and he manages not only his own farms but also those of his parents who *leave everything to him.. The fixer cannot maintain his reputation without spending much and contracting debts. When hard pressed by his creditors, he has no alternative but to sell his lands. He secures the permission of the Supreme Court (Real Audiencia) and sells not only his lands but also those of his parents to a Spaniard... They stick to the belief that the sold lands are still theirs and such is what they tell their children and they lose no time in appropriating them. Some of these fraudulent fixers look for an easier and shorter course of business by falsifying documents, by bribing witnesses, searching for people who can recommend, protect and favor them, and by presenting lawsuits which they win by means of deceit and lies.*⁴¹

The use of Spanish law over customary law broke the feudal bonds that assured that men would continue to live on the land they tilled. The tenurial arrangements between the lord and his tenants had meant that the lord controlled the use of the land. In a sale, the lord is taken out of the land but his tenants remain. The new lord is then left free to do with the land as he sees fit and is under no obligation to the old tenants. This disenfranchisement of many families strained the relationship between landowners and tillers.

The breakdown of the connection between the tillers and owners was aggravated by the lack of kinship ties that would have bound the old barangay. In a barrio, the continuance of old norms of social hierarchies was facilitated by the kinship bonds between members of the group. However, the transfer of land from the barangay or from the *datu* to the hacienda owners, especially the friar estates of the west, were not facilitated or accompanied by any ties of kinship. This aggravated the situation between owner and tiller.

The situation in western Laguna contrasted sharply with that in the eastern sections of the province. Zuñiga writes that

“the farms of this province [Laguna], if we except those of the towns of Biñang, Santa Rosa, Tunasan and Cabuyao are very small. The Calamba estate is almost useless, and the towns which have plenty of arable land produce rice only for local consumption. The Jalajala estate does not have fertile soil and produces little. The towns between the coast of the lagoon and the mountains have very little available arable soil and these are being gradually absorbed by the lagoon or is so inundated during the rainy season that the water overflowed into the farms.”⁴²

Perhaps as a result of distance from the metropolitan capital, landholdings remained small in eastern Laguna. Land remained largely in the hands of the natives. The Franciscan order, unlike other friar corporations, did not accumulate land which prevented the growth of friar estates in areas under their spiritual instruction. In the absence of any estate in the region, land disputes that the indios had with estate-owning friar corporations were absent.

Economic Reforms

What actually accelerated the growth of estates as well as exacerbated the disputes over land was the shift in the economy of the Philippines in the eighteenth century. In the 1760s, the Philippines underwent a radical

economic transformation. Following reforms instituted by the monarchy in Spain, the colony was gradually transformed from a subsidized outpost of the empire into a commercially viable enterprise. At the heart of this reform program was the encouragement of industries or activities to exploit the island's resources.

Among the measures taken to make the colony self-liquidating was to impose a variety of monopolies on commodities. The most extensive of these monopolies was the tobacco monopoly, which essentially made the government the sole distributor of tobacco in the island of Luzon. The government restricted the cultivation of tobacco to specified areas and contracted farmers to grow tobacco and retailers to sell the government-produced cigars.⁴³ There were also monopolies covering the distribution and sale of native wine and *bonga* or betel nut, both of which were widely produced in Laguna.

Native wine, or *tuba*, was a popular item of manufacture in eastern Laguna. Tuba was consumed in large quantities by the natives of Manila, and Laguna was a major source of this article. The trade in native wine supported the farmers of eastern Laguna and occupied the merchants of Pagsanjan. It was no surprise that the Spanish government imposed a monopoly on the article to generate revenues for the colony. According to Mallat, after the tobacco monopoly,

...the most important source of revenue is wine from coconut and nipa: it is a weak wine on which a duty has been imposed since the year 1712. Originally, it was leased to private persons for an amount which was always increasing the price of the lease, at the start only 10,000 piastres, went up already in 1780 to 45,200 piastres: this urged the government to put it under control in 1787.⁴⁴

Fray Zuñiga describes the process of extracting sap from the coconut palm:

Before the coconut tree begins bearing fruits, the flower stalk is punctured and a piece of bamboo is inserted into the puncture into which trickle the juices which would have been converted into

coconuts. In order to make the distillation continuous, the punctured hole is scraped daily so that there would be no obstruction where the sap passes. This distillation continues until enough time has passed when the fruits, had they been allowed to grow, would have matured. The fluid distilled from the coconut tree, very fresh and sweet, is called tuba by the natives. This ferments, but before it becomes sour, it is sparingly taken and manufactured into a fairly good brandy, although it does not turn out as good as Spanish wine.⁴⁵

The province of Laguna was designated as one of the main *colectoras* or production areas of the monopoly. Four towns comprised the *colectora*, together with the town of Lucban in the adjoining province of Tayabas. These towns had stills from where the monopoly sourced tuba. The town of [Nagcarlan] had 130 stills, Liliw had 122, Majayjay 352, and Magdalena 73. Lucban, on the other hand had 60 stills. In Laguna alone, the coconut and nipa wine monopoly had 677 of the 984 stills in all six provinces with *colectoras*.⁴⁶

Besides imposing monopolies, the economic reforms also encouraged the cultivation of cash crops. Laguna's proximity to Manila and its variety of soils and climates made it an area of experimentation. Indigo, black pepper and mulberry for the production of silkworms were among the crops cultivated in Laguna. Tomas de Comyn cites Laguna's production of indigo as the best available in the colony.⁴⁷ Laguna eventually became a chief producer of sugar and coconuts.

The cultivation of sugar was ideal in the flat lands of western Laguna. The area's well-drained soil and its relatively dry climate were ideal conditions for the cultivation of the crop.

...[Sugarcane] is planted in the months of March and April, so that it is already strong when the rains come; the quality is excellent. There are two kinds, the red and the green; although larger than the sugar cane of Java, it does not have nodes so far apart as that of the Sandwich Islands. The latter species has been cultivated for some time in the *hacienda* of Jalajala, located near the lake of Bay...

The Indian crushes the cane under a stone mill (*trapiche*) and cooks the juice in clay jars; but these operations have been perfected since a French manufacturer, M. Delaunay, who died of overwork, imported from Bourbon Island to the Philippines the art of constructing furnaces now adopted at Calauan, property of M. Iñigo de Azaola, and in the properties of MM. Vidie and M. Domingo Roxas, the most advanced planters in the archipelago.⁴⁸

Toward the close of the 18th century, farms were slowly shifting from the cultivation of rice, from which Biñan drew its prosperity, to sugar.

Since most lands in the west were owned largely by the friar corporations, lease agreements for the use of parcels of land became the common mode of establishing farms, with constant rents charged on the land. This system had been the customary arrangement that governed farming in the west. Native and *mestizo* (half-caste) *inquilinos* (lessees) rented from the *encargado* (estate administrator) for territories, which they, in turn, sub-let to the *aparcero* (cultivator). The *aparcero*, in turn, cultivated a specific area of land to sugar. These arrangements were highly profitable and many families held on to the land they rented for generations on end.

Of course, these economic changes also created stresses on the social institutions that had existed in Laguna. For one, tenancy became the accepted form of labor arrangement in the towns covered by haciendas. These towns and haciendas represented a small portion of the province's territory. Economically, however, these haciendas dominated Laguna. Tenancy approximated the feudal relationships that predated Spanish colonialism. However, the premium had shifted away from labor and toward the control of the land. Land ownership was fast becoming the measure of wealth and power, and the indication of this shifting powerbase was the increase in the number of *inquilinos* on friar estates, who came from both the native *principalia* as well as from the Chinese *mestizos*.

Coconut, which was widely used to produce wine and oil (for cooking and light), was the major product in eastern Laguna. The

cultivation of coconuts for oil and wine was a traditional occupation of the Tagalogs in the region flanking Mount Banahaw and Mount San Cristobal. The establishment of the Spanish settlement in Manila and the subsequent growth of the population in the capital created a bigger demand for oil for lighting fuel and cooking.

The growth in the demand for oil allowed the economy of Laguna's eastern towns to develop strong commercial links with other regions and provinces. Laguna's coconut country stretched along valleys of the mountains of the province. These lands, although suitable to coconut planting, were not ideal for wet-rice farming, which required flat terrain. Thus, the region was chronically short of rice. Although rice shortages could be augmented by rootcrops, the demand for rice was not small. In 1818, Majayjay had a population of 9,284, Liliw 4,354; and Nagcarlan 5,570. These three towns alone constituted 19,208 of the province's 86,704 population as reported in *padrones* (town census).⁴⁹ That figure represented more than 22% of the population of a province that then included half the province of present-day Rizal. The large mountain district was far more populous than the coastal settlements. The provincial average was a little less than 3,000 per town. This population is remarkable even for a sparsely populated province. It would surely have stressed the capacity of the population to support itself, at the same time engaging in the cultivation and processing of coconut oil.

Despite what could be called commercial agriculture based on the cultivation of coconuts, the tenurial arrangements that attended the development of sugar estates in western Laguna did not develop in the east. Tenancy also existed in eastern Laguna although most of the farms were small and mostly family-cultivated plots, limiting the incidence and the magnitude of tenancy. Limited tenancy and the lack of any large landowning families in the east precluded the development of sharp class distinctions and the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

Laguna in the 1800s

Laguna at the turn of the nineteenth century continued to enjoy its strong links with the metropole and profited from the developing cash-crop economy. The social and economic structures that were put in place in the closing decades of the eighteenth century continued to evolve in the face of an intensified campaign to link the province with the export cash-crop economy.

Within the nineteenth century, the province went through several jurisdictional changes. In 1853, the towns of Binangonan, Morong, Baras, Tanay, Pililla, and Jalajala were taken from Laguna to form the politico-military district of Morong.⁵⁰ In 1858, the district of La Infanta, including Polillo Islands, was transferred to the province.⁵¹ In 1883, the town of San Pablo which was taken from the province in 1756 returned to the jurisdiction of Laguna.⁵² By the close of the nineteenth century, the district of La Infanta was elevated to a politico-military district, and the province roughly assumed the extent of present-day Laguna. Boundaries of the province stretched to cover nearly four-fifths of the coast of the lake of Bay and extended to the opposite coast of Luzon to cover the Tagalog settlements of Binangonan de Lampon (Infanta).

Laguna as a province also began to move from being an amorphous territorial concept with approximate boundaries to a fixed territory. The lack of firm boundaries between towns and between provinces during the seventeenth century was growing obsolete, especially in the face of the growing formalization of land ownership through titles. In the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, fixing these provincial boundaries became politically and economically necessary.

One such dispute over conflicting jurisdictions occurred between the towns of Majayjay, Cavinti, and Lucban (in Quezon province). The *sitio* in question was called Nasonog. At the close of the nineteenth century, the barrio was settled by residents from the surrounding towns of Cavinti, Majayjay, and Lucban, who paid tribute to their respective towns. In 1804, the *Alcalde Mayor* of Laguna declared that

the area was part of the jurisdiction of Cavinti.⁵³ The following year, *mojones* (markers) were sunk to provide the guide to the limits of the said towns. Another dispute over territory between the towns of Cavinti and Lucban concerning the jurisdiction of the *sitio* of Sumucub erupted in 1849. The problem was similar to Nasonog inasmuch as residents of the town of Lucban had settled and cleared the *sitio*, which the curate of Majayjay believed was within his jurisdiction.⁵⁴ In both cases, the resolution of the disputes lay in establishing fixed territories that would supersede allegiance to towns. A vestige from this period of establishing territorial boundaries survives, in the form of *mojones* that continue to dot Laguna. In towns like Alaminos, Luisiana, Pila, Liliw, Los Baños, are barrios or *sitios* that are called or used to be called *Mojon*.⁵⁵

The close proximity of the province to Manila made it a favorite area for visits. Among the visitors to the Philippines who also traveled to Laguna were Feodor Jagor, Charles Wilkes, and Sir John Bowring. The province of Laguna always struck itinerant travelers with its beauty and lushness. Jean Mallat, writing in the middle of the 19th Century, describes the trip to Laguna this way.

“In the province of Laguna, mountains and plains alternate and give it the most admirable variety; the vegetation is magnificent and luxuriantly rich; picturesque sites, delightful views strike one’s gaze everywhere, but it is most of all sailing down the lake during the fine season that offers beauties perhaps not found in any other country in the world; beauties still enhanced by the singularity of the things to be encountered at each step. The foreigners who arrive in Manila usually hasten to ask the governor for permission to make this excursion; for they are not allowed to go inland without it. On this occasion we will note that no foreigner can take up residence or even stay in Manila without a permit issued by the monarch himself. However those who present themselves in Manila without knowledge of this practice obtain quite easily from the governor a temporary permission...⁵⁶

The object of the visits to Laguna were usually two main attractions: the hot baths of Los Baños and the Botocan Falls in the vicinity of Majayjay and Lucban. Fr. Zuñiga accompanied a Spanish visitor to the Philippines, the Rear Admiral Ignacio Maria de Alava, to Los Baños in 1799.

Wells of boiling water are found all over this mountain, but what makes or forms the hot baths is a small creek that flows through a man-made stone canal which crosses the convent premises. As the water flows down, it loses some of its heat due to exposure to the wind—but not so much; it reaches the lagoon hot enough to scald the hand. At the place where the creek starts, the water is sufficiently hot enough to cook an egg in four or five minutes. A dog which accidentally fell into it came out divested of every hair. Above this creek are three furnaces of different distances from each other so the bather can choose the degree of heat he wishes in conformity with his needs. A small dressing room is built near the furnace for the convenience of the patients, but it is so badly arranged as to cause no little discomfort to whoever wishes to inhale the steam. The hospital does not have the necessary funds to afford the expenses for the repair of the defects of the buildings. Whoever wants to get warm water, enters the furnace, closes the door, and stays inside with much trouble and difficulty for as long as the doctor prescribes—which cannot be too long as the steam emitted by the water is very offensive. Although the furnace has a chimney, the steam does not spread right away and causes so much discomfort to the patient because of its heat.⁵⁷

Feodor Jagor, an intrepid traveller who visited the Philippines in the mid-19th century, describes Botocan.

On my return, I visited the fine waterfall of Butucan, between Mauban and Lucban, a little apart from the high road. A powerful stream flows between two high banks of rocky soil thickly covered with vegetation, and leaping from a ledge of volcanic rock suddenly plunges into a ravine, said to be three hundred and sixty feet in depth, along the bottom of which it is hurried away. The channel,

however, is so narrow, and the vegetation so dense, that an observer looking at it from above cannot follow its course. This waterfall has a great similarity to that which falls from the Semeru in Java. It was raining when I reached the convent of Majajjai, and it was still raining when I left it three days later, nor was there any hope of improvement in the weather for another month to come. "The wet season lasts for eight or nine months in Majajjai, and during the whole period scarcely a day passes without the rain falling in torrents."⁵⁸

However, although Laguna became a vacationing spot for the Manila set, its real value as a province lay in the expanding cultivation of sugar in the estates, and of coconuts in the east.

Trade, Towns and Roads

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Biñan and Santa Cruz were the centers of trading networks that operated in the province's two geographic and economic divisions. Santa Cruz was the market center of the eastern Laguna towns. Separated from the town of Lumban in 1602, it was the primary entrepot not only of the province but also of towns in other provinces which used the more secure route from Bicol to Mauban to Santa Cruz and thence to Manila. It was also the center of a trade network that brought coconut wine and oil to Manila and gathered rice for the consumption of the rice-deficit towns of Majayjay, Nagcarlan, and Liliw.

Biñan, on the other hand, was the center of the rice trade in the west. Biñan was originally a *visita* of the town of Santa Rosa until it was established as a separate settlement in 1784,⁵⁹ largely through the prodding of its own *mestizo* and *principalia* settlers. The activity of the town was primarily the cultivation of rice. This rice, along with the production of the other towns of the west, was then sent to Manila.

What the two trading towns had in common was the existence of a large settlement of Chinese and *mestizo* traders. The town of Santa Cruz, according to Mallat, was a trading center run by the *mestizos* of Pagsanjan. "Its inhabitants [were] for the most part *mestizos* who owned and cultivated the neighboring lands with care; they [were] also the ones who dealt in almost all the trade in the market of Santa Cruz which is open once a week." ⁶⁰

Over and above these social arrangements on the traditional system of status, the necessity for trade in a developing specialized agricultural area also meant the growth of trade based groups like the Chinese and the *mestizos*. The *mestizos* and the Chinese, unlike the *principalia*, were not originally land-owning classes. But the development of a cash crop economy needed the expertise of these traditional merchants in gathering and moving marketable goods like rice, sugar, coconut wine and oil from the producers to the consumers.

The Chinese and the *mestizos* performed a necessary function in facilitating the flow of trade from Laguna farms to the city of Manila. The *mestizos*, despite their small numbers, dominated trade in Laguna, especially after the Chinese were restricted from trading in the provinces in 1766.

The Spanish government made clear distinctions between natives and *mestizos* and established separate municipal governments for towns with significant numbers of *mestizos*. Pagsanjan and Biñan were examples of towns where two *gremios* (or guilds based on race) existed as parallel governments. The *mestizos* and the native *principalia* vied in flaunting their status and wealth in town. *Mestizos* sponsored separate celebrations of feast days of the patron saints.

The power exercised by these trading towns centered on their ability to gather the products of the land and use their comparative advantage to send the products to Manila. These towns were the bases of the itinerant Chinese and *mestizo* merchants who traveled from one town to the next, holding weekly market days. In 1830, these weekly

markets, known locally as *tiangui*, existed in the largest settlements of Laguna:

Santa Cruz	Miercoles y Jueves
Majayjay	Lunes
Nagcarlan	Domingo
Siniloan	Lunes
Paete	Viernes
Biñan	Domingo
Calauan	Domingo ⁶¹

The weekly town markets not only measured the relative commercial importance of towns which was in direct relation to their size and wealth. The *tiangui* also show patterns of relationships of towns with one another. Santa Cruz, the center of commercial activity in the nineteenth century, had eclipsed Pagsanjan and held the biggest weekly market. It was so big that it required two consecutive days. The merchants then moved on to Paete to hold the *tiangui* there. From Paete, the merchants broke into three groups, one proceeding to Nagcarlan, another group to Calauan and still another proceeding to Siniloan. The Nagcarlan sellers then proceeded to the town of Majayjay and returned thither to Santa Cruz.

These markets were not only opportunities to sell but also to buy products. Rice, coconut oil, betel nut and wine, and other products were traded at these weekly fairs. No *tianguis* were reported on two days in the week, Tuesdays and Saturdays, when the merchants could sufficiently deposit their items of trade in Santa Cruz to be transhipped to Manila.

The *tiangui* maximized the ability of the Chinese and *mestizo* merchants to reach their markets and their sellers. This system persisted because towns could not support week-long markets. Even after week-long markets were established in larger towns, the pattern

of holding weekly market days persisted in smaller towns. In 1907, *tianguis* were reportedly being held in seven towns:

Bay	Martes
Cabuyao	Miercoles
Pagsanjan	Miercoles
Santa Cruz	Jueves
Calamba	Viernes
Biñan	Sabado
San Pablo	Sabado ⁶²

The development of market towns required the establishment of a road system in Laguna. In pre-Spanish times, roads were nothing more than footpaths between settlements. This apparent lack of roads in pre-colonial times indicated an absence of regular traffic between settlements since most were usually self-sustaining. For most coastal settlements, too, traffic between settlements was conducted largely through water conveyances like *bancas* and *cascos*. Merchandise conducted overland, therefore, was probably insignificant, or at the most, was not of a volume that required the maintenance of a road network.

The introduction of the cash-crop economy was an impetus to build roads. For one, better roads were necessary to bring the products of the land to the ports. For another, a sufficiently maintained network of roads would have assured the prompt delivery of goods.

This required the regularization of contact between Laguna and Tayabas. Road building also required a political organization that would ensure its maintenance. The barangay system could not support such public works. It was only after the Spanish conquest had been completed that roads between settlements and between provinces could be sufficiently undertaken. The towns took on the primary responsibility for building and maintaining roads and bridges. For example, the road between the towns of Pila and Santa Cruz was laid not only by the *polistas* or forced laborers of the barangay through

which it passed, but also by other laborers that the town government of Santa Cruz had spared.⁶³

One of the earliest roads developed between the towns of Pagsanjan and Majayjay, and Pagsanjan, Pila, and Bay. There was also an ancient road that began from Cabuyao and led to the province of Balayan (Batangas). By the end of the eighteenth century, roads ran from Manila to the towns of Pasay, Malibay, and Muntinlupa, and entered Laguna at San Pedro Tunasan. The road then linked up with the ancient Cabuyao-Batangas road. At Santo Tomas in Batangas, the road branched, with one arm proceeding to Lipa, and another toward San Pablo. At San Pablo, the road then linked with another one of recent vintage, linking San Pablo and Nagcarlan. The main highway itself proceeded toward the towns of Tiaong and Candelaria in Quezon province.

Another road network began at the town of Los Baños and hugged the coast of the lake until it reached Santa Cruz. At Santa Cruz, two more roads linked with the coastal road, one from the town of Nagcarlan, and another from Majayjay and Liliw, passing through Magdalena. The coastal road proceeded toward Pagsanjan and Lumban and linked with all the towns of the Baybay region. At Pagsanjan, the road linked with a lesser road going to Cavinti. Smaller feeder roads also began at Loňgos (Kalayaan) and Mabitac to link the coastal road system to the small settlements of Santa Maria and San Antonio de Daraetan (in Lumban).

The development of the road system increased contact between towns and, to a certain degree, reinforced Laguna's sub-regional outlook. The towns of the west were not linked with the rest of Laguna, road-wise, until 1849 when a road was carved from out of the skirts of precipitous hills that isolated Los Baños from Calamba.⁶⁴ Communication between towns also increasingly relied on the road network, especially after floods displaced many communities from their original lakeshore sites to areas further inland. Such was the case for Cabuyao and Pila, for example. Moreover, the road networks reinforced the dependence of certain settlements on market towns.

The coconut industry allowed the growth of the interior towns of Majayjay, Liliw and Nagcarlan, despite their relative lack of flat land for the cultivation of rice. This growth was facilitated by the adoption of trade. A real dependence on surplus rice production became a necessity for the coconut industry area of Laguna which not only needed to augment rice production because of its large population, but also because the land was unsuitable for wet-rice culture. The primary economic activity of the region was geared toward the manufacture of coconut wine and oil.

Eastern Laguna thus became dependent on trade. The old triangular trade network whereby the highlands would trade coconut oil for rice and manufactured goods from Manila, created one of the most enduring trade networks in the archipelago.

Despite the continued development of trading, the Chinese mestizos moved from trading to land owning. Land owning mestizos were a minority at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were residents of the town of Biñan who owned considerable property and who claimed to be of *mestizo* extraction. However, it was only after the Chinese were allowed to reside in the provinces that a greater number of the *mestizos* shifted to cultivation.

The Chinese eventually displaced the *mestizos* as the dominant trading class after the 1830s. They reclaimed their former niche as the colony's wholesalers and retailers, driving the wealthy *mestizos* from the trade. Many *mestizos* then went into farming. The Dominicans, eager to attract more settlers to till the *hacienda* of Calamba, offered exemptions from tribute payments. This resulted in phenomenal population increases in the farmlands.

Calamba is particularly important. The town had a total population of 1,675 persons in 1818. About twenty years before, Fr. Zuñiga lamented that the town was almost useless.⁶⁵ However, by 1846, it had more than doubled its population. By the end of the century, the population had more than tripled the population of 1846. Much of the credit for the rise in population of the town of Calamba goes to the entry of *mestizo* sugar planters from Biñan who

POPULATION OF LAGUNA IN 1818

Pueblos	Individuos contribuyentes de Naturales	Reservados	Solteros Almas segun	Numeros de Padrones
Pagsanjan	1,785	484	900	3663
Lumban	1,983	514	1,107	4536
Paete	1,088	301	608	2418
Loñigos con su anexo				
San Antonio del Monte	944	305	563	2219
Paquil	628	160	212	1243
Panguil	1,030	143	500	2215
Siniloan	1,911	429	934	4508
Mavitac	525	115	290	1108
Sta. Maria Caboan	237	61	132	498
Cavinti	834	196	537	2090
Majayjay	4,948	791	1,743	9284
Lilio	2,168	338	590	4354
Nagcarlan	2,557	398	1035	5570
Santa Cruz	2,328	432	1478	5390
Bay	668	91	273	1234
Pueblo y Hacienda de Calauang	610	67	212	1002
Piyla	1,117	157	404	2028
Los Baños	460	76	180	921
Calamba	959	85	390	1675
Cabuyao	1,755	1,099	849	4722
Sta. Rosa	1,760	272	921	3497
Biñan	2,598	647	1,462	5632
San Pedro de Tunasan	1,112	138	439	2303
Pililla	1,096	249	730	2549
Tanay	1,352	219	856	2853
Binangonan de Bay	1,284	256	953	2936
Moron	1,747	885	1,176	4238
Baras	486	109	371	1139
Pueblo y Hazienda de Angono	319	73	312	879
TOTAL	40,289	9,090	20,157	86,704

Source: *Ydelfonso de Aragon. Estado de la poblacion de Filipinas correspondiente a el año de 1818.*
 Manila: Imprenta de D.M.M. por don Anastacio Gonzaga. 1820.

POPULATION OF LAGUNA IN 1846

TOWN	Tributes	Population
Pagsanjan	933	4,665
Lumbang	1,121	5,605
Loffgos	337	1,685
San Antonio	295	1,475
Paete	661	3,305
Paquil	367	1,835
Pañgil	578	2,890
Siniloan	1,157	5,785
Mabitac	342	1,710
Santa Maria	223	1,115
Santa Cruz	1,691	8,455
Pila	1,000	5,000
Calauan	399	1,998
Bay	445	2,225
Los Baños	320	1,600
Calamba	905	4,525
Cabuyao	1152	5,760
Santa Rosa	1058	5,290
Biñan	1707	8,537
San Pedro Ternusan [Tunasan]	597	2,988
Jalajala	254	1,272
San Diego	178	893
Pililla	478	2,392
Tanay	953	4,765
Baras	293	1,465
Morong	1327	6,635
Binañgonan	1174	5,870
Angono	235	1,178
Cavinti	676	3,380
Majayjay	2545	12,725
Lilio	1356	6,780
Nagcarlang	1822	9,110
Magdalena	948	4,740
TOTAL		167,653 inhabitants

Source: Jean Mallat. *The Philippines: History, Geography, Customs...*
 Manila: National Historical Institute, 1983.

POPULATION OF LAGUNA IN 1891

PUEBLOS	NUMERO DE HABITANTES			
	Naturales	Español Peninsulares	Mestizo de Sangley	Mestizo de Español
Alaminos	4,263	1	79	3
Bay	1,633	1	0	0
Biñan	19,862	9	187	15
Cabuyao	8,305	3	140	12
Calamba	14,019	16	0	13
Calauan	3,264	1	6	2
Cavinti	3,995	1	0	4
Longos	1,211	1	2	0
Los Baños	2,568	1	9	0
Lilio	5,395	1	0	0
Luisiana	3,660	1	10	1
Lumban	4,271	1	12	0
Magdalena	2,388	1	13	0
Majayjay	6,502	3	13	3
Mavitac	1,176	1	0	0
Nagcarlan	12,088	3	23	3
Paete	2,799	1	0	12
Pagsanjan	2,846	1	2,547	71
Pangil	2,416	1	7	0
Paquil	1,555	1	0	0
Pila	5,173	1	41	17
San Antonio	1,411	1	0	1
Santa Cruz	12,363	21	279	53
Santa Maria	737	1	0	0
Santa Rosa	9,692	2	339	63
San Pedro Tunasan	3,858	4	233	33
San Pablo	17,843	1	1555	7
Siniloan	4,733	7	7	9
TOTAL	160,026	87	5,502	322

Source: *Estadística: Laguna, 1891.*

put large tracts of land under cultivation and attracted tenants and farm hands to work the land.

Unlike the *mestizo* settlement in Pagsanjan, the *mestizos* of Biñan dispersed among the towns of the west, contracting leases with the friar estates and shifting to the cultivation of sugar, which was a more lucrative produce.⁶⁶ Accumulating wealth by controlling the use of land, the distinction between *mestizos* and the *naturales* (natives) was sufficiently blurred towards the middle of the nineteenth century so that it existed merely as a highly anachronistic system that could be circumvented by legalities.⁶⁷ Elections in the local governments of Laguna reveal the entry of the *mestizos* into the abodes reserved for the natives and vice versa.⁶⁸ Toward the end of Spanish colonialism, the *gremios* were abolished and united municipal governments were established.

The cash crop economy transformed the society of western Laguna. The religious corporations represented absentee landlords with minimal interest in the land. The *inquilinos*, who were actually leaseholders who functioned more like landowners, came to fill this political and social gap. These *inquilinos* leased large tracts of land from the *hacienda's encargados* and in turn sublet to tenant farmers who were called *aparceros*. In this system, the *inquilinos* functioned more like wholesale lessees who retailed leaseholds to the farmers who, because of poverty or limited resources, could not rent from the *encargados* directly. The *inquilinos*, in turn, assumed dominant arrangements with the tenants.

When the friar corporations tried to increase their profit from the land and attempted to subvert the existing arrangements between the *inquilinos* and small tenants, they underestimated the power of the personal ties that found them. The case of the Calamba Estate is an example of a changing *hacienda* system in Laguna. The periodic increases of rent were designed to tap into the profits that the *inquilino* families were receiving from the land. However, these families eventually brought suit to question not only the increases in rent, but the fundamental title of the Dominicans (who acquired the estate) to the land.⁶⁹

The friar *haciendas* were the central economic powerhouses of the cash-crop economy. Unlike the eastern sector with its small landholdings, the *haciendas* were vast tracts of arable land ideal for sugar, the main cash crop of the Philippines. The *haciendas* attracted the attention of enterprising *mestizos* and natives who undertook the transformation of the estates from raw pasture lands into viable farms. And the proximity and the volume of crops planted on the *haciendas* made them profitable ventures.

With the advent of cash crops in Laguna, the trading network increasingly relied on the monetary system of the Spaniards to regularize prices. The increasing volume of trade also needed a regular conduit to bring the goods to the market.

However, with the strengthening of the linkage of the economy of the western region with the international economy, so too did it suffer the periodic upheavals that wracked the markets of Great Britain, Spain and the United States. Following a depression in the prices of sugar in the 1880s, and subsequent crop failures caused by flooding, the *inquilinos* of Calamba asked for some relief from the payment of rent that the estate imposed. However, the administrator refused. Although the *inquilinos* could have weathered the prolonged depression in sugar prices in the 1880s, it surely would have caused destitution among the ranks of the *aparceros*.

It was during this economic crisis that Jose Rizal articulated the *inquilino* challenge not only at the injustice of the rent increases in the face of the crisis, but also of the authenticity of titles the Dominicans held to the land. This challenge, which the entire colony avidly followed, would contribute to the formation of a nationalist consciousness and helped launch the Philippine Revolution.

Tulisanismo in 19th Century Laguna

The phenomenon of *tulisanismo* or banditry and brigandage emerged in Laguna at about the same time the ancient codes of land use were under challenge from the Spanish land laws. This is

not to say that *tulisanismo* had not existed before. In fact, brigandage had always been a traditional form of social fragmentation and marginalization. What is interesting, however, is the coincidence in the rise of the cases of brigandage in Laguna and the surrounding country with the Tagalog land revolts of 1745. In fact, the residents of Silang, who were incensed by the usurpation of their lands, burned the *haciendas*, killed the cattle and sent the tenants of several friar *haciendas* fleeing towards more secure settlements, much as brigands would have done.⁷⁰

Tulisanismo in the Tagalog region can be viewed from another perspective outside of the usual element of criminal behavior as a form of in-group, out-group relationship. It can be seen as the persistence of a long established practice of predation between in and out-groups in Laguna.

The precolonial society of Laguna was rife with inter-barangay conflicts. These conflicts were essentially engendered by a strong identification with a limited in-group who were usually bound by kinship. There was regular warfare among rival barangays or settlements with this "warfare" a form of status establishing activities. However, Tagalog society was already in the process of transformation at the time of Spanish contact. Many Tagalogs were active in trading when the Spaniards came⁷¹ and trade precluded open hostility. Apart from open warfare, the Tagalogs maintained activities such as brigandage and theft.⁷²

Spanish colonialism subsumed the tensions after creating a united polity under one administration and one kingdom. Spanish colonization created a uniform religion, a form of government, guaranteed travel and tried to erase boundaries between hitherto independent political entities.

Tensions persisted, as evidenced by the conflicts between rival barangays in town elections, the refusal of rival barangays to be reduced into a single settlement, and frequent inter-town border conflicts. However, violence was officially renounced as a legitimate expression of this conflict.

Tulisanismo was an accepted form of predation before Spanish colonialism, expressing the stress between rival groups. This aggression could be seen in various forms like the frequent headhunting raids between groups. These raids had official sanction and operated within the sphere of what was acceptable behavior in precolonial society. Such aggressive behavior, however, could not be tolerated under a colonial government that guaranteed peace. Since it could not exist under the regime of peace under Spain, *tulisanismo* operated outside the pale of Spanish law.

The nature and the composition of the victims of *tulisanismo* suggest a logical system of classification. The *tulisan* identified with a town in-group and were supported by the residents of this town or barrio. Kinship or close in-group ties regulated the conduct of brigandage. Consequently, *tulisan* bands did not attack the towns or villages which were sympathetic to them.

Local leaders operating within the pale of the law formed beneficial relationships with these bands. The bands were allowed to seek refuge in the locality and punitive forays were usually sabotaged with delays or by leaking intelligence to the *tulisan*. Bands were rarely accosted within their home locality's territory because the residents not only supported them materially but also provided intelligence information. This was the case insofar as the settlement of Tunasancillo was concerned. Members of the band did not sever familial ties with their home locality despite Spanish persecution.

Tulisan bands operated from a base near their towns, but attacked areas further out. This preserved the beneficial relationship with the home locality by preventing violence within the in-group. The violence, however, was translated from strictly punitive raids against rival localities to predatory raids on "neutral" localities to support the needs of the band. The predatory nature of *tulisanismo* was thus used as an economic means to maintain a band.

The economic viability of brigandage made economically well-off out-groups the preferred targets of predatory raids. Chinese traders were frequently waylaid by *tulisan* bands along the roads and waterways of the province. Reports of Chinese being targeted along

the roads were many. The *haciendas*, owned by Spaniards or Spanish friar corporations, were also regular targets because no kinship ties regulated their relations with the bands. Armed action against the *tulisanes* was wholly inadequate to prevent its occurrence.

As a phenomenon, *tulisanismo* is important because it was a persistence of precolonial “in- and out-group” tensions. It cannot be denied that the practice was also economically profitable for the raiders, because they usually took away the wealth of the rival communities. It also became an important component of resistance against the colonial social order. Although it lacked the cohesive ideology that usually binds revolutionary movements, it was a tacit rejection of the ability of the Spanish regime to regulate the tensions between communities.

It was also a means by which a direct affront to the colonial system could be mounted. The friar estates, which tried to disenfranchise the native Tagalogs from the usufruct of what were communal lands, were the usual targets of banditry. It seems amazing that the friar herds lost hundreds of heads of cattle without the knowledge or participation, unwitting or otherwise, of the local communities. There was an unusual rise in *tulisan* activities towards the end of the nineteenth century which Isagani Medina ascribes to the growing discontent in many Tagalog provinces, Laguna included.⁷³

Hermano Puli and the Millenarian Movements of Banahaw

Another unique phenomenon of the province of Laguna, which it shared with the neighboring province of Tayabas, was the growth of millenarian movements. These movements were drawn from a long tradition of mysticism that revolved around holy mountains. Mountains were traditionally believed to be the abode of the spirits. Mountains caves were believed to be openings to the underworld, or gateways into the after life. The caves were thus also a means of communicating with the dead. So the mysticism of the mountains

like Banahaw were linked with old Tagalog beliefs about spirits and the afterlife.

The Spanish friars never fully erased the belief in an underground spirit world. To a certain extent, they tolerated the similarities between indigenous beliefs and Christian concepts of afterlife, retribution, redemption and grace. Tolerance meant the continuance of the old beliefs garbed in newer forms of Christianity.

However, this did not mean that millenarianism was widespread among the Laguna folk. These groups operated outside the pale of conventional *indio* society. However, they were tolerated, and at times, even revered because of the commonalities between the millenarian universe and folk beliefs regarding religion.

Another plausible reason why supernatural powers were ascribed to Mount Banahaw may be related to the eruptive episode that struck in 1730,⁷⁴ when the collapsed part of the crater released the water from the crater lake. Fray San Antonio relates:

There is another volcano in the mountain of Lucban which occasionally emits water and stones with great fury. Stones of extraordinary size roll down the sides of the mountain with torrents of water as if they were balls, forming a continuing danger to our convent at Saryaya, which is located next to the course of the water and rocks. Divine Mercy stopped a number of these quite close to the convent, any one of which could have ground it to flour. This I have seen with my own eyes filled with admiration.⁷⁵

It would have been too easy for the Tagalogs to interpret such a cataclysmic event as supernatural. Fr. San Antonio himself had called the circumstance of the church's close call nothing short of miraculous. The eruptive episode affected all the towns surrounding Banahaw, and local beliefs persist about another eruption that would probably submerge these towns in water.

Millenarianism had not been organized as a form of challenge to Spanish colonialism. In fact, the religious movements assumed the garb of Christianity, creating a unique mythology based on Christian

characters that refurbished old beliefs. Although the friars tried to dispel the superstitions that were seen as anti-Christian, they co-opted other superstitions that would have promoted their own religion. However, the movements were not organized into a single worldview, and pilgrimages were usually small.

The watershed of the millenarian movement was in 1832 when Apolinario de la Cruz, better known as Hermano Puli, attempted to organize the millenarian belief system.⁷⁶ In that year, he established a brotherhood similar to the Catholic confraternities that flourished in the Tagalog areas, which were associations that supported the exercise of Catholicism. Most of the members of his Confraternity were from the province of Tayabas, like himself, and the association grew active in that area.

In 1840, the Confraternity began a rapid expansion that drew members from the provinces of Tayabas (Quezon), Laguna and Batangas.⁷⁷ *Cabecillas* or chapters were formed in various towns, among them Majayjay, Nagcarlan, and Liliw in Laguna. When Hermano Puli attempted to gain official recognition of his association, his troubles with the colonial authorities began. The Spanish Governor was particularly struck by the prohibition in the statutes of the Confraternity on the enrollment of *mestizos* and Spaniards as members.⁷⁸

In the following months, Spanish authorities pursued members of the brotherhood. Hermano Puli was forced out of his job in Manila and went into hiding with his followers in the recesses of Banahaw. In October 1841, the *Cofradia* made a last stand in Mount San Cristobal, between the provinces of Laguna and Tayabas.

The confraternity was savagely crushed by the Spanish authorities who feared it was a direct assault on their government and religion. The movement succeeded in building the system of beliefs that would be shared by succeeding millenarian movements. Several movements, tracing their roots to the *Cofradia de San Jose*, flourished in protected niches of Mount Banahaw. Alfred Marche noted that the place names that Hermano Puli used to identify strange rock formations survived and continued to be venerated.

In this mountain [San Cristobal], certain localities owe their names to an Indian of the last century, the mount of Calvary, the fountain of the Jordan, the Purgatory, etc., etc....

It served as refuge, during the last century, to someone named Apolinario (de la Cruz), a kind of prophet or rather, a visionary who wanted to found a new religion. Apolinario, raised at a seminary in Manila, was destined to be a parish priest or curate in an inland village. One fine day, driven away on account of his bad behavior...he retired to the mountains, announced to the natives that the Spaniards had a white Pope, but that he was Pope and prophet of the Indians. He conceived a religion of which the rites of Catholicism were the base...his influence ever growing, the misdeeds of the bandits who surrounded him multiplying, the security of the land being endangered, it was necessary to take up arms against him...

The spots that he had sanctified are always, although secretly, very much frequented. One brings sick people there, often from very far, in order to take a bath in the water of the Jordan or at the miraculous springs which heal all those who have faith.

The fountain on Jordan is really one of the most beautiful sites...It comes out from the midst of a tuft of ferns set vertically against the mountain. They just discovered the cadaver of a woman who came from Majayjay through the mountains, in order to seek the cure there and who, indeed, had found there the end of her pains.

The water of the fountain of Jordan flows out into a river enclosed between two mountains covered by forests, in the midst of which some moss-covered rocks come to blend their somber tones with the vivid colors of the trees and the plants which spot the ground from all parts.

The Purgatory, an immense cave in the mount of Calvary, served for a long time as refuge to the prophet and his disciples.

All of these places are still objects of veneration by the natives, who still secretly gather there.⁷⁹

In 1886, for example, authorities apprehended a man named Mariano Montemar in the town of Liliw as he performed rites similar

to those established by Hermano Puli in the 1840s. The initial report of the case the authorities revealed:

Your excellency, a serious atmosphere has befallen these parts for some time now, caused by the excursions the Indians make to the mountains of Banajao and San Cristobal where they commit superstitious acts with those from the neighboring province of Tayabas, being from time immemorial given to fanatical beliefs, secretly organizing expeditions and confraternities or brotherhoods where they draw quarters. That is the principal objective of the tricksters who are said to be inspirational and against whom the persecutions and punishments imposed have not sufficed. I have the pleasure of placing before your attention that the prophet Mariano Montemar has been imprisoned with his acolyte Marcos Batolinao by the gobernadorcillo of Lilio in the mountain of San Cristobal. Montemar had already suffered two years' imprisonment as penalty, having been apprehended in the mountain of San Cristobal dressed in the habit of San Vicente with all his divination paraphernalia, in the act of officiating a dastardly act in which he made use of a play of hands and tricks to draw money from the multitude.⁸⁰

What is interesting about the case of Montemar was the extensive detailing of his activities in the caves of the district between Liliw and Nagcarlan. Montemar used an idol to divine things, foretell events, and discover secrets. The excursions of the residents to the caves were described as follows:

I understand..that they are not fanatical characteristics that induce them. They are superstitions in which all take part. They always choose a waterfall or river, ones which make large basins. Women and men bathe together, eat well after contributing small donations, in money or in kind. It is noted that the *santon* (acolyte) does not officiate until they have collected a fixed amount, and for this they always give the largest plates. There are no kings or rogues, there is complete freedom and this can be called the school of immorality and this brings the Indian the leisure of libertinism.⁸¹

The idol, according to Fr. Manuel Bravo, ate and drank “like a very large man” and was thus sustained with offerings of food and drink by those seeking the wisdom of the idol.⁸² Money too was given, in the hope that great profit would accrue to those who put in *puhonan* (capital). And apart from venerating an idol, Montemar also “catechized” his followers.

To those that have given him money when the time comes, convene in another part of the river, never bringing more . not letting them leave the surroundings of the cave and infusing them with respect and veneration, they prostrate themselves and cut themselves with lances to remain there and to hear the voices and the words of the *encanto* although distant from the cave by about six steps and in this manner and posture they retain until the encanto has eaten and said those orders he desires...⁸³

Authorities feared that Montemar would incite his followers in the same way Hermano Puli had his own followers in 1840, so Montemar and his cohorts were promptly sent to Mindanao. However, the tradition of reverence for Mount Banahaw would persist.

During the Revolution, Sebastian Caneo, a native of Taal and a believer in the cult known as the *colorum*⁸⁴ also advocated a belief system that seemed closely akin to the beliefs of both Montemar and Hermano Puli. Caneo was active in the area of Banahaw, where he had a following of about 20,000.⁸⁵ Caneo was a *cabecilla* of another Taaleño, Rufino Lontok, who was a hermit in Banahaw and who reputedly founded the movement.⁸⁶

The persistence of these forms of challenge to the Spanish regime indicated some dissatisfaction with aspects of the colonial regime. Hermano Pule, for example, was greatly disheartened by his inability to become a friar because of a prohibition against admitting *indios* into the religious (friar) orders. It also proves that the ancient belief systems were not eradicated by Catholicism but were embellished in Christian terminologies and mythologies. This continuance of an indigenous worldview in the mold of Christianity was beneficial to

the Church during the early period of colonialism. However, the entrenchment of this worldview among the Tagalogs living around Banahaw, and to a certain extent, to all Filipinos under Spanish domination has been explored as a possible alternative consciousness that helped process the ideas of Revolution and Freedom.

Laguna and the Development of Filipino Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century

The simmering dissatisfaction with Spanish colonialism would intensify as the nineteenth century wore on. A nascent enlightened elite drawn from prominent families in Laguna was finding the strength and the courage to articulate the grievances of the Filipino nation. Although this movement was largely based in Manila and operated in limited degrees in Laguna, especially in the western towns and in the vicinity of Santa Cruz and Pagsanjan, they provided a means to articulate the resentments of the people.

The proximity of the province of Laguna to Manila was a boon to this propaganda movement. The existence of regular communications between Manila and Laguna, especially the regular steamer service to Santa Cruz, meant that news from the capital could filter to the province. In this regard, the merchant networks controlled by the *mestizos* served to disseminate news and allowed the Laguna residents to identify with personalities they had not seen or even heard. This discovery of identification with other groups is essential in developing a national consciousness, and the Laguna residents, linked closely to the metropolis of Manila, were readily drawn into this consciousness.

So the province of Laguna, while benefiting from the cash-crop economy, also bore the burden of living under an increasingly repressive colonial regime. Dissatisfaction was growing as a result of the changes in society brought by the changes in the economy. Although traditional forms of resistance like *tulisanismo* and millenarianism persisted, these were not enough to bind the public

to a national cause. Laguna developed this national consciousness through its links with Manila.

In 1872, many Tagalog families were implicated in the failed Cavite Mutiny. The Spanish government, in turn, became so reactionary as to treat any defiance of authority as sedition. History is replete with cases of severe oppression for the most trifling offense. Many petty crimes were punished with exile to faraway provinces such as Jolo, Zamboanga, and Cotabato, places which conjured in the minds of many *Filipinos* images of certain death at the hands of *Moros*. The extraordinary harshness of the authorities in dealing with crime and defiance encouraged *bandolerismo* or *tulisanismo*. Jose Rizal in his novels, the *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo*, provided a social caricature of the period. In these books, he presented a colonial government that was frozen in fear of a country they had oppressed. The government acted on this fear by increasing repression.

Laguna was particularly vulnerable to suppression. Being near Manila, forces could immediately be sent over. It received communications regularly and was rightly one of the more progressive provinces. The Spaniards were very much aware of the ease with which the Lagunenses communicated with the Manileños. In several suppressions of illegal organizations in Laguna, particularly in Santa Cruz and Pagsanjan, the Governor and the friar curates commonly pointed to the ease of communications as a means taken by the *filibusteros* (Spanish-Filipino term for political troublemaker) in spreading their positions.

The Calamba Incident

The province of Laguna grabbed the attention of the colony in the last months of the year 1891. During the months of October and November, the *inquilinos*, or land lessees on the Dominican estate, who refused to accede to the new regulations and land rents imposed by the friars were forcibly evicted. The Dominican estate of San Juan Bautista was managed by sub-letting portions to *inquilinos* who in turn

leased the land to smaller *aparceros* (sharecroppers). Many *inquilinos* grew prosperous under this system of land tenure. However, that prosperity came under threat from a decision to raise the *canon* or rent on the land and to direct a more active role for the *encargado* in dealing with the peasants.⁸⁷ The *inquilinos* challenged the change in the contracts in court. The court of first instance turned down the challenge of the *inquilinos* but the case was elevated to the *Real Audiencia* (High Court) in Manila. Some form of status quo descended on the land, with the estate manager unable to evict the errant tenants pending the resolution of the appeal.⁸⁸

In 1891, the Audiencia ruled in favor of the Dominican estate but the *inquilinos* decided to appeal to the courts in Spain. Before a decision could be handed out, Captain General Valeriano Weyler sent troops to Calamba to eject the errant *inquilinos*, and indicated that the government would not treat lightly a direct challenge to the law. On 20 October, troops were sent from Manila to Calamba to ensure:

1ª, el gran numero de desahuciados, pues siendo estos tantos, y la Guardia civil de aquel puesto muy reducida, era cosa de que se tomaran precauciones, por al algunos adoptaban actitud rebelde y se resistian al Juzgado o cometian atropellos contra las autoridades o contra los religiosos;

2ª, que en otros desahucios de menor escala habian insultado al juez executor y a sus acompanantes, adoptando una actitud ofensiva, que no llego a vias de hecho por la presencia de la Guardia civil, llamada de proposito para proteger la administracion de justicia;

*3ª, porque en esta ocasion no se pudo disponer de la suficiente fuerza de la Guardia civil destinada en la provincia, porque siendo escaso el personal de los diferentes puestos y secciones, si se hubiera concentrado en Calamba, se habrian quedado casi abandonados esos mismos puestos y secciones.*⁸⁹

1. the great number of the dispossessed, there being a number, and the Guardia Civil of that post being much reduced, was the reason why precautions were taken. For some were taking a rebellious attitude and resisting the Court or committing violence against the authorities or against the religious;

2. that in other evictions of a lesser scale, they had insulted the judge executor and his companions, adopting an offensive attitude, that would not have come to the path of righteousness if not for the presence of the Guardias Civiles, called to this task to protect the administration of justice;
3. because on this occasion, a sufficient force from the Guardias Civiles deployed in the province could not be had, because of the scarcity of personnel in the posts and sections. If these were concentrated in Calamba, it would have amounted to the abandonment of these posts and sections.

What can be gleaned from this rationalization of the use of excessive force was a resolve to reestablish Spanish colonial prestige in the face of the impudent challenge of the Calambeño evictees. A subject people were questioning the validity of Spanish titles and the authority of Spanish courts and the executors of the law were thereby insulted. The Dominican friars and the Spanish authorities in Manila were worried regarding the consequences of the continued defiance of the Calamba *inquilinos* to the judgements handed down by the *juez de primera instancia* (judge of first instance) of Laguna and the *Real Audiencia*. General Weyler was convinced that the law had to be imposed and open defiance of it was not to be tolerated.

In the last days of October, 50 soldiers of the European regiment of the Artillery under Col. Francisco Olive y Garcia of the 20th *Tercio* of the *Guardias Civiles* entered Calamba.⁹⁰ The governor general had specifically ordered the careful conduct of the troops in enforcing the judgement of the courts. The officers were housed in two separate buildings offered by the administrator of the estate and rations were provided for the troops to prevent looting. These extraordinary measures showed that Calamba was a very sensitive case. All matters were to be done according to the book and the governor was not to tolerate any imputation of Spanish wrongdoing against the evictees.

Despite official claims that only 50 to 60 troops entered the town, General Weyler had, in fact, sent 300 Spanish artillerymen and 100 native troops complemented with 200 horses.⁹¹ Besides the

artillerymen, all the *guardias civiles* that could be spared were sent to the town of Calamba from surrounding towns like Biñan and Calauan.⁹² The authorities expected resistance from about 250 *colonos* (another term used to refer to *inquilinos*) and their *aparceros* (sharecroppers). When the troops entered the town, however, it had been abandoned by more than two-thirds of the residents who had fled to other towns or to the surrounding country. The evictions were started immediately. While the evictions were being done, several fires broke out in the town which caused not a little alarm among the Spaniards who suspected that the evicted *inquilinos* were burning their properties.⁹³ The authorities, in turn, also destroyed four or five houses made of wood and stone and all others that were made of nipa and set fire to some huts in the outskirts of town.⁹⁴

Twenty-nine *colonos* were arrested and immediately prosecuted for instigating the troubles in Calamba. Twenty-five of these men arrested were exiled to various points of the country, specifically Mindanao. Their crime was opposing not only the Dominicans but the Spanish government as well, through words, deeds, and other various means.⁹⁵ They had provoked a situation in Calamba “comparable to that in Antique with its *babaylanes* or to Samar with its *dios-dioses*.”⁹⁶

Calamba was particularly distressing because it would have been the test case from which *inquilinos* in other estates could claim some redress. However, the friars were also eager to make Calamba the definitive end to all questions of their prerogatives as owners of the land to impose new conditions on their tenants, as well as a lesson to all those who chose to challenge Spanish supremacy. The use of excessive force in Calamba was to demonstrate to the *inquilinos* just who was in control of the government. If the Spaniards wanted to use Calamba to demonstrate their determination to preserve their dominion over the Filipinos, it also galvanized anti-friar and anti-Spanish sentiments.

Besides suppressing the “uprising” in Calamba, the authorities also kept a close eye on other activities of a political nature. In January 1895, Fausto Balantacbo, a scribe in the pay of the provincial

government, was unceremoniously exiled to Iligan in Mindanao, after papers of a subversive nature were found among his belongings.⁹⁷ Despite favorable testimony of his good character from the *gobernadorcillo* of Santa Cruz, he was exiled upon the recommendation of the Spanish curate of the town. In neighboring Pagsanjan, at about the same time, Jose Unson, a former *gobernadorcillo* of the *gremio de mestizos*, was also accused of *filibusterismo*.⁹⁸ There were also reports of clandestine meetings in the town of Pagsanjan.⁹⁹ Three prominent men of Pagsanjan were identified as members of the masonic lodge in Pagsanjan: Higinio Benitez, a native notary of Laguna, Vicente Reyes, a prominent *ilustrado*, and Gervacio Unson, a schoolteacher. It is unclear if these men were deported for their activities.¹⁰⁰ Another man, Julian Piñon, was also accused of anti-patriotic ideas and *filibusterismo* and thrown into exile in Jolo.¹⁰¹

The testimony of the friar curate of the town of Pagsanjan indicates that the existence of these secret societies was common knowledge.

“No se oculta a V. E. que en este pueblo de suyo algo levantisco contiene en su seno varios elementos antiespanoles los cuales sino lanzan publicamente sus ideas no es por falta de intencion sino por ser algunas personas de arraigo y tener muchos intereses que perder pero no por eso lejan de trabajar ahinco y decision en secreto mas veces facilitando dinero en pro de su causa, y otras propagando doctrinas contrarias a nuestro dominio en este Archipelago...”¹⁰²

“It cannot be concealed from Your Excellency that in this town, with its somewhat unsettled condition, there are, within its bosom, various anti-Spanish elements, those who publicly proclaim their ideas, not for a lack of intent but for being established individuals and having many interests at stake, but not then working with eagerness and decisiveness in secrecy, many times providing money in support of their cause while others proclaiming doctrines contrary to our dominion over this Archipelago..”

The meetings were allegedly held in the late hours of the night in the houses of those concerned. Piñon, for his part, was accused of spreading seditious ideas as he moved about the towns of Santa Maria, Liliw, Cabuyao, Majayjay, San Antonio, and Calamba.¹⁰³

The governor of the province suspected that these meetings were of a masonic nature and blamed the establishment of such a lodge on the relative ease of communication between Manila and Santa Cruz. It may be relevant to state that by 1894, Severino Taiño had established the Katipunan chapter *Maloningning* in Pagsanjan. This may have been what the authorities were alluding to.

The Katipunan in Laguna

The *Kataas-tasan, Kagalang-galangan na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan*, or Katipunan was established in 1892 and immediately, steps were taken to expand the movement to encompass the important provinces surrounding Manila. However, despite the relative proximity and ease of transport and communication of the province of Laguna with the capital of the colony, there were few efforts to establish local chapters in the province.

According to the reminiscences of Mariano Alvarez, the first chapter was formed by Severino Taiño in the vicinity of Pagsanjan some time in 1894. His chapter was called *Maloningning*, and Pagsanjan was referred to as such in revolutionary documents. He was joined by other Pagsanjan residents like Mariano Crisostomo, Santiago Crisostomo, Pedro Caballes, Francisco Abad, Sergio Garcia, Gregorio Rivera, and Severo Sumulong. They in turn spread the ideals of the Katipunan to the eastern towns of the province.

From the recollections of Pedro Cortes, Jose Arquiza of Santa Cruz was elected the head of the province of Laguna (*Hukuman ng Silangan*) on 13 January 1894.¹⁰⁴ But this chapter does not seem to have prospered. On 25 October 1896, as the Revolution was fought in the districts of Manila and Cavite, Pedro Cortes went back to Santa Cruz and inducted into the brotherhood the following members:

Luis Javier	Antonio Manabat
Pantaleon Delgado	Manuel Montes
Fabian Mora	Luciano Taleon

Paulino Alvarez	Francisco Alfonso
Ignacio Sementera	Severino Aguas
Ignacio Pamilacan	Juan Bandilla
Remigio Taleon	Procopio Manelo
Bonifacio Kalingan	Lazaro Alfonso (<i>malaki</i>)
Segundo Sarmiento	Lazaro Alfonso (<i>maliit</i>)
Sancho Kalbelo	Toribio Javier
Claro Liwagan	Inocente Aguas
Miguel Aguas	Rufino Pamatmat
Venancio Gavino	Inocencio Tobias
Vicente Zotomayor	Jose Tobias
Modesto Calica	Ponciano Tobias ¹⁰⁵

Another katipunan was established in the town of San Pedro Tunasan in the west in September 1896. Antonino Guevara, a prominent citizen of the town, inducted citizens from the towns of San Pedro, Biñan, Cabuyao, Santa Cruz (probably Santa Rosa), Bay and Los Baños into his chapter of *Matatag*.¹⁰⁶ Among those he named were Mariano Apelo, Marciano Arevalo, Felix Arguelles, Santiago Carrillo Trinidad and Alejandro Quidayan. This katipunan was affiliated with the revolutionaries in Cavite, as evidenced by the instructions Guevara received from Emilio Aguinaldo.

Another leader, Emilio Jacinto, was tasked with establishing chapters in Laguna in April 1897, or after the Revolution had been waged in Manila and Cavite for more than seven months. Andres Bonifacio commissioned Jacinto to establish the movement in the area near Santa Cruz. This directive from Andres Bonifacio was in line with his plan to make Laguna the center of his revolutionary activities. Jacinto operated in the vicinities of the towns of Majayjay, Liliw, Magdalena and Santa Cruz, but he found difficulty in organizing chapters in the province because he was considered an outsider.¹⁰⁷

The katipunan, as an expression of popular discontent with the Spanish regime, developed relatively late in the province of Laguna. This was due largely to the lack of sufficient leaders who could begin the process of establishing chapters and inducting members. However,

in the case of Guevara who established his katipunan in the latter half of September 1896, he already had a flourishing chapter by October, with prominent members representing the towns of western Laguna.

Lack of leadership and direction spawned smaller, locally based “katipunans”, which may or may not have been familiar with the organizational set-up and the aspirations of the brotherhood. These movements, mostly unnamed but appearing in the folk traditions of Laguna, for the most part betrayed their lack of hierarchical organization and elaborated various interpretations of the meanings of freedom (*kalayaan*) and independence (*kasarinlan*).¹⁰⁸ They were poorly armed with bolos, spears, and occasional rifles of ancient manufacture. Their leaders had little knowledge of military tactics, usually engaging the Spaniards head on with audacity and foolhardiness. And yet, despite such odds, there were sporadic encounters between these revolutionaries and the Spanish authorities.

Revolutionary Encounters

The first significant “battle” in Laguna between the revolutionaries and the Spanish forces occurred in the town of Bay. On 21 September 1896, a man by the name of Mateo Andas attacked the town’s detachment of the Guardia Civil and disarmed them using a very comic ruse:

Nagsimula ang labanan ng Katipunan at Kastila ng si Mateo Andas ay umalis sa Pasig at umuwi ng Bay, Laguna, ang kanyang loob ay ganyak ng pakikilaban sa mga kastila, at nag-isip umuwi ng makapagipon ng mga Kawal. Natalastas ni Andas na sa kanyang bayan gawa ng mga pari, totoong pinagkakatakutan at pinangingilagan ang Mason, kaya namalita ng lalong kakila-kilabot na bagay na may himagsikan sa Maynila ng mga Mason at ng Kawal ng Bayan, laban sa Kastila at ng mga pari, at kailan mang magtatagpo ang mga kawal at paring kastila, libu-libo kung mabawasan ng mga sugatan at patay, sa mahigpit na panghahalo at pamumuksa ng tabak ng mga

gulukang kawal ng bayan, ang mga Mason ay totoong matatapang at mababangis na kapag di iginalang, walang patumanggang pumapatay sa kahit kanino. Ang mga Mason ay madaling makilala sapagka't kung humaharap sa pakikidigma, suut ang damit ng kanilang matataas na tungkulin sa Kaharian, at ang karamihan ay mga Pilipino sa pangangailangang itayo ang Bandila ng ating bayan; mga balitang lalong nagpalaki ng katapangan at kabangisan sa mga Mason, na simulan ng mga pari ng pagbabalitang ang Mason, ayaw kumilala sa Diyos, at pumapalo kay Kristo, ang paniniwala ng mga tao sa mga pag-uusap na ganito, ay talagang dapat pangilagan ang Mason na kung sa Diyos ay ayaw gumalang, sa tao pa kaya. Ang mga panahon ng pag-uusap at pagkukuro ng mga taong bayan, una'y sa alingawngaw ng himagsikan, at pangalawa ay sa sinasabing Mason, na anila marahil iyan ang Katipunan, si Modesto [Mateo] Andas ay humimpil ng lihim sa tinatawag na Tranka, isang pook na sakop ng Laguna, at doon nag-ipon ng mga Kawal, samantala namang ang Kapitan Municipal ng bayan sa tawag na Kapitang Agustin Putol, sa atas ng kaugnayang paring kastila na kura sa bayan ng Bay, siyang tumatagunton ng lihim sa handang kilusan ng paghihimagsik, bagaman naunahan ng kaliksihan ni Andas.

Umaga ng araw ng Lunes, ika 21 ng Setyembre, 1896, si Mateo Andas, nakabihis ng gayak principe ng moro-moro (Comedia) bunot ang talibong, nakasakay sa isang kabayo, pumasok ng bayan, nagunguna..... sumigaw ng Mason. Mason. Mason. ang lahat ng nakarinig ay nagtakbuhan, nagpipinid ng mga bahay, at nagsisipagtago sa bahay pamahalaan ng bayan (Tribunal) ang mga kuwadrihero o pulis, nangagkakagulo na rin sa takot nang marining ang sigaw na Mason, at nang malapit na ang nagsisigaw ay nagsipagpinid ng mga bintana, at nagsipanganlong sa halip na magsitangan ng mga baril at humanda sa anumang pangangailangan; dumating sa harap ng pamahalaang bayan ang principe Andas na kulong ng mga kawal, at bunlanot na sumigaw ng 'Mason. Mason. iabot na madali ang mga baril at mga punlo, kung ayaw kayong mangamatay, mga taong Tribunal. mga salitang nagpasuko sa mga kuwadrihero at madaling ipinaghagis ang mga baril at punlo sa bintanang binuksan uli, nilikom ng mga kawal ng principe Andas, nilibot and loob ng bayan, pinanhik ang mga bahay na may baril at sinamsam; ang principe Andas ay nagpakilala ng tunay na pagkamakabayan at walang hangad kundi ang pagtanggol ng Kalayaan, umalis sa loob ng bayan kanyang nilusob na wala sinumang nalapastangan, maging sa aglahi o biro mang

salita, at di naman kumuha o nanghingi ng anumang kailangan nila; ang mailinis na budhing ipinasok na kumuha lamang ng baril ay ipaglilingkod sa pangangailangan ng Inang Bayan, ay siya rin inilabas na walang iba pang bagay na kinuha at maaaring iparatang na pagka-tulisan, hanggang umurong sa himpilang Baranka.¹⁰⁹

At the start of the Katipunan uprising against the Spaniards, a certain Mateo Andas left Pasig for his hometown of Bay, in Laguna, for the purpose of raising an army to fight the Spaniards. Andas realized that the townspeople, due to the influence of the friars, regarded the Masons with dread and contempt. By a clever ruse, however, he utilized the situation to outwit friars.

He spread rumors that in Manila, the Masons had joined forces with the Sons of the People in an uprising against the Spanish soldiers and priests. The Masons were fearless and fierce, so the story went, and they would kill anyone who refused to respect them. They were readily recognizable in battle because they wore gala uniforms and royal trappings. A great number of them were Filipinos who had joined the Revolution to assert Philippine independence and freedom. With each encounter, the story continued, the Spanish side suffered great losses; thousands were felled by the razor-sharp weapons of the People's troops.

In their desire to picture the Masons as despicable characters to be shunned, the friars themselves encouraged the spread of such stories. They described Masons as nonbelievers who tormented Christ as he carried the cross, etc. These talks gained credence among the people, and privately, they came to question how Masons could be expected to respect their fellow men if indeed they did not respect God himself. These bits of hearsay fixed in the people's minds the idea that Masons were evil creatures who should be feared and abhorred; this obsession occupied their thoughts and common talk next only in importance to the rumor of a Revolution led by the Katipunan. They even speculated that the Katipunan and the Masonic brotherhood were one and the same.

Such were the preoccupations of the people when [Mateo] Andas retreated to a village called Tranka in order to rally undercover

popular support for the rebellion. Andas worked fast and gained more followers to the movement in a shorter time than Kapitan Agustin (alias *Puto!*). The latter, who was municipal head of Bay, was supposed to be taking orders from the Spanish priest, but was secretly working for the Revolution.

On the morning of Monday, 21 September 1896, Andas rode a horse into Bay town in the getup of a Christian prince in a *moro-moro*. With sword in hand, he galloped ahead of his bolo-carrying troops; when he reached the center of the town, he began shouting as loud as he could, "Mason! Mason! Mason!"

The townspeople fled to their homes in fear, bolted their doors, and closed the windows. Instead of getting ready to face the crises with their guns, the *cuadrilleros* or local police, shut the windows of the town hall and hid inside the building.

Surrounded by his men, Andas stopped in front of the town hall and in his most authoritarian voice announced, "We are the Masons! Masons! Hand over your guns and bullets, quick! You people inside the tribunal (town hall), do as we say if you don't want to die!"

On hearing these words, the panic-stricken *cuadrilleros* [militiamen] quickly surrendered. They reopened the windows and threw out their firearms and ammunition. After gathering the arms, "Prince" Andas and his entourage went around the town to collect more guns concealed by the townspeople in their homes.

Their mission accomplished, they left Bay without plundering or confiscating anything for their personal use; neither did they abuse anybody in word or in deed. No one could accuse them of being common bandits. They returned to their Baranka (Tranka?) headquarters with a clean conscience and a sense of accomplishment for having secured guns to be used in the service of the Motherland.¹¹⁰

But despite the attack on Bay, the province of Laguna was, for the most part of 1896, quiet. Laguna was to play an important role other than as an active field of battle in the early phase of the Revolution.

On 15 September 1896, Antonino Guevara arrived at the camp of General Aguinaldo in Binakayan to express the sentiment of several

Laguna towns eager to revolt and awaiting the general's instructions for Laguna. Antonino Guevara says:

I stayed ten days in the headquarters in Binacayan, agreeing with Sr. Aguinaldo that the pueblo of San Pedro Tunasan should not rise in order not to cut off communication between Manila and Santa Cruz of La Laguna, which was Binacayan's source of cigarettes, cigars, kerosene and miscellaneous supplies...

In San Pedro Tunasan, I organized a Katipunan chapter under the name Katipunang Matatag, which flourished because of the acquiescence of my brother, Jose Guevara, the pueblo capitan. He allowed it for my sake, short of openly sponsoring it, and its membership grew.

With the help of this chapter, it was not difficult to fulfill my commitments to Sr. Aguinaldo, to whom I sent powder, saltpeter, chlorate of potash, as well as medicine for the hospital in Imus.

In all the Cavite towns, the people had complete liberty going to and coming from those of La Laguna to bring and take articles of trade. This freedom was possible due to the policy adopted by Sr. Guevara, capitan municipal of San Pedro Tunasan, without the many secret agents of the Spaniards and friars of the pueblo of Biñang learning of it or impeding it.¹¹¹

There were no major engagements between the Spaniards and the Filipino rebels from the start of the Revolution until June 1897. In spite of the willingness of towns adjacent to Cavite to raise the standard of revolution, these towns remained, essentially, under Spanish control. For the most part, Laguna was maintained in its status as a province under the occupation of the Spaniards for the specific reason of providing a safe haven for revolutionaries in flight or as a transshipment point for supplies from Spanish held territories and moving toward rebel territory.

Laguna was recognized as a porous front line through which supplies could reach Filipino rebel positions in Cavite. Aguinaldo rejected the suggestion of Guevara for the town of San Pedro to rise

up in arms for it was a valuable point through which supplies from Manila came to Cavite, via the market town of Santa Cruz.¹¹² On 18 November 1896, reports reached the governor general that stores run by the natives who regularly supplied the revolutionaries had received new inventories of rice and 2,000 cans of kerosene. He immediately instructed the Governor of Laguna to investigate the matter and to adopt stringent measures to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels.¹¹³

If the rebels considered Laguna as part of a fallback position, the Spaniards considered the province a highly strategic position in containing the revolutionaries in Cavite. Governor Ramon Blanco outlined his tactic to contain the rebellion by forming a blockade of the liberated area. In this plan, Calamba formed a strategic starting point of a long line of defense that ran from the coast of Laguna de Bay, to the shores of Lake Bombon (Taal) in the vicinity of Talisay. All rebel activities were to be contained toward the west of the line. This defensive strategy was to be held until troops from the South (Mindanao) and from Spain could be deployed to protect Manila. The Spaniards concentrated much of the mounted Spanish troops called the *cazadores* in the town of Calamba, as well as used the town to store much of the ammunition and guns to be used to defend the line.

On 1 November 1896, Blanco commenced an offensive against the Filipino positions in Cavite and Talisay. The troops under the command of General Aguirre were to take Talisay before proceeding to attack the Filipino stronghold in Silang. On 12 November, Talisay fell to the Spaniards. Before they could proceed to Silang, they were called back to relieve the Laguna capital of Santa Cruz which came under attack from the forces of Severino Taiño.

In November 1896, there was an attempt to seize the town of Santa Cruz. The revolutionaries, under the leadership of Taiño, raised the standard of revolt in the town of Pagsanjan. Pedro Cortes narrates that on Saturday, 14 November, people from the Baybay region, San Antonio, Cavinti and Luisiana descended on Pagsanjan.¹¹⁴ On the 15th they attacked the town of Santa Cruz but were repulsed. They then retired to Sambat, at the crossroads between the towns of

Pagsanjan, Santa Cruz and Magdalena. The revolutionaries had fought impressively against the small Spanish garrison but the reinforcements sent from Calamba forced the rebels to retire. Alvarez narrates:

Si G. Severino Teaniyo, taga-Pagsanhan, Laguna, at ilang kasama, ay nag-ipon ng mga tao sa pook ng Talongan, bago ipinasok sa loob ng bayan at iniayos na hukbo. Nahalal ng pangulo si G. Severino Teaniyo, pangalawa si G. [Francisco] Abad [y] Roldan na papatnugot at magtataguyod sa lahat; gayon din nahalal ang mga pamunuang kawal, komandante, kapitan at tenyente ng mga pangkat, ayon sa isang malaking kapasyahang hayag na pinagtibay ng lahat, at saka lubusang nagsipaghandog ng paggalang sa lilim ng bandilang Katipunan at may sumpang magsisipagtanggol ng kalayaan ng bayang tinubuan, sukdang mamuhunan ng dugo at buhay.

Dala ng kahiligan sa pananampalataya ng pangulong Severino Teaniyo, matapus maayos ang kanyang hukbo ay madaling nakipagkita sa paring pagkalooban siya ng isang hayag na panalangin sa Diyos, sa kapakinabangan ng bayan at kanyang kawal, kahilingang kinalugdan at pinaoohan ng paring hiningan.

...ang simbahang romano ng Pagsanhan ay puno ng nagsisiksikang maraming tao... ang namamalas na nakalulunogs ng damdamin, mga sandatahan ng sarisaring patalim, gulok, sibat mga busog na nagkikintaban at nagkikinangan sa talas, na pinamumunuan ng pangulong Teaniyo at ng pangalawang Abad Roldan, at buong pananampalataya sa Diyos, ay nangakaharap sa damnanang taimtim na pinananalanginan ng paring tagalog na naglilingkod sa kapakinabangan ng bayan at ng Katipunan.

Matapos ang misa, ang pangulong Teaniyo, ay nagpasiya ng patuluyang paglakad at paglusob sa mga kaaway na kastila sa kabayanan ng Santa Cruz, Laguna, inayos ang pamunuan ng pangkat-pangkat na kawal, binigyan ng nangauukol na tagubilin, at sa gitna ng pulutong na kinatlong bahaging mga kawal ay siya at ang pangalawang Roldan ang namatnugot.

Pakubkob silang pumasok sa loob ng bayan, at pagdating sa malapit na himpilan ng mga kaaway; pamahalaang lalawigan, simbahan, kumbento at iba pa, ang pangulong Teaniyo ay sumigaw ng ubus-lakas na: Abanse! Abanse!

“Avanse!” pagkarinig ng mga Kastila ng sunud-sunod na sigawang “avance” ay madaling magsipag-ayos ng pagtatanggol at namaril sandali lamang ay naglagak sa lupa ng maraming sugatan at bangkay ng Katipunan na gulukan o sandatahan; gayonman, hindi nabawasan ng tapang ang

mga nabubuhay, at lalong naghigpit ng pigil sa kanilang maiikli at matatalas na patalim, na tanging pananggol ng buhay at pangsalakay sa kaaway, buong katapangang nagsipagapang hanggang nangakaabot at nangakapanganlong sa mga bato, sa paligid ng tanggulan ng mga kaaway, ang iba naman ay nasa harap ng libingan na malapit din sa tanggulan ng mga Kastila, sa pagnanasang makasalakat o makaharang kung magpanaugan ang mga Kalaban, ay ipinasunog ng Pangulong Taenio ang mga bahay sa bayan, upang malayo pa'y matanaw ang mga kaaway o kung may darating na saklong kastila. Ang walang tigil na pamumutok ng masinsing pamamaril ng mga nilulusob, ang pagaalab ng mga bahay at pagpuputukan ng mga kawayang nasusunog ay gumimbal at nakatawag ng pansin sa mga kalapit-bayan, umakay sa libu-libong taong may mga pusong makabayan at sa pagdalo ng isang malaking pulutong ng paniwalain na itinataguyod ng mga balitang pamunuan ng mga taong-parang o ng lalong mga bantog na pamunuan ng tulisan, at siyang nagsipagsabi sa Pangulong Taenio na madaling pasukuin ...ng punlo ay dinila kinatatakutan, mula doon sa kanilang kinalalagyan, at pinag-uusapan na kukunin ng isang lundag o lukso, ang ibabaw ng Kampanaryo, Kombento at Simbahan, at doon manggagaling ng pagpuksa sa mga nagkukulong at nagtatanggol na mga kaaway; pamamarali itong hinangaan ng maraming kaharap at pinagpasyahan ng Pangulong Taenio na ipagpatuloy ang gagawing paglundag at pagsalakay sa mga tanggulan ng Kalaban.

Dahil sa natatanaw ng mga kastila ang nangakakalat na mga bangkay at mga sugatang malubha na kanilang nangasalanta sa unang pamamaril, at madalang-dalang na mga tao ang nakikita, sapagka't ang karamihan ay nangagsa mabuting kublihan, ay huminto sila ng pamumutok na walang humpay at sunud-sunod, bagaman manaka-nakang untol na nagbubulusok ng mga punlo sa gawing masiglayan ang mga katipunan. Ang pananabik ng marami sa ikadadali ng tagumpay, at sa ibig nilang makitang kagalingang pinapanggap ng sumaklolo, ay nag-udyok ng pagmamadali sa mga nagpapahangang mga puno ng tulisan, at nagsipag-ayos ng pagganap sa inaanatay ng marami, pinapaniwala ang mga tao na kahit gaano karaming putok ng baril ang ipaligo sa kanila ng Kastila ay walang punlong lalapit sa katawan ng kahit sino; pinaluhod ang mga tao na ang karamihan ay mga paniwalaing mga kasama at sa gitna ng lansangang tanaw ng mga kaaway, ito nama'y nangakikiramdam at marahil ipinalalagay na sila'y sinasamba na, pinahalukip ang mga nakaluhod, pinatingala ang mga mukha, at

*pinatitig ang mga mata sa langit, saka pinagbibilang manalangin ng mataimtim sa loob, ihingi ng awa sa Diyos ang tagumpay, at pagkatapos ay lulundagin nila ang mga kaaway. Ang nangakaluhod ay nakitaan ng ayos na mga mukhang matimtiman sa buong pusong pagganap ng ipinagutos, at sa ayos na gayo'y biglang nangatimbuwang, nangasugatan at patay, at nagtakbuhan sa pagliligtas ng kani-kanyang buhay, sa gawa ng masasal na ulan ng punlo na ipinamaril na mabuti ng mga kastila, mula sa mga tayuang naisukat sa kanilang pagluluhuran ng mga kaaway.*¹¹⁵

*Pagkalipas ng sakunang nangyari, madaling ipinahanap ng pangulong Taenio ang mga puno ng tulisan, at di na nakita saan mang dako ni sa piling ng mga sugatan o sa piling ng mga patay; bagaman sakali nakalong na ng dalawang kalungkut-lungkot at kakila-kilabot na kasawian ng hukbo ng pangulong Taenio, ito, kung naghihilakbot man sa mga dugo at buhay na pumanaw, di rin napapagod at di sumasawa ng pagpapatuloy sa totoong mapanganib na daan ng kalayaan ng Inang Bayan, kaya't sa pagpupunyaging mapuksa ang mga Kastilang kinikubkob, ay nag-utos sa kanyang pangalawang Abad Roldan ng madaling pag-aayos ng kuta sa pook ng [Sambat], at harangin ang mga saklulong Kastila na manggagaling sa Kabite at Batangan. Ang pook ng [Sambat] ay nasa pag-itan ng mga bayang Pagsanhan, Magdalena at Santa Cruz, Laguna at samantalang inaayos ang mga kuta sa pamamahala ng pangalawang Abad Roldan, sa harap at layong pagkakakilanlan, biglang sumipot ang isang pangkat ng impanterya na mga pilipino, pasan ang mga baril na nakatungo ang mga duo sa lupa, unti-unting lumalapit at sa agwat na mag-abot sigaw, patuloy ang lakad na nagtatanong na kung saan naroon ang puno, bagay na nang marinig ni Abad Roldan at sa pag-aakalang iyo'y mga tanan sa pamahalaang kastila, at makikisama sa mga anak ng bayan, ay ginalak ang loob, umalis sa kanyang kanlungan, sumungaw na patanaw at sinigawan ang mga impanterya ng "Ako ang puno, ano ang inyong ibig?" sigaw na madaling sinagot ng sanib-sanib na putok ng mga baril, na sinundan ng lalong makapal na putukan sa magkabi-kabilang panig ng maraming mga kawal kastila na kasamahan at lumilibawa, pangyayaring ikinabuhos ng maraming dugo at buhay ng mga gulukang Anak ng Bayan na nakulambuan ng masinsing punlo ng kaaway. Sa mga nagtakbuhan at nangag-iyyakan, ay kabilang ang isang punong kawal na Nicolas Gilil na nananangis ng: "Poong San Jose, iligtas mo ako, sampung piso ang buwis" ang mga nasugatan ay di na nasabi, sukat ang balitang sa mga namatay ay kabilang ang Pangalawang Pangulo G. Francisco Abad Roldan.*¹¹⁶

In early October 1896, a native of Pagsanjan, Laguna by the name of Severino Taenio, with the help of a few others, began to gather men at a site called Talong.

At a large meeting, Mr. Taenio was chosen to head his army to fight the Spaniards, while a certain Mr. Abad Roldan was elected as his deputy. After electing other officers, they took an oath of allegiance to the *Katipunán* and affirmed their avowed aim of upholding the freedom of the native land, even at the risk of spilling blood and losing life itself.

Being a pious man, Severino Taenio immediately sought out the Tagalog priest of Pagsanjan to ask him to offer a mass for the success of his army. The priest graciously consented. On the morning of 11 October 1896, the Catholic church of Pagsanjan was filled to overflowing. But it was a strange crowd of worshippers that was assembled there. They were armed with all sorts of sharp-bladed knives and spears. Chief Taenio and his assistant, Abad Roldan, watched solemnly as the Tagalog priest at the altar offered his prayers for the country and the *Katipunán*.

After the mass, Chief Taenio divided his troops into three contingents. Then he instructed them on the tactics they would use in attacking the enemy who were entrenched in the town of Santa Cruz, Laguna.

With Taenio and Roldan in the middle of the last contingent, they entered the town stealthily. They approached the center of the town where the town hall, church, and parish house were located close to each other. At the appropriate moment, Chief Taenio shouted as loud as he could, "Advance! Advance!"

Alerted by the repeated shouts of "Advance!", the Spaniards readily took up defense positions and began to fire on the attacking Sons of the People. A short while afterwards, the ground was littered with fallen Katipuneros. However, the courage and determination of the remaining able ones did not falter. Instead, they tightened their grip on their short but sharp-bladed bolos and with utmost bravery crept forward to concealed positions. Some moved toward the stone wall surrounding the Spanish defenses, others toward the front of the cemetery nearby. They wanted to prevent the escape of the enemy or to waylay them in case they had already done so.

Chief Taenio ordered the burning of surrounding houses so that they could easily see the approach of enemy reinforcements. The sound of continuing gunfire and the sight of flames devouring houses and bamboo trees that crackled as they burned caught the attention and alarmed the citizens of the neighboring areas. Thousands of patriotic townspeople went to the aid of their beleaguered neighbors; among them was a big group of peasants, also converts to Taenio's religious group, and a band of well-known outlaws.

Claiming supernatural powers of immunity to bullets and the ability to jump to great heights, the outlaw leaders proposed an improbable scheme. They were to negotiate a single leap from the ground to the top of the church and its bell tower or to the rooftop of the parish house. From these vantage positions, they could descend on and encircle their trapped enemies.

Awestruck, the credulous audience thought this was an easy way to vanquish the enemy. Chief Taenio assented to the plan.

The Spaniards, meanwhile, were lulled into believing they had repulsed the attackers. This was because they saw that only a handful of men were up and about, while bodies of the dead and severely wounded lay strewn on the ground. Unaware that many of the besiegers were well hidden in temporary shelters, the Spaniards ceased their barrage of gunfire despite occasional shots from the invisible *Katipunans*.

In their impatience to win victory and to test the powers claimed by those who had come to their aid, the *Katipuneros* prodded the outlaw leaders to demonstrate their powers. So infected were their spellbound spectators with their audacity that they also came to believe they, too, would be immune from the bullets. They were led to believe that no matter how many times the Spaniards fired at them, none of them would be hit, for the bullets would deflect from their bodies.

It was not difficult task to convince the audience, for they themselves were members of the same religious sect and also believed in such supernatural phenomenon.

Everyone was made to kneel on the ground, fold his arms, lift his face, and fix his eyes to the sky. Then they were all enjoined to pray

intently to ask for divine mercy and help in attaining victory. And finally they were to leap at the enemy.

All this spectacle was in full view of the Spaniards who were keeping a close watch on their movements. The amazed Spaniards must have thought that the people on their knees suddenly had had a change of heart and instead of attacking them, had now turned into their worshippers, so suppliant were their attitudes in prayer as they knelt facing them. Nevertheless, the Spaniards opened fire from their carefully calculated positions. In a short while, the kneeling crowd was nearly decimated. Those who were still able suddenly came to their senses and ran for their lives.

After this disastrous event, Chief Taenio ordered a search for the outlaw leaders, but they were nowhere to be found and neither were they among the dead and the wounded. Despite two successive debacles suffered by his army and the consequent horrors caused by the shedding of blood and the loss of lives, Chief Taenio never lost courage or energy in pursuing the dangerous path to freedom of the Motherland. He never gave up the hope of eventually routing the Spaniards. To this end, he ordered his deputy, Abad Roldan, to supervise the building of a fort in the site called Sambat. Surrounded by the municipalities of Pagsanjan, Magdalena and Santa Cruz in Laguna province, the Sambal fort was ideal for ambushing Spanish reinforcements from Cavite and Batangas.

One day, there suddenly appeared at Sambat an infantry detachment composed of Filipinos. With guns on their shoulders and their heads bowed, they slowly approached the fort. When they were within shouting distance, they asked where the commander of the fort was to be found. On hearing this, Abad Roldan thought that the troops were deserters from the Spanish army who wanted to defect to the *Katipunán*. Elated, he emerged from his place of concealment and shouted back, "I am the chief. What do you want?"

A burst of gunfire was the reply. A hubbub of voices filled the air as more Spanish troops materialized as if from nowhere. Outnumbered, the *Katipuneros* once more went through a bloodbath and a depletion in their ranks. Among those who fled was a head soldier named Nicolas Gilil. In his flight, he was heard to implore

Saint Joseph tearfully to save him and to offer the good saint ten pesos for the trouble. There was no mention about the wounded, but the talk had it that among the the dead was the deputy chief Mr. Francisco Abad Roldan.¹¹⁷

In the aftermath of the attack, the friars of the towns of Santa Cruz, Pagsanjan, Magdalena, Lumban, Paete, Paquil and Majayjay met in Santa Cruz to demand immediate action from the Governor, the Marquis de Soller. A list was drawn and prominent men of the eastern towns like Higinio Benitez, Jose Arquiza, Getrudo de los Reyes, Prudencio Francia, and German Magpili were ordered arrested.¹¹⁸ These men were then sent, bound in ropes, to Manila by boat.

The attack on Santa Cruz was a huge defeat for the revolutionaries in eastern Laguna. Taiño's men were poorly armed, the vast majority being nothing more than farmers with bolos, *tulisanes* and colorums. There were no reinforcements or any intimation of coordination with other revolutionary leaders in Laguna. It also went against Aguinaldo's wish to keep the Laguna towns porous.

The Santa Cruz attack, however, was an attempt to harness, under katipunan direction, the many movements that expressed a similar aspiration to be rid of the Spaniards, and bespoke of a deep wellspring of support from the people of the province. A band from Cavinti, under Macario Oblena, which appears to have been independently set up, moved toward Sambat during the failed entrenchment, to the bewilderment of the defenders who probably did not know how to treat the new arrivals.¹¹⁹ A few days after, on 18 November 1896, after the failed uprising in Pagsanjan and Santa Cruz, another band, perhaps remnants, had an encounter in the town of Pila.¹²⁰ On 17 December 1896, forces from Cavite descended on the *hacienda* of Tunasancillo but the participation of the partisans from Laguna was limited to digging the trenches around the *hacienda* that provided cover for the Cavite-based revolutionaries.¹²¹

Another encounter in February 1897, revealed the governor of Laguna's frustration in dealing with these sporadic insurrections in his otherwise peaceful territory:

I have the duty to bring to your attention the actual state of the province of La Laguna, that, though pacified in its entirety, there is news reaching the governor's office of the appearance of a group or band of rebels in some barrios and even towns of this region, indiscriminately ambushing or revealing themselves whenever there is more or less some sympathy with which they are harbored or concealed in the vicinity of surrounding towns, and only constant and tenacious persecution can achieve its immediate dissolution and prevent the unenlightened masses of the towns from spawning another. To this effect, the subscribing governor has come to consecrate his efforts and thanks to these, he has been able to say that in this province, Your Excellency, nothing of note ordinarily happens.

Convinced that the agitators cannot be destroyed because they never wait for my arrival, I devote my efforts and the forces at my disposal to destroy the band, pursuing their principal leaders and their concealers who wield power. Seek them in their haunts and surprise them in their houses, isolate them in the forests. I have recovered firearms and blades and despoiled their prestige before their favoring dupes.

The results of these efforts I will relate to Your Excellency separately. For now, I put before your attention that the victories obtained in Cavite have produced in some towns of this province a certain agitation and a manifest dread and alarm.

Accusations rained about the government in my charge, and confidential information revealed that on 26February, in the barrios of some towns, there were people recruiting for an incipient band. My immediate presence in the cited forest and some timely apprehensions countered these efforts.

Among the conspirators who were decidedly significant was a prestigious leader who had commanded the rebels on the day of the attack on the capital (Sta. Cruz). This villain, who had served until a while ago in the *Guardia Civil* of the province as a *cabo*, descended frequently from the forest where he conceals himself, to

an important town near the capital, with the proposition of putting up a band.

I obligated the local authorities to apprehend the tenacious *cabecilla*, which they made yesterday morning, the 28th of February. The act was a real struggle which resulted in serious injuries to the lieutenant major of the town from bullet wounds and the cabecilla, named Bartolome Valenzuela,¹²² was so badly hurt that he died in the public prison of the province at dawn today.

This naturally produced excitement in the towns surrounding the happening and among all social classes and among the parish curates in their seclusion, having been reconcentrated in the capital or in Manila.

As the details that may have reached Your Excellency may have been disfigured or augmented, I believe it is my duty to reveal these to you as they have happened...

Santa Cruz, 1 [March], 1897

Juan S. Herrero¹²³

This letter reveals not only the existence of disorganized revolutionary forces within the province, but also a prevailing perception among the Spaniards that the general Tagalog populace was sympathetic to and supportive of the Revolution.

Indeed, there was a general sympathy and support for the revolutionaries. The authorities could not extend trust to the municipal presidents who, as in the case of Bay and San Pedro Tunasan, were secretly conspiring with the revolutionaries, or to the Filipino *cuadrilleros* and *guardias civiles*. Santiago Alvarez, who went by the *nom de guerre* "Apoy," relates the general sympathy of the people of San Pedro to the revolutionary cause:

Sa loob ng panahong iyong itinigil nito sa sinabing bayan, ay maliwanag na napatutuhanang lahat ng taga roon ay tunay na mga makabayan, pagka't buong pag-ibig na tumutulong sa lahat ng kailangan at nagtatanggol sa mga Anak ng Bayan, bagama't nagsisipagbalat kayong maka-kastila, pagka't nakatayo pa roon ang pamahalaang kastila. Sa bayang inuulit ay di lamang

*libo ang bilang ng mga nanganganlong na mga maghihimagsik, na pawang pinakakain, binibihisan, pinatitira sa lalong malalaking bahay at inaalagaan sa mga kailangan ng buong pagtatapat. Anupa't ang bayang ito ng San Pedro Tunasan ay ganap na maka-Katipunan, tangi pa sa doon natatayo ang isang Sangguniang Bayan na sumasakop sa mga Balangay ng Katipunan sa mga bayan ng Munting-lupa at Binyang. Lahat doo'y kapatid; walang maka-Aguinaldo at walang maka-Bonifaciong pinalalamangan ng tingin; ipinalalagay nilang pagdating doon ninuman ay Anak ng Bayan at kapatid nilang Katipunan.*¹²⁴

During his stay in that place, he saw how patriotic its citizens were. With all their hearts, they helped and protected the Sons of the People, although ostensibly, they appeared loyal to Spain (since the Spanish government there had not yet been overthrown). More than a thousand rebels and refugees were welcomed and billeted in the best homes, where they were fed, clothed, and cared for unstintingly. Needless to say, the people of San Pedro Tunasan wholeheartedly supported the Katipunan; they had a council with jurisdiction over local katipunan councils in the towns of Muntinglupa and Biñan. Everyone belonged to the brotherhood, and no one thought of giving preferential treatment to any brethren because of their affiliation to either the Bonifacio or Aguinaldo factions. They considered all who sought sanctuary with them as Sons of the People and Katipunan brethren.¹²⁵

There were regular shifts that stood watch over the activities of the detachment of the *guardias civiles* and the *cazadores* in Biñan, and these movements were immediately relayed to San Pedro.¹²⁶

Because of this mistrust of municipal leaders and militias, the government was reluctant to arm them against the insurgents, fearing that the arms would eventually fall into the hands of the rebels. For the most part, the municipal *cuadrilleros* were poorly armed with but a few useless or old rifles. Most of them were armed with bolos. An encounter between six *cuadrilleros* and some 20 *tulisanes* in Liliw revealed that the militiamen had only two rifles to use against the more numerous adversary.¹²⁷ A request to provide the citizens of

Liliw and Nagcarlan of needed arms in lieu of a detachment of *cazadores* was approved but with a prescription that only a prudent number be so assigned. Twenty-five rifles were assigned to Nagcarlan and 20 were given to Liliw. These arms were to be deposited in the convent, and the list of citizens so authorized to bear arms were to be approved by the captain of the militiamen with the agreement of the friar curates who would attest to their being *gente de confianza* or trustworthy men.¹²⁸

Of course, it cannot be denied that the municipal governments of Laguna, together with the *principalia*, were generally undecided as to whether support should be extended to the Revolution. For example, on 30 October 1896, the municipal president of Cabuyao forwarded to the Spanish commander of the *guardias civiles* in the garrison town of Biñan the letter sent to him by Lazaro Tiamson inviting him and the municipal president of Santa Rosa to rise in revolt.¹²⁹ Guevara also complained that he had great difficulty in collecting contributions of war from the *principalia* of his town and neighboring Biñan. Most of those who readily contributed were the poor. "It was the poor who contributed, and it may be said that in order for them to be able to give any contributions, they must snatch from their mouths what they needed to eat and survive. For that reason, Beloved Countrymen! Look at the poor people with compassion, do not forget them, bear in mind that they are as involved and determined, perhaps more than we are, to attain liberty that we now enjoy."¹³⁰

The Spanish authorities, in great fear of the general populace, instituted remedies to ensure a greater degree of security. Besides deploying more Spanish troops in Laguna, Governor-General Ramon Blanco also approved a decree requiring the residents of barrios to reconcentrate in the towns, under the vigilant watch of the *cazadores*. Those settlements outside the towns lived in perpetual fear of the *cazadores* who continued to harass them, setting fire to many hamlets to force the reconcentration of people. These burnings were conducted after the revolutionaries, using guerrilla tactics, became increasingly active in the vicinity of the Banahaw foothills, starting

June 1897. All people, especially menfolk traveling in groups, were always in fear of being accosted as rebels. The oral traditions of the towns of Luisiana, Majayjay, and Nagcarlan give evidence to the fear engendered by this policy.¹³¹

Incidents were treated with utmost severity. In Bay, for example, following the attack of Mateo Andas, the *principalia* were called to testify about the incident. Many fled rather than face the governor of Laguna. All of those who showed up, save three (Agustin Putol, Venancio Cueto, and Alejandro Quidayan) were arrested, tortured and sent into exile.¹³² In Luisiana, Ubaldo Suello, the *capitan municipal*, was arrested on the suspicion of conniving with the insurgents and was brought to Santa Cruz. As he was to be transferred to Lucban, he died from the tortures inflicted on him. The municipal secretary was also arrested but he was shot on his way to Santa Cruz.¹³³ All steam launches proceeding to points on the coast of Laguna de Bay were to be searched by elements of the *guardia civil*, to check the passports of those on board, before disembarking.¹³⁴ Spies were also scattered throughout Laguna. These *secretas* or secret agents, reported on the movements of suspected rebels or on unusual goings-on in the various towns.

These measures, however harsh, did not have the desired effect. As has been mentioned, Laguna was generally peaceful prior to June 1897. The repression in Laguna only succeeded in alienating the general population, as well as the *principalia*, from the Spaniards and increased sympathy for the Revolution. For example, in the town of Bay, Venancio Cueto and Alejandro Quidayan, who were spared incarceration following the Andas attack, far from remaining loyal to Spain, joined the revolutionary struggle and provided safe haven for many revolutionaries in their town.¹³⁵

In December 1896, Gen. Camilo de Polavieja relieved General Blanco of the Governorship of the Philippines. When he took over the reins of government, he had a total of 17,000 European troops complemented by 19,000 native forces. Of that total, 30,000 were deployed in various points of the provinces of Manila, Cavite, Laguna,

and Batangas.¹³⁶ The strategy for the offensive against the revolutionary positions was finalized in January and the counter-offensive was began. To prevent a repeat of the assault on Santa Cruz, 500 men were left to defend the town against rebels.¹³⁷ The towns of Alaminos, Cavinti, Majayjay, Pagsanjan, Siniloan, and others were garrisoned and fortified.

The towns of western Laguna were to be the main points of support for the troops of Gen. Jose Lachambre. Two main camps were established in the towns of Biñan and Calamba, coastal settlements to which supplies could be ferried from the colonial capital. As many as 300,000 Mauser cartridges, 50,000 Remington cartridges and 10,000 carbine cartridges were sent to the towns, as well as 100,000 field rations that included bread, sardines, dried fish, and biscuits. From there, supply lines were established to bring food and arms to the fronts using 600 Chinese porters. There were hospitals in the two towns, which together with the one in Taal, had a complement of 300 beds. Supplies were increased and more porters and carabao carts were used to bring supplies to the highlands as the campaign wore on .¹³⁸

Gen. Jose Lachambre was given the command of troops departing from Calamba and proceeding to Silang. About 10,000 troops were deployed for the assault. On 13 February 1897, the assault on Silang began. Despite a valiant defense by the Silang revolutionaries, the town fell on 19 February. Dasmariñas fell on the 25th, Salitran on 7 March; Imus was taken on 25 March and Bacoor on the 26th.¹³⁹ By April, only the towns on the western end of Cavite were left. The superior arms of the Spaniards had dispersed the greater bulk of the revolutionary troops.

The Spaniards rejoiced over the rout of the Filipinos in Cavite but the Revolution was by no means over. Driven from their bases in Cavite, the revolutionaries established new bases and fronts in other provinces. When the Spaniards leveled the Filipino strongholds of Silang, Dasmariñas, and Imus, Laguna provided the safe fallback position for most of the rebel generals. Gen. Paciano Rizal and Gen.

Miguel Malvar established their bases of operations in the vicinities of Makiling and Banahaw.¹⁴⁰ The Spanish governor of Laguna, Antonio del Rio, writes:

Thrown from their haunts in Cavite, those who, for some time, disturbed the country have sought an escape and refuge from the continued military operations against them. They have moved from one place to the next, dispersed to the surrounding provinces with the poison of their evil intentions and the terror of their stratagems.

There have been several people who have availed of the general pardon and have moved to the towns of La Laguna. And they have not come in mere trickles but in the thousands, coming from the insurgent camps; families and individuals requesting the amnesty so often offered by the Superior Government from the time the insurrection began.

There is, therefore, a large body of people in this province, whose intentions, legally, have to be assumed as good, but who were, not a while ago, rebellious. And they have been quickly sustained in law, in arms and in government.

On more than one occasion have I informed Your Excellency about a well prepared band of people operating in an area from the flanks of Mt. Sungay to those of Mount Banahaw, moving through Makiling and [Atimba]. Of these people, there are those under the direction of Paciano Rizal, who having been driven from their fortifications in Cavite, lie in wait, and sharpen their swords in the recesses of the forests. After the series of routs they suffered, the most tenacious and deluded dispersed. And here in the province have come the dangerous remnants of the insurrection, headed by the disgraced defender of Talisay.

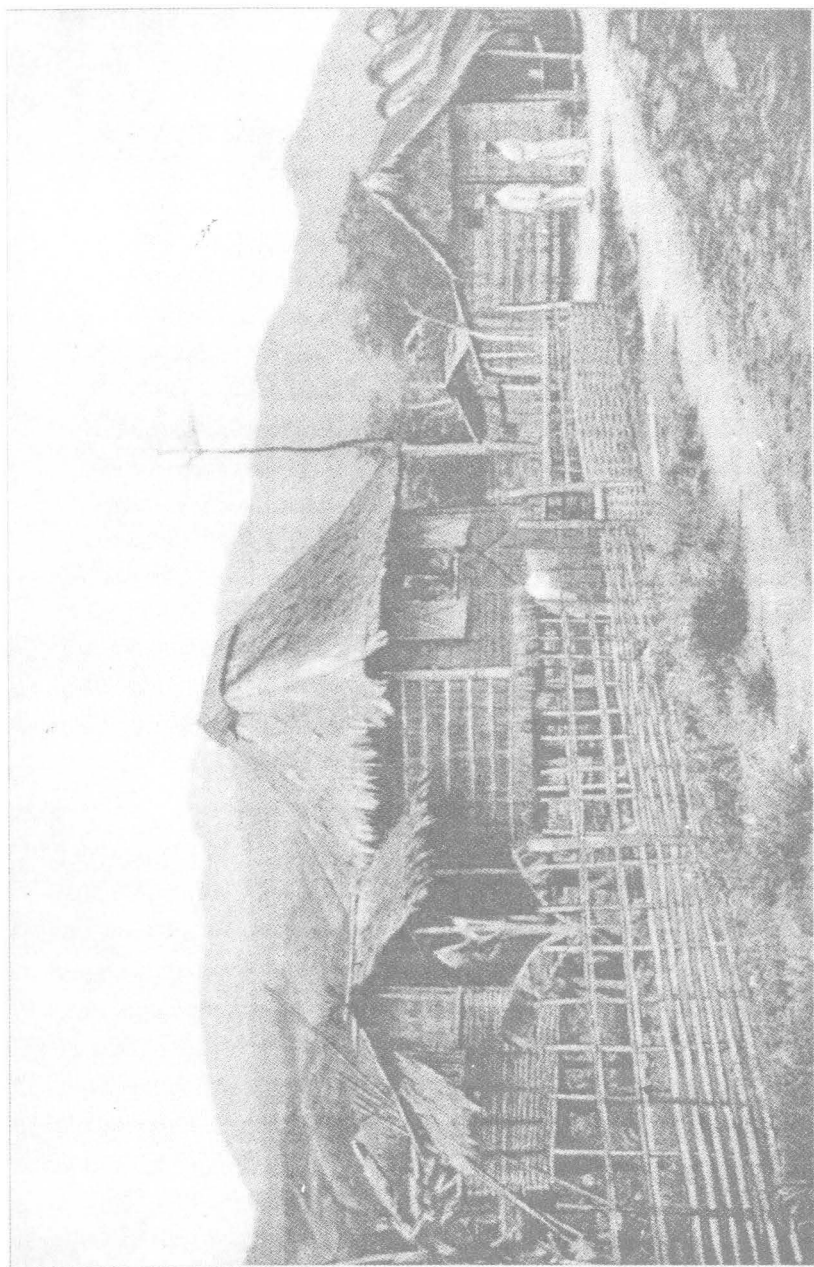
Our spies, confidants and prisoners have revealed what the insurgents plan and I am obliged to let you know. Malvar, the ex-municipal captain of Santo Tomas and dedicated supporter of Emilio Aguinaldo who fought for him in Batangas and Cavite, is to bring Aguinaldo an additional 500 men to the forests of Montalvan. He had made arrangements with Rizal's group to leave the mountains, passing through the plains of Magdalena, to Baybay¹⁴¹ of this province to enter Morong. This was an issue that preoccupied them for several days.¹⁴²

Indeed, not only the revolutionaries but also the general population of the Cavite towns under attack descended on the towns of western Laguna to seek refuge in these towns. Guevara narrates:

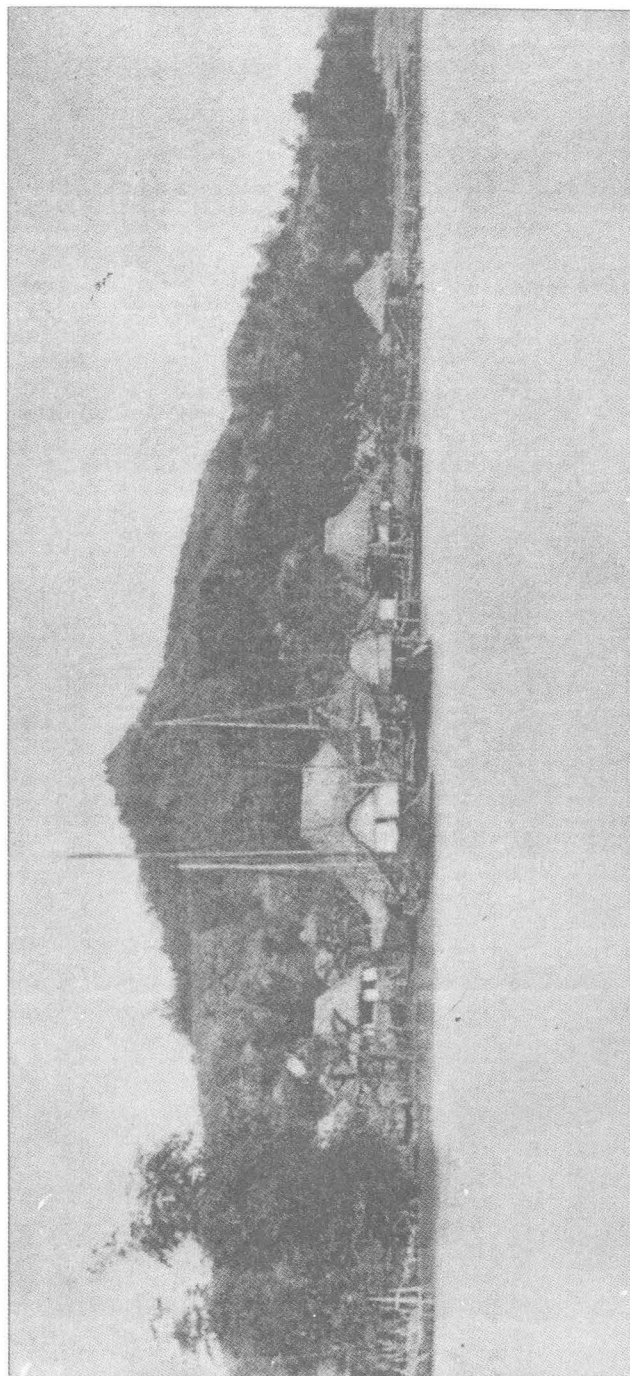
...With me were some 150 people, including men and women, whom I rescued. I led them on the three days' trek to San Pedro Tunasan where they could be hidden in safety. This was possible despite the fact that they came from rebel territory, owing to the permission of the local authority... [On] May 2, I reached San Pedro Tunasan together with the women. They went to stay in different houses. When the townspeople of Imus, Bacoor, Perez Dasmariñas, and neighboring pueblos that were involved in the insurrection learned that the capitan municipal provided shelter to rebels, it was not long before they also came to San Pedro Tunasan, in such numbers that the town became full of people from Noveleta, San Francisco de Malabon and other towns of Cavite. The gentlemen Mariano Alvarez, Santiago Alvarez and their families often stayed in my places as well as those of Sr. [Santos] Nocon and others.¹⁴³

The primary route of escape ran through the Spanish lines in Talisay, to Santo Tomas and to Alaminos. Most of the refugees took the more direct overland route that could be traversed from Imus, Dasmariñas, and Silang to the corresponding towns of San Pedro, Biñan, and Calamba. The vicinity of Silang was left lightly garrisoned by the Spanish forces that moved the bulk of their forces to Imus.

Rizal and Malvar made their bases around the mountain of Makiling and from there, conducted guerrilla-style engagements with the Spaniards. From Makiling, regular raids could be done on the Spanish positions around the mountain in Los Baños, Bay, Calauan, San Pablo, and Alaminos. Malvar and forces loyal to him also made use of Mount Banahaw. Attacks could be made from this mountain on the towns of Nagcarlan, Liliw, Majayjay, Cavinti, and Luisiana. A base with a foundry and arsenal was established on the mountain of Tuntungin in Makiling to provide ammunition to the troops.¹⁴⁴ General Rizal encamped in the vicinity of Putho.



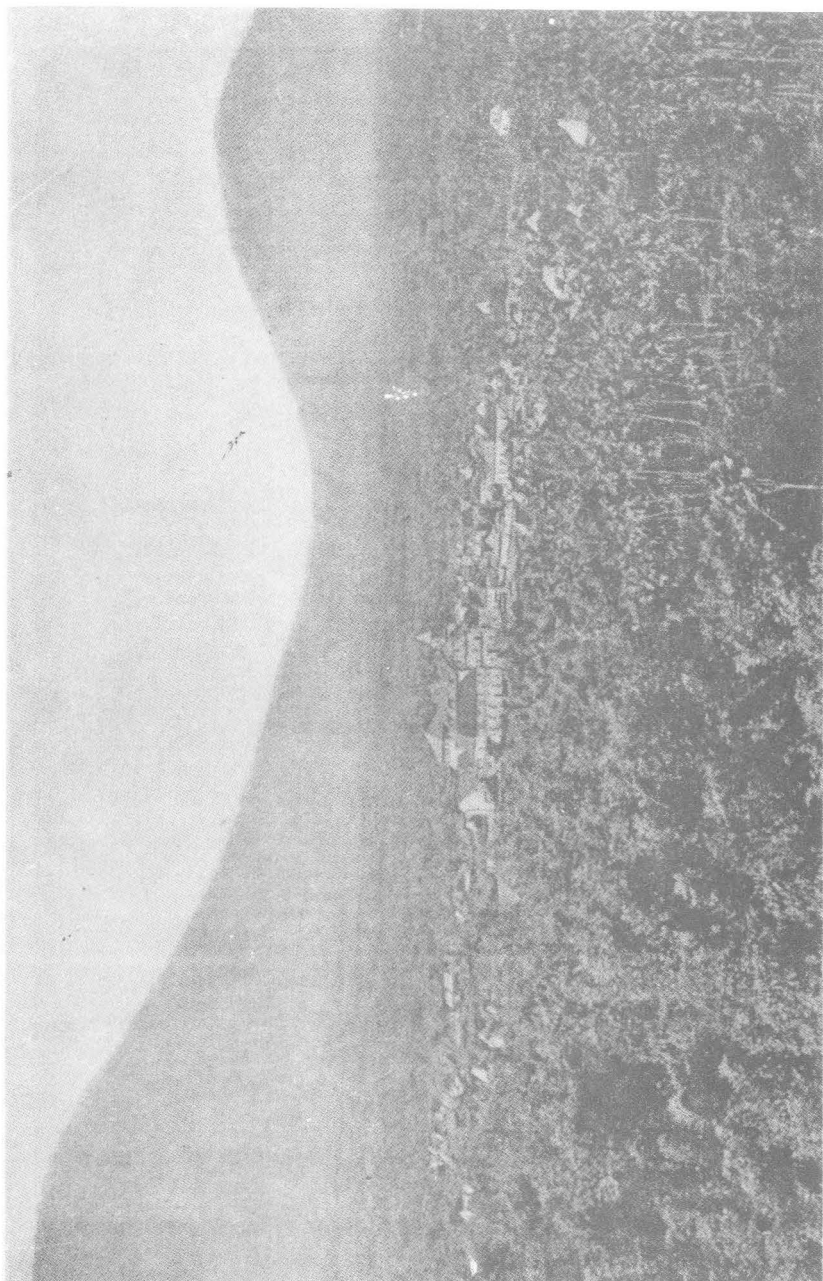
Los Baños, Laguna in 1899 (Lopez Museum collection)



A view of the lake and houses near the shore (Ramon Reyes Lala)



Pacte, Laguna in 1899 (Harper's)



The town of Majayjay, Laguna (Ramon Reyes Lala)

Relacion nominal de los individuos usi-
nos del pueblo de Calamba, provincia
de la Laguna, que han sido destina-
dos en calidad de deportados a Jolo.

D. Francisco Rizal Mercado
do Saturnina Rizal Realonda
do Narcisa Rizal Realonda
do Lucia Rizal Realonda
do Petrona Limitero Pana
do D. Nicolás Slango Rizal
do Aguilino Gicola Hercolano
do Matias Belarmino Quintan
do Valentin Elejorde Alcala
do Patricio Rizal
do Nicasio Cygasani Alcala
do Raymundo Alvarado Jacinto
do Rafael Elejorde
do Santos Gicola



List of Calamba, Laguna residents headed by Francisco Rizal to be exiled to Jolo in 1891 (PNA and R. Abejo)

10 D. ^{Don} Gayetano de Jesus X
11 Luis Elanqui Ustari X
12 Custodio Zalmarque
13 Angel Alayaga
14 Pascual Alcaraz X
15 Isaac Alvar Alcala X
16 Victor Alvar Lopez X
17 Manuel Albini Barlino X
18 Pio Alcala Arambulo X
19 Marcos Labacon X
20 Felipe Labacon Canope
Mandado 13 de Noviembre de 1891

46



Gen. Juan Cailles (1871-1951) (I. Medina)



Gen. Paciano Rizal (1851-1930) (heirs of P. Rizal)

C. RONQUILLO'S COLLECTION

SILIO Y RENDICION

SANTA CRUZ DE LA LAGUNA:

SUERTE DE LA COLONIA.

MEMORIA

Presentada al Excmo. Sr. Gobernador General por el

Gobernador Civil

Antonio del Rio.



MANILA.—1899

Establecimiento Tipo-Litográfico del "Diario de Manila."
Magsalanes, y Escolta, jr.

The "Memoria" of Antonio del Rio, the last Spanish governor of Laguna



Emilio Jacinto (1875-1899)

The two secure mountain areas in Laguna, along with the coastal town of Bay, formed a vital corridor through which most of the operations of the revolutionaries were concentrated. In this setup, the town of Bay was a vital communications link between the mountain bases and the revolutionaries in the north. For this reason, there was a concentration of encounters between the revolutionaries and the Spanish authorities in the vital roads going through Bay, Magdalena, Nagcarlan, San Pablo, and Alaminos. The town also served as a conference point used by the various leaders. Emilio Jacinto, Rizal, Malvar and Gen. Artemio Ricarte were frequent visitors.¹⁴⁵ Later, the town of Bay was most noteworthy for having taken the refugee Apolinario Mabini under its care.

The entry of the Cavite-based generals signaled a major shift in the organization of the forces and the partisans who had been unorganized and poorly led. With better arms, battle hardened soldiers and seasoned strategists, the Laguna partisans were organized into fighting formations, armed with guns brought in from Cavite and headed by men of military experience.

The militarily potent but poorly armed *colorums* were also brought into a formal organizational link with the revolutionaries. When Malvar began operations in the area of Mount Banahaw, linkage with the millenarians was formalized. Sebastian Caneo was made a regular captain in the insurgent forces and he operated under the command of Gen. Miguel Malvar. Caneo was the leader of a *colorum* or religious band that had taken refuge in the region between Majayjay and Luchan and Sampaloc. He had already established a community in the hills when he decided to participate in the war. His group, together with that of Malvar, plus other bands, harassed the Spanish forces that plied the important route connecting Calamba with San Pablo and Lipa.

The province's reservoir of disgruntled elements living mainly in the mountain fastness of the southeast was organized under the principles of the Katipunan. These *colorums* living in Banahaw participated in the fighting during the early phase of the Revolution.

Participo a V. que segun rumor, mucha gente de ambos sexos y niños procedentes de distintos pueblos se remontaban en el monte Banajao cuyo motivo si no me engaño por el mismo rumor se reunian alli como peregrinos fanaticos, uno de los cuales se tiene por entre ellos como Jefe o el conocido llamado Juan Magdalo que en tiempo de la primera revolucion fue el mejor campeon de los insurrectos de estos segun un noticia tiene mucho conocimiento el Sr. Gral. (Miguel) Malvar puesto que en el sitio de Tayabas muchos hombres de esa gente de ha unido a los del citado gral para tomar parte en varios combates librados y que en aquel acto entonces recibieron en nombre de colorum.

Nagcarlan 6 Marzo 1899.¹⁴⁶

I communicate to you that, according to rumor, many people of both sexes, and children coming from different towns are climbing the mountain of Banahaw with the purpose, if I am not misled by the rumor, of meeting there as fanatical pilgrims. One of those among them who acts as Chief is known as Juan Magdalo, that in the time of the initial Revolution, was a major champion of the insurgents and according to the news, had much dealings with General Malvar. In the said area of Tayabas, many men of that people joined with those of the general to take part in various battles of liberation and that in that act, received the name “*colorum*.”

Juan Magdalo’s name is frequently mentioned in accounts detailing the conduct of the revolution in the vicinity of Nagcarlan, Liliw, Majayjay, Luisiana, and Cavinti. In the town of Luisiana, a barrio referred to as *Pinagmuogan* traces its name to a time when *colorums* built their settlements in the area between the town and Sampaloc in Quezon Province.¹⁴⁷ Gana’s account of the war in Biñan takes note of the great number of *colorums* that encamped near the town under the superior orders of Gen. Miguel Malvar, and headed by Sebastian Caneco.¹⁴⁸

Magdalo’s and Caneco’s names are mentioned in a narration of Santiago Alvarez concerning the *colorums* and their belief systems.

Ipinagtapat ni Kang Basti [Sebastian Caneo], sa masigasig na pag-uusisa sa kanya at pagpapalagay na siya ang kataas-taasang puno ng Kolorum, na ang puno ng Kolorum ay si G. Rufino Luntok, kilala sa karaniwang tawag na tatang Pinong, at nananahanan sa isang kuweba o guwang ng bato sa bundok ng Banahaw, Tayabas; naroroon daw na hindi umaalis at ang banal na tinig (Santong boses) ng Diyos Ama.

Sa pananampalataya, ayon din sa patotoo ni Kang Basti, sa bundok ng Banahaw, ay sa pag-iingat ni Tatang Pinong, inilipat daw ng Diyos ang banal na lupa (tierra santa) ang Herusalem, ang Kalbaryo, at lahat ng mga kasaysayan ng hirap at sakit ni Hesukristo, na sa kahabaan ay di niya maaaring sabihin, sapagka't ang lalong mabuti ay ang paroonan at dalawin, upang ipagkaroong lubos ng paniniwala.

Dahil sa mga pangyayaring iyon, ang bundok ng Banahaw hanggan sa mga panahong ito ay pinagdarayo at pinaniniwalaan ng di lamang dalawampung libong tao, at sa ilalim ng pamumuno ni tatang Pinong ay maraming tinatawag na Pastor na ang ibig sabihi'y tapat na katiwala at tagapagpalaganap ng samahan, isa sa kanila ay ang Kang Basti o Sebastian Carres [Caneo], pangalawa si Juan Magdalo at isa pang tinatawag na Diyos-Diyosan na ang pangalan ay Eligio. Si Kang Basti ay nagsabi sa kanyang mga katulong na kailangang mag-ipon ng maraming tao, at sumama sa pagtatanggol ng kalayaan ng bayan, na ayon sa sabi ng banal na tinig (santong boses) ay mapasusuko nila na hindi lalaban ang mga kaaway na kastila, at ang sandatang dadalhin ng mga tao ay tig-isang lubid lamang na mandipa ang haba na ipananali sa kamay ng mga kastila. Ang bagay na ito ay pinasyahan sa pamamahala ng kanyang pangalawang Juan Magdalo, at Eligiong Diyus-Diyosan, bago ipinagbigay-alam sa tatang Pinong ang kanyang gayak na pakikidigma sa mga kastila, at sinagot ng pinagpatalastasan na gawin nila ang magagawa sa pagtatanggol ng kalayaan ng Inang Bayan, at sila'y tutulungan ng pagdalangin sa Diyos sa ikapagtatagumpay.¹⁴⁹

From that time on, the sect grew in number. Many believed in Ka Baste's holiness and were, moreover, attracted to his humble and kindly ways. In his characteristic humility, Ka Baste denied that he was the highest leader of the sect. He said that their chief was a hermit who lived in a cave on Mount Banahaw in Tayabas (now Quezon province).

The hermit's name was Rufino Luntok, but was more popularly known as Tatang Pinong. Inside his cave, he is always on his knees, praying and communing with God the Father. He was reputed to be able to hear the Holy Voice, the voice of God.

According to Ka Baste, God had transferred the Holy Land, Jerusalem and Cavalry, and all other things having to do with the sufferings of Christ, to Mount Banahaw and had entrusted their care to Tatang Pinong. The passion of Jesus Christ took too long to recount, but one had only to visit Mount Banahaw to make him a true believer.

Mount Banahaw became a shrine for over 20,000 believers. Below Tatang Pinong in the sect's hierarchy were numerous pastors who were in charge in propagating their faith. Among these were Sebastian Caneo (or Ka Baste), Juan Magdalo, and one named Eligio (who was better known as "Diyos-Diyosan" [One who imitates God].)

On the purported assurance by the Holy Voice that they could make the Spanish enemy capitulate without a fight, Ka Baste ordered his aides to begin mobilizing men to help fight for the country's freedom. They did not need to carry any weapon; all they had to have was a yard's length of rope for each man. The Spaniards would surrender voluntarily, and the rope would come in handy for trussing up their hands. Ka Baste instructed Juan Magdalo and Eligio (alias Diyos-Diyosan) to organize troops accordingly. Tatang Pinong himself approved of the plans and said that they should indeed do everything they could to defend the freedom of the Motherland. For his part, he would pray for their victory.¹⁵⁰

Under Malvar, Sebastian Caneo, the *colorum* fighter, assumed the rank of major in the revolutionary army and by 1901, was a lieutenant colonel. It is unclear if the *colorums* shared the politics of the revolutionaries but what is clear is that they shared the common aspiration for freedom. Reynaldo Ileto claims that the concept of freedom or *kalayaan*, which the *colorums* espoused, is derived from a more metaphysical interpretation of events.¹⁵¹ Whatever the motivation, the *colorums* easily added thousands of men to the revolutionary fighting force although the revolutionaries viewed the

colorums with unease. This may be gleaned from a letter from Manuel Arguelles, the *jefe civil* (governor) of Tayabas.

They [the *colorums*] are already numerous, as, according to trustworthy persons, they number not less than 30,000 and as the country is now passing through a critical situation, the development of this society is great, and I would not be mistaken in saying that its increase is in geometrical progression.

Before the revolution, they were looked upon with sympathy by the partisans of the same, in the belief that it was a revolutionary society, but the revolution having broken out, it is disclosed that said society is not a revolutionary one but a most absurd religious sect, because besides its doctrines being heretical, its methods are a confused mixture of devotion, superstition and immorality. Its believers are unfortunate victims of a friar-like exploitation conducted by said Caneo and by his representatives, the so-called "Pastors"..."¹⁵²

In April 1897, another katipunan leader, Emilio Jacinto, was sent by Andres Bonifacio to take charge of the establishment of a government for the Katipunan in Laguna.¹⁵³ Jacinto was to have taken charge of the movement in the vicinity of Santa Cruz under the commission given by Bonifacio.¹⁵⁴ Mabini later lamented that Jacinto was not taken seriously for the reason that he was not from the province.¹⁵⁵ Jacinto, however, made sufficient headway in organizing troops and katipunan councils in the mountain district (Majayjay, Nagcarlan, Liliw, Luisiana, and Cavinti).¹⁵⁶

The period following the fall of Cavite to the Spaniards was also the time of the political organization of Laguna. Jose Arquiza, who had been named head of the katipunan in Laguna in 1894, was reappointed governor by General Aguinaldo but he (Arquiza) refused the commission.¹⁵⁷ In his stead, Pedro Cortes and Antonino Guevara acted to create parallel municipal governments by holding elections for municipal officials. According to Cortes, those who were elected under his supervision were Luis Javier in Santa Cruz, Bartolome Valenzuela in Pagsanjan, *Tenienteng* Leoncio in Pila, Guillermo Vito

in Majayjay and Ponciano Mercurio in Luisiana.¹⁵⁸ Among those elected *presidentes municipales* (town mayors) from Guevara's accounts were Gregorio Alvarez for San Pedro Tunasan, Luis Javier in Santa Cruz, Guillermo Vito in Majayjay and Ponciano Mercurio in Luisiana.¹⁵⁹

Better weapons and better organization intensified revolutionary activities in Laguna. There was a series of encounters in the vicinity of the town of Nagcarlan from June to August. A band under the direction of Francisco Camote assaulted the Spaniards.¹⁶⁰ On 10 June 1897, an encounter between the forces of Malvar and a troop of *cazadores* occurred in the vicinity of Buhanginan, between Nagcarlan and Magdalena.

The lieutenant of the guardia civil, D. Ynocencio Lafuente, with a small force, was monitoring Nagcarlan and gave notice to the commanding officer of the detachment of this town of Magdalena so that they covered the pass of Buhanguinan. Meanwhile Lafuente, reconnoitered the barrios of Lagulo, Banca-Banca and other sites suspected as rebel lairs, posting guardias and cazadores in an ambush position so that Malvar and his men could not pass.

The cazadores found the rebels entrenched near the bridge of Bunga and they assaulted the position, causing 23 casualties on the rebel side.

The chieftains of the rebel bands of the region had decided, knowing the status of forces in the region, but without thinking about the rapidity with which Gen. [Nicolas] Jaramillo could mobilize the necessary troops, while Malvar and Rizal forced the line of Magdalena to successively take positions in Banahaw. That was difficult terrain, to be sure, difficult to guard with forces that at that moment were in pursuit, principally, of Malvar because of its height, in between the ravines and precipices, extending from the towns of Nagcarlan, Liliw and Majayjay.

Carrying on the tradition of Cavite, they thought of covering the towns from the road that separated them from the plains with an extensive trench that isolated them from the other towns and from

there, with their backs against the mountain, called on those present and to the rabble and to the evil men of the immediate provinces.

The heroic defense of Nagcarlan and the timely arrival of auxiliaries sent by General Jaramillo from Calamba prevented the completely flagrant disturbances, the intentions and propositions of the bands who had trusted the superiority of their numbers.¹⁶¹

Toward the end of June 1897, the *cuadrilleros* of Liliw fell upon a band of *tulisanes*. In July, another rebel band under Atanacio Penola attacked the town anew but was repulsed. On 27 June, there was another encounter in Barrio Talahib in Nagcarlan between a rebel band and the *cuadrilleros*.¹⁶² On 10 August, there was an encounter in Barrio Manangbay in Alaminos, another in San Pablo on 19 August and in Magdalena on the 25th.¹⁶³

All the Spanish authorities could do was to deploy *cazadores* to protect important towns like Magdalena, Paete, Pila, and Majayjay, forming a ring of garrisoned towns that ensured the rebels would not infiltrate the enclave of Santa Cruz. Roving bands of *cazadores* (Spanish mounted soldiers) and *cuadrilleros* (local militia) patrolled the roads that linked the garrison towns, apprehending suspicious men and forcing isolated barrios to relocate to the *poblaciones* or to sites along the road. But despite the overwhelming military force the Spaniards maintained in Laguna, there were no large-scale offensives against known rebel hideouts. The authorities simply remained within the garrisoned towns and roads, leaving the rebels in control of most of the countryside.

By October 1897, the revolutionary forces in Laguna had been so emboldened that they contemplated the resumption of regular warfare with the seizure of the Spanish garrison in the town of San Pablo. That town was an important crossroads that controlled the movement to and from Alaminos, Sariaya, Lipa, Calauan, and Nagcarlan. Its capture would have made it easier to communicate with the rebels in those areas and would have isolated Batangas from the rest of the country. On 9 October, forces led by General Malvar

were arrayed against the Spanish defenders of San Pablo.¹⁶⁴ Venancio Cueto narrates the events leading to the battle for San Pablo.

After some weeks, Vice President Mariano Trias issued an order for an attack on San Pablo as follows: the zone between San Pablo and Kalawang [Calauan] under the command of General Agueda [Kahabagan]; the zone between [San] Pablo and Nagcarlang (Nagcarlan) under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Julianio; the zone between [San] Pablo and [Tiaong] under the command of Luciano Taleon; and that between San Pablo and Alaminos under the command of General Malvar. All these forces were entrusted with the duty of obstructing the passage of the enemy that goes to the aid of the town to be attacked. General Artemio Ricarte (Vibora) with his forces was designated to make the attack. The *cazadores* stationed in the town, upon learning of the plan, sallied out against the forces stationed between Kalawang and San Pablo on which account General Agueda was forced to bear the brunt of the battle. The fight lasted but a few hours. When we arrived upon the scene, we only found the body of the Captain of Generala Agueda's force burned by the *cazadores* who returned to the town immediately, on which account we failed to encounter them. We proceeded toward the sitio of Sambat in the jurisdiction of San Pablo, Alaminos and Santo Tomas, inasmuch as that was the place we were designated to attack the enemy. The following morning, we heard shots coming from the direction of the town of San Pablo, the troops of Brigadier General Esteban San Juan were then invading but did not succeed in entering the *convent* or the *tribunal*. The battle raged between the invading forces and the *cazadores* coming from Lipa and Tanauan arrived. When they got within firing distance of the forces of General Malvar, they were received with a volley and at once, a fierce battle followed. The *cazadores* deployed a part of their force to the place where we were stationed and allowing them to about a distance of ten yards from our position before we fired on them, whereupon they immediately retreated. Those advancing on General Malvar's position did the same and three others were killed during the pursuit. There fell into our hands 17 Mauser rifles apart from those captured by General Malvar. Colonel Aniceto

Oruga of General Malvar's column pursued the *cazadores* up to the town. The *cazadores* left many dead on the field.

On the following day, General Ricarte took us to San Pablo to besiege it again and when we were very near the town, we met Brigadier-General Esteban San Juan who was being carried in a hammock by his soldiers, wounded by a bullet that had passed through his chest. General Ricarte took command of San Juan's forces and led them into the fight. When we were almost within the town, we were fired at by the enemy, whereupon our General gave the command "*Avance batallones*" and we at once began the attack, but in face of the considerable number of the enemy who came from Nagcarlang in relief of San Pablo, General Esteban San Juan's forces fled in disorder and we in turn found ourselves driven to a canal in which we fell.¹⁶⁵

Other accounts claim that for three days, the town came under the control of the revolutionaries, except for the *casa tribunal* (town meeting hall) and the church where the *cazadores* holed up. The revolutionaries were routed upon the arrival of General Nicolas Jaramillo.¹⁶⁶

However, the status quo between the contending forces remained. The Spaniards, wearied by the war and the uncertain political and military situation in the colony, sued for peace. The two main Makiling-based generals (Rizal and Malvar) opposed peace but they, together with Severino Taiño and Luciano Taleon, obeyed General Aguinaldo's orders after the peace pact was signed. Rizal and Salvador Natividad were sent to collect the arms in Laguna to be surrendered to the Spanish authorities. Between January 14 and 15, 1898, Rizal surrendered one Mauser, 3 Remingtons, 46 muskets, 42 blunderbusses, 3 *lantakas*, one saber and 26 bolos from the province of Laguna to Gen. Ricardo Monet in Santa Cruz.¹⁶⁷

Official celebrations followed the peace pact of Biac-na-Bato in December 1897, but the peace was short-lived. Rizal and Taiño resumed the struggle a few months after. Rizal, who had stayed in Manila for most of January 1898, returned to Laguna via Bay on 17

February. In less than ten days, Rizal had reorganized his forces and communicated with Emilio Jacinto who had remained in rebellion.¹⁶⁸ Through communications carried to Bay from Manila, Rizal came to know of a cache of arms landing on the coast of Infanta.¹⁶⁹ A party of revolutionaries was sent on a mission to reconnoiter the coast for a good landing site. Jacinto, Buenaventura Dimaguila, Salvador Natividad, and others were sent.

On 27 February 1898, probably while on this mission, they had an encounter with *cazadores* and Jacinto was shot and wounded.¹⁷⁰ In his stead, Pedro Cortes took charge of the men organized under Jacinto's command.¹⁷¹ With the help of Guevara, the town councils of the various towns of Laguna like Nagcarlan, Liliw, Santa Cruz and Majayjay were reestablished.¹⁷² This reorganization was crucial in ensuring popular, political, and financial support to the Revolution. Thus reorganized, the fighting resumed.

Santa Cruz Liberated

In April 1898, news arrived in Manila of the declaration of a state of war between the United States and Spain. Guevara, who was in Manila to meet with Pedro Paterno was invited, as a representative of the insurgents in Laguna, to meet with the Governor-General on 21 April. In that meeting, the Governor General asked for the insurgents' help in defending the Philippines in the event of an American attack, pledging to arm the Filipinos.¹⁷³ The Filipino revolutionaries took advantage of the situation to organize openly and to rearm their troops. The guns were never released to the Filipinos because on 1 May, the Americans destroyed the Spanish fleet.

On 22 May, the local presidents of the Laguna towns met in San Pedro and agreed to raise the standard of revolt on 31 May. On the appointed day, the towns rose in revolt. On 2 June, the revolutionary forces under Gen. Paciano Rizal besieged Calamba.¹⁷⁴ There is an

interesting narration of the siege of the town's Spanish garrison from the Historical Data Papers:

In the morning of June 1, 1892 [sic. should be 1898], a group of Filipino soldiers under the leadership of Felipe Belarmino entered the town from the east by way of the San Juan River, and another company under the leadership of his brother Melquiades Belarmino entered from the north from barrio Bañadero. General Paciano Rizal was to enter from the west by way of Lechería. When the Spaniards learned of the attack, the soldiers and the priest and the Spanish residents of the town concentrated in the hacienda, a big building near the church surrounded by a wall and in the church.

The revolutionists stationed themselves in the yards behind the houses about two hundred yards from the two buildings and fired whenever a Spaniard appeared in the window. As they had few guns, they lit firecrackers to make their enemy believe that they were well armed. The Spaniards had plenty of guns and fired in the direction of the shots. The siege and the intermittent firing lasted for three days. On the second day of the siege, the Spaniards raised a white flag. The Calambeños came out to confer but the enemy opened fire. They ran for cover and continued the fight. In the morning of the third day, the Spanish soldiers, cazadores, from Lipa arrived to aid the besieged Spaniards. General Paciano Rizal's soldiers met them at Bantayan...

A small cannon was placed in the middle of the street and the soldiers hid in the canal at the side of the street. As the enemy approached, the man firing the cannon could not hit the piston but when the enemy was very near, he had the good fortune to strike the proper place. The shell exploded and the bullets, which consisted of pieces of iron swept the advancing soldiers. Those who escaped unhurt ran back and retreated for safety. The Filipino soldiers ran after them and drove them away, as far as barrio Real. Many guns were collected from the fallen Spaniards.

In the afternoon of the third day, as no help arrived and because the Spanish soldiers in the church had no food and water, they surrendered. The Calambeños under Paciano Rizal then controlled the town. They could not feed and guard the Spanish captives so they

gave them as servants to the wealthy residents who fed them only as compensation for their services. They remained servants until the Americans captured the town and liberated them.¹⁷⁵

The speed with which the Filipinos gained territory in Laguna attests by and large to the reluctance of the Spaniards to defend their positions. Most Spanish forces were demoralized as a result of the defeat of the Spanish Navy at the hands of the Americans and the general military policy was to concentrate forces in the major cities and settlements and to refrain from launching offensives.

The Spanish Governor of Laguna, Antonio del Rio, revealed that upon superior orders, the “rich, great and affluent” towns of Majayjay, Pila, and Pagsanjan were evacuated of Spanish troops.¹⁷⁶ The first town’s detachment was moved to Lucban. Those from Pila were ordered to proceed to Bay, Los Baños, and Calamba. Those from Pagsanjan were dispatched to Baybay, to Morong, and to Infanta.¹⁷⁷ The Spanish detachment in San Pablo left on 6 June 1898.¹⁷⁸ As a result of these tactical reconcentrations of troops, the forces of the revolutionaries tripled in number.¹⁷⁹

The Spanish territory in Laguna was reduced to the general vicinity of the capital of Santa Cruz and the Filipinos encircled the town to effect its surrender. In the first few days of June, the revolutionaries stationed in Pila cut the telegraph lines from Santa Cruz to Manila. On 4 June 1898, news arrived that the Pasig was no longer safe for the gunboat *Otalora* to traverse.¹⁸⁰ By 20 June, General Rizal arrived to take command of the besieging forces then under the direction of Col. Severino Taiño.¹⁸¹

Governor del Rio had prepared for a long drawn out siege, with the hope of relief from reinforcements from Manila. There were 700 troops guarding the town, a few companies comprised Ilocano conscripts. Trenches secured by blockhouses protected the periphery of Santa Cruz from revolutionary encroachment. Rice stocks and cattle were commandeered and prepared for the entire settlement. There were about 6,000 people to be fed.¹⁸²

The relief from Manila never came, and by the end of July, the food stocks had been exhausted. All the horses and carabaos had been slaughtered, and the townspeople were reduced to eating root crops. The hospital had no more medicine for the sick and wounded. The troops were greatly demoralized and desertions among the Filipino conscripts grew more frequent as the month wore on.¹⁸³

In August, Governor del Rio agreed in principle that Santa Cruz was to be surrendered. By the middle of the month, commissioners were sent to discuss the terms of capitulation. The Spanish troops were to be left behind as prisoners of war while most of the Spanish residents were to be evacuated. However, General Rizal insisted that the sixteen friars in Santa Cruz be taken as prisoners. Del Rio would not agree. To break the impasse, it was agreed that the Governor would give the revolutionaries P 23,412 in exchange for the friars.¹⁸⁴

On 31 August 1898, the terms of capitulation were signed. The following day, at around 1:30 p.m., the occupying forces including the friars, abandoned the capital. The Spanish soldiers were left behind at Calamba, where they were to be interned as prisoners of war.¹⁸⁵ Santa Cruz was finally in the hands of the revolutionaries.

Revolutionary Government in Laguna and the Rise of Juan Cailles

Upon his assumption to the office of President of the Revolutionary Government, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo issued a decree that would, in essence, provide a system for administering the towns and provinces of the country. Previous to this, there had been attempts at organizing the municipal and provincial governments upon the initiative of several local leaders.

Escolastico Salandanan was appointed *Jefe Provincial* (literally, provincial chief or the equivalent of civil governor) of the province of La Laguna on 4 August 1898.¹⁸⁶ Very little is known of Salandanan's career as provincial governor, but he signed communications to the local presidents of Laguna from the end of 1898 until the first few

months of 1899. At the same time, during this period when the appointing authority was still ambiguous, there were also those who purported to be governors. A communication dated October 1898 bore the *nom de guerre* Matatag,¹⁸⁷ which was used by Antonino Guevara who claimed to be the governor of the province of Laguna. It is unclear whether Guevara was actually appointed by Emilio Aguinaldo or by the latter's representative or if he assumed the position on his own.

The civil governor's work was primarily to supervise the collection of the contributions of war and taxes that sustained the government of Laguna. He was in charge of all Laguna except for the seized friar estates in the western towns. The Department of Finance took direct control over these estates, for which Mariano Lopez was appointed comptroller on 21 December 1898.¹⁸⁸ Salandanan regularly sent out receipts to the local president of San Pablo, acknowledging the contributions sent to him. In 1899, or a year after the establishment of the revolutionary government, Laguna had collected P 53,250 in war taxes and P 41,222.25 in war contributions.¹⁸⁹ This sum, when compared with the sums taken from other provinces, puts Laguna in a comparatively high position among the provinces in the collection of both taxes and contributions, an indication of the relative effectiveness of the government in Santa Cruz.

Salandanan was assisted by the *Consejo Provincial* (provincial council), a body created by virtue of the decree of 23 June 1898. Leocadio Joaquin was appointed *consejero de justicia* (councilor for justice), Jose Arquiza, *consejero de policia* (councilor for police), and Ysidro Yatco, *consejero de rentas* (councilor for imposts and taxes). Yatco was replaced in October by Florencio Manita. Besides the *consejeros*, two representatives were also appointed to represent Laguna in the Malolos Congress, Higinio Benitez and Graciano Cordero.¹⁹⁰

The office of the civil governor was a short-lived one. By April 1899, Salandanan's name had disappeared from provincial communications. This may be in part because the acting military chief of the province, Col. Juan Cailles, had taken over the attributes and powers that belonged to the office of the civil governor. As late as 24 May 1899, the office of provincial governor was, strictly speaking, still

existing, but Cailles had effectively usurped the powers of the office.¹⁹¹ Town presidents were forwarding their concerns directly to the colonel's headquarters. This occasioned a clarificatory directive from the national government which restored the duties of collecting taxes and contributions, providing services, administering justice and policing the countryside to the office of the civil governor. It is uncertain if Salandanan recovered his powers after the issuance of the directive, but following the trend to concentrate both civil and military administration in a "politico-military governor," he was replaced in July 1899.

Under the office of the governor were the town or municipal chiefs, or *presidentes*. The job of the local *presidente* was, essentially, to collect contributions of war and taxes, to provide for the basic services like education and road maintenance, and to ensure peace and order. The local presidents were in control of the police forces and the local militias or *voluntarios*.

The town governments of Laguna provided the greatest base of support for the revolution, with many prominent members of the municipal governments becoming active revolutionaries. As the civil government of Laguna was integrated with the military establishment in the province toward the middle of 1899, the local presidencies and the popular committees in these towns were increasingly called upon not only to fund the military revolutionaries and to donate food, clothing, medicines and material, but also to provide additional men. The presidents became the revolutionary politico-military governor's eyes and ears in the occupied towns.

The revolutionaries recognized the great effectivity of the local presidencies and the popular committees in maintaining local support for the revolution. During this time, they attempted to increase their base of support by creating new towns in critical areas. Of these revolutionary-period towns, Famy (from Siniloan) and Rizal (from Nagcarlan) have survived, while Jose Burgos (from Liliw and Nagcarlan), Santo Rosario (from San Pablo) and Saluyan (from Nagcarlan) have not.

The names of the presidents changed frequently in the course of the revolution. The town of Pagsanjan, which has one of the best records, first had Juan Fabella, then Sixto Reyes and then Juan Zotomayor as *presidentes locales* (local presidents, equivalent of a town mayor). There were some towns, however, which remained under only one or two *presidentes*. Famy (established in 1899) was under Felipe Jamalin throughout the war. Ponciano Mercurio continued as the president of Luisiana from 1896 (according to Guevara and to Pedro Cortes) until 1901. The apparent ability to live under the revolutionary government was a main factor in securing and maintaining the post.

In a decree dated 18 June 1898, these names were recognized as the heads of government in the towns of Laguna:

Jose Bella	Inocencio Martinez (San Pablo)
Epifanio Montes	Raymundo Ibarra
Telesforo Franco	Juan Penaflor
Ignacio Cabanalan	Pascual de Rosas
Pedro Villanueva (Cavinti)	Antonio Fabricante
Basilio Gonzalez	Gregorio Alvarez (San Pedro Tunasan)
Urbano Calses	Mariano Apelo (Binan)
Ponciano Mercurio (Luisiana)	Nicolas Regalado
Guillermo Vito (Majayjay)	Juan Fabella (Pagsanjan)
Francisco Onguyco	Cecilio Peirosa
Marcelino Juele	Cirilo Ustaris
Pedro Abordo (Mavitac)	Luis Patis
Vicente Polistico ¹⁹²	

This compares to a list in July 1900, during which time, these names were the local presidents recognized by the provincial governor-commander who attended a conference called by the Politico-Military Governor, General Cailles:

Jose de Leon	Santa Cruz
Telesforo Francisco	
[Cecilio Peirosa]	

Sixto Reyes	Pagsanjan
Manuel Guinjaua	
Romualdo Vita	Nagcarlan
Eulalio Vita	Magdalena
Cirilo Cordero	San Pablo
Pedro Villanueva	Cavinti
Guillermo Vito	Majayjay
Alejandro Sanchez	Lumban
Epifanio Monte	
Ignacio Pabalan	
Juan Valdeleon	
Nicolas Regalado	
Pablo Balin	
Eugenio Castro	
Pedro Abordo	Mavitac
Felipe Jamalin	Famy
Victoria no Sequera	
Ponciano [Mercurio]	Luisiana
Luis Cordero	
Buenaventura Dimaguila ¹⁹³	

These names did not necessarily pertain to the actual presidents; some may have been representatives. However, the number of those who attended indicates the widespread recognition of Cailles' government and his power to organize the towns into local presidencies.

There were two general changes in the leadership of the revolutionary government in the towns of Laguna. One occurred toward the end of 1900 into 1901. Local presidents resigned, fled or were arrested by both American and revolutionary troops for aiding and abetting their enemies. This particular change in the composition of the province's local presidents was due to the pressures of the American invasion and the equally difficult exaction of the revolutionary forces.

Another set of local presidents were also appointed or elected after Juan Cailles surrendered to the Americans in June 1901. It must

be remembered that Cailles, though harsh and exacting, commanded the loyalty of most of Laguna's town presidents until his surrender. Pedro Caballes, who succeeded Cailles as the politico-military chief of Laguna, was much less influential than he maintained his government only in the column area under his charge, which corresponds to the mountain district of Laguna.

The office of the *Jefe Militar* or military chief of the province, which properly existed under the Department of War, was another important provincial post. Gen. Paciano Rizal was acknowledged as the provincial military chief even before the surrender of Santa Cruz in August-September 1898. Under Rizal were the forces of Colonel Taiño and Col. Pantaleon Quintero. Rizal exercised this office until he was called to defend the lines south of the city of Manila after war broke out with the Americans.

The post was then awarded to an Indian-French teacher named Juan Cailles in April 1899. Cailles was an able tactician who was drafted into the revolution's rolls by Aguinaldo himself. He distinguished himself in the battles during the first phase of the revolution in 1896 but later defected to the side of the Spaniards. In 1898 Aguinaldo enticed Cailles to join the revolution, and he won praise in fighting with the Spaniards along the Pasay-Malate line. Cailles was loyal to Aguinaldo and this qualified him to lead the government of Laguna despite his lack of any real roots in the province (he was born in Batangas and stayed in Cavite). Cailles was raised to the rank of brigadier general in August 1899.¹⁹⁴

Upon Cailles's appointment as acting military chief of the province of Laguna in April 1899, he quickly began organizing the provincial establishment under one command structure. The popular committees were established as per superior orders dated 18 January 1899. These committees were to serve as an outlet of information and a technical entity to aid the president. It served as a vital liaison office for the revolutionary forces in the field and the townspeople.¹⁹⁵

The setup effectively made Cailles the most powerful man in Laguna and, intentionally or not, he reduced the office of the civil governor to being a mere figurehead. Despite a setback in his

assumption of civil duties on 24 May, the office of politico-military governor was established in Laguna and placed under Cailles on 21 July, or two months after he relinquished civil duties.¹⁹⁶

As politico-military governor, Cailles effected the division of the province into military columns supported by the civilian towns, financially and materially. Under this setup, a military commander of a column was in charge of the region. All forces within the zone were to be under his direction, except for the guerrilla forces, which were to be directed, armed, and supported by the local presidents.

Under Cailles, the government in Laguna made significant gains in establishing order among the towns and in the countryside. He sought to impress the people of Laguna and foreign observers of the government's capacity to keep peace and order. Traders and merchants were assured that the peaceful conduct of trade was not to be hindered.¹⁹⁷ Gambling was strictly prohibited.¹⁹⁸

Cailles was especially noted for his pursuit of armed bandits who flourished in the countryside, preying on unprotected travelers. On 26 May 1899, for example, he declared that he had captured Arcadio Castillo and neutralized his band of 50 men who had operated in the vicinity of Baybay.¹⁹⁹ He was so good that in 1900, the Americans grudgingly credited to his campaigns the relative security of the roads in Laguna, compared to other provinces in Southern Luzon.

Revolutionary Turfing

Tactical unification or the alliance of separate forces have always characterized revolutionary conditions. However, as conditions normalized, the limits of each brigade or battalion were defined by both the civil and military establishments in the province. Problems of overlapping jurisdictions not only pertained to territory but also to delineations between the duties of the military and the civilian segments of government.

In January 1899, President Aguinaldo issued what was essentially the blueprint of cooperation between the military and the civilian

authorities in the country. The civilian chief was to be guaranteed the rights to oversee the implementation of justice, of policing the territory under his control and to supervise the imposition and collection of tariffs and duties. The military columns were to be supported by the towns under each columnal jurisdiction, but were to deal with strictly military matters. Military headquarters were to be set up outside the towns to prevent conflicts of jurisdiction over military and civilian matters.

Territorially, the problems that beset the command in Laguna concerned the existence of expeditionary forces within the territory that rightfully belonged to Laguna.

For example, the region from San Pedro up to Calamba, which properly lay within the jurisdiction of the province of Laguna, was lost to Laguna's politico-military chief after 26 June 1899. In that month, the Americans took the towns of Calamba and Los Baños and the surrounding country was taken over by General Malvar of Batangas and his troops. The towns of Alaminos and San Pablo were also shared between the troops of Lt. Col. Rosendo Banaag of the Batangas command and Lt. Col. Julio Infante of Laguna.

General Malvar took over the military government of the general vicinity of the town of Calamba after the Americans invaded the town. His usurpation of the command of the western towns was aided by a tacit acceptance from Gen. Paciano Rizal, head of a Laguna-supported battalion sent to defend the Filipino fronts in Muntinlupa and Cavite, of such a state of affairs. Rizal cooperated closely with Malvar in defending the district from further encroachments by the Americans. However, in January 1900, Malvar was driven out of Laguna and Paciano Rizal was captured in the vicinity of Los Baños.²⁰⁰

Col. Severino Taiño, who remained in the vicinity of San Pedro and Biñan, claimed the office of politico-military governor, perhaps on the assumption that as the second in command of General Rizal, he had the right to the office, in contradiction to the commission of Gen. Juan Cailles from the central government.

Toward the second half of 1900, Juan Cailles communicated to Taiño, firmly informing the latter that the office was rightfully in his hands, and referred the matter to the commander of the Department of Southern Luzon, Lt. General Mariano Trias. On 24 August 1900, Juan Cailles sent Taiño a letter claiming to have been confirmed in the exercise of jurisdiction, both politically and militarily, in the district covering the towns of the west.²⁰¹ Juan Cailles sent a similar letter to General Malvar, to whose command Taiño seemed to have attached his own and to clarify his jurisdiction over these areas.²⁰²

To assuage Colonel Taiño, Cailles offered him the post of *Jefe Militar de la Columna* (military chief of the column) of the region from San Pedro to Calamba. Taiño, however, appeared not to have accepted the commission from Cailles or did not communicate with him. Taiño continued to appear in the order book of Eugenio Carrillo, the chief of the column, which was in charge of the west, until the end of October 1900.²⁰³

The problem was resolved only after Taiño's death on 25 October 1900.²⁰⁴ On 27 October 1900, Cailles appointed Lt. Col. Julio Infante to replace Taiño in the command of the western column.²⁰⁵ The date of Taiño's death is inferred from an undated letter relating the circumstances of his demise and from the date of Infante's appointment as chief of the column.

Taiño's life, career and death is a drama in itself. He was a prominent military figure from 1894 until 1898, participating in the uprising in Pagsanjan and Santa Cruz in 1896 and in the siege of Santa Cruz in 1898. Gregorio Zaide claims that Taiño was assassinated in November 1898, but other documents claim otherwise.

President Aguinaldo received a denunciation dated 24 March 1899, which alleged that Taiño had received money from the Americans.

Señor Aguinaldo

I inform you that on the night of Wednesday, the 22nd of this month, Don Severino Taiño received \$10,000 in gold from the Americans and \$15,000 in paper and this took place in the house of Don Higinio Benitez.

Following this, I have noticed a change of feeling in this town of Pagsanjan. This Taiño goes about saying here that it is impossible to defeat the Americans. Hence, I ask you to order the military commander at Santa Cruz to exercise strict vigilance over the town...

Signed, Esteban Ilanos²⁰⁶

There is no indication that Taiño was reprimanded as a result of investigations into his alleged treason. However, another letter, undated and unsigned, reveals that Taiño was again rumored to have joined the American side and that a group of armed men had taken him and his companions and executed the colonel. This communication placed the colonel somewhere in the vicinity of San Pedro and Muntinlupa:

Ypinag tanto co po sa aquing Kgg. na Gral na tumanggap ng noticia ng 19 nitong lumalacad na ang sabe ang G. Coronel Taiño ay nagpresenta sa Americano ay ng aquin pong mapagsiasat ay di catutuhanan at ang nasabing Coronel ay segun sa noticia ay nasa pagitan ng San Piro at Munting Lupa.

Ang dipo umabot ang tatlong arao at acoi nacabalita nanaman ang G. Coronel Taiño at iba pang casamahan ay pinatay dico po naman macierto cung sinosino ang (illegible) doon sa desgraciang yaon na may sandaang tao na puro armaduhan at segun sasabe ay pinatay nacasama inuhulog sa hucay ang cañang manga nasabing casamaat tilapo may catutuhanan at hangang ngayonpo aquing sinisiyasat namabuti cung sino iyon manga taong nag parusa sa isang punong quiniquilala na cung sacale manpo at ang nasabeng Coronel ay gumaua ng di tapat ay dapat namang ipagsacdal sa aquing pong Gral o salalong puno na siya ang nauucol na mag bigay ng castigo na uucol sa cañang casalanan sapagcapot cung magcaca ganito ay ang manga sundalo ay dina quiquilala sa manga punong dapat quilalanin, cayapo, ipinamamanhic co sa aquing Gral namangyaring siyasatin ang manga bagay

naito sapagcapot baca ang capua tagalog ang siya nang maglalaban o siya ang pangalingan ng Guerra Civil. ²⁰⁷

I give notice to the honorable general that I received a notice on the 19th of the current month that the said Sir Colonel Taino has surrendered to the Americans. When I investigated this, it was found to be untrue and according to the said notice, the Colonel is in the area between San Piro [San Pedro] and Munting Lupa.

In less than three days, I again received news that Colonel Taiño and his companions were killed. I am not certain who ..in that unfortunate incident that a hundred men, all armed and according to the news, he was killed and buried together with his companions. There seems to be truth in the news and until now, I am ascertaining who these people are who have punished a known leader. And if the said Colonel did commit treason, he should have been brought before the General or to his superior that he may be the one to punish him according to his crime. If this is tolerated, then soldiers will no longer recognize the authority of leaders. That is why I bring this to the General's attention, so that it may be investigated because it may lead to (a situation where) fellow Tagalogs will be fighting each other or may bring about civil war.

Pedro Paterno offers a more lurid explanation for his execution. Eustaquio Casteltor, his alleged killer, was enamored of the colonel's beautiful wife and facilitated her untimely widowhood.²⁰⁸ Julio Nakpil also gives account of the colonel's assassination, saying it happened in San Pedro Tunasan.²⁰⁹ Casteltor remained in command of the revolutionary forces in Biñan with about 160 rifles²¹⁰ until his capture on 20 April 1901.²¹¹

It was not only Colonel Taiño's confused command that was a mark of the western region. San Pablo and Alaminos, important links between Laguna, Tayabas, and Batangas were the scene of frequent jurisdictional disputes. In August 1900, Lt. Col. Rosendo Banaag, who belonged to the command of General Malvar of Batangas, encamped in the disputed San Pablo region. Colonel Infante wrote a strongly worded letter of protest to Banaag, warning of the threat of disorder

arising from the existence of two guerrilla columns in the area. To avoid such disturbances, Infante gave Banaag options: he may withdraw his troops, incorporate them in his command, or submit to the orders of the chief of the column. Otherwise, measures would be taken to restore public order.²¹² On 1 September 1899, Cailles tried to mediate, assuring Infante of the great benefit Banaag's expeditionary troops would bring the column. He strongly advised Infante, however, to act immediately on any abuse the troops may commit against the good people of San Pablo.²¹³ In this regard, two officers under Banaag's command were arrested for extorting from the residents of San Pablo.²¹⁴

Overlapping claims of jurisdiction ultimately reduced the effectiveness of the revolutionary government. In the disputed western region, Cailles was particularly concerned about the continued depredation of brigands and *tulisanes* who operated with a free hand in the jurisdiction of his rival Severino Taiño. In a letter dated 24 August, Cailles admonished Taiño:

Severely condemning the crimes which place us in a bad light before the eyes of the world and of our fellow men, who equally aspire with us the independence of our land—I today entrust to your hands the fate of these towns, as your voice will be raised before those, our brethren, who, blinded by erroneous passion, have resorted to lawlessness. With a calm spirit and a strong hand, you will punish assaults, robberies, kidnappings, duly executing their authors, as duty, reason and justice so demand; and therefore, the people will quickly be in harmony with us when they see themselves protected by our authorities.

In regard to your subordinates, endeavor to control them in such a manner that the least difficulty may not arise on their part with any citizen; and in this way, bring about amicable feeling and mutual cooperation. On your part, you will find protection if in maintaining the law, you should someday be attacked, and your merits shall never be concealed from the knowledge of our government.²¹⁵

Cailles also enjoined Taiño to collect taxes and contributions from the estates of the friars which were within his command. The tenants on these *haciendas* had not contributed to the government of Laguna since the start of the Filipino-American War.

To avoid clashes between friendly troops, there were strict directives to the town detachments as well as to columns not to enter the areas of another commander without express permission from the chief or only in cases of transit to a mission. This directive was issued in January 1900 and was repeatedly alluded to in communications with the various military commanders.²¹⁶ In the case of the western towns of Laguna, however, even after Malvar's forces had been driven back toward Tanauan and Santo Tomas in January 1900, there were problems of administrating because of conflicting claims to the office of *Jefe Politico-Militar*.

On 11 October, Cailles issued another order that sought to set the boundaries of his jurisdiction and to insure the integrity of his command and the divisions within:

To the Local Presidents of the Province

Internal order of the towns of the province should not suffer alterations, with the view of rooting out abuses of the military, and to likewise avoid sluggishness in political progress, which armed factions may occasion. These groups being outside my brigade, which without my knowledge or consent, enter into my jurisdiction and without special authorization from me interfere with the discharge of the respective duties of the legitimate civil as well as military chiefs under my orders, and provoking annoying questions between this department and those of other provinces. On this date, making use of the powers vested in me, I proceed to advice you that:

1. From this date, under your strictest direct responsibility, you will not allow any faction or armed individual to enter your jurisdiction without permission from this department headquarters or from other provinces, in compliance with my authority or of the divisions of the columns of the brigade of this province.

2. Whatever faction, not armed or individuals armed and annexed to this brigade, in spite of being duly notified of this order, making use of force and violence to try to contravene the previous order, you will proceed to arrest, securing assistance, if necessary, from the chief of column under whose protection the town may be.
3. The local presidents and the chiefs of wards will deny all help to the armed factions or armed individuals to whom article 2 refers, unless their presence is duly justified, with documents to that effect, as is provided in article 1 of this decree.
4. When the local presidencies or heads of barrios furnish support or assistance to troops duly authorized, they will do so in conformity with the spirit of my communications nos. 44 and 77, taking besides complete copy in a special book of passes which said troops may show.
5. And in order that in the future, this department headquarters may have exact information of all events which may occur daily in the province, you will indicate in your reports the movements which the troops may effect, those belonging to the brigade as well as the guerrillas, indicating the behavior which the troops observe.
6. I recommend with repeated insistence, exact compliance with all directives,²¹⁷...

War Comes to Laguna

The long-simmering conflict between Americans and Filipinos came to a boil on 4 February 1899. The Americans extended their lines to encompass the towns of San Francisco del Monte, San Juan del Monte, Caloocan, Pasay, and Santa Ana. Early positions won in Pasig and Makati as well as Taguig were abandoned to form a more compact line. For a month the lines held, with very little modification.

The Filipino military launched hurried preparations. In Laguna, troops were organized and concentrated in the west, where they believed the Americans would likely move. General Rizal, as the Military Chief of the province, was called to lead provincial troops in defending the western flank of Laguna. On superior orders of Gen. Mariano Trias of the Southern Luzon Command and Gen. Mariano Noriel, Secretary of War, Rizal was sent to fortify the Filipino positions in Muntinlupa and Parañaque.

General Aguinaldo instructed the military chief of Laguna to prepare against a possible attack by the Americans, especially from the coast and the landward side facing the American troops in the province of Manila.

Sa pagcat ang madla sa ating mga caual ay nangagsisiurong sa paquiquilaban dahil sa di cabisanhan ng iba sa paquiquidigma; ay minarapat cung ipagbilin ang sumusunod.

1. *Ang sinomang caual na magtacbo at umurong sa laban na ualang pahintulot ang pinuno ay alisan agad ng armas at ibigay sa ibig lumaban sa mga tauong bayan lalo na sa dating casama sa unang panghihimacsic.*
2. *Biguian ng pahintulot ang mga Presidentes Locales na macasansala sa mga sundalo na umiilag at ibig omoui na may dalang baril na ito'y masamsam nila, upang ipagbigay alam sa mga punong militares at ientrega sa mga Comandantes sa bayanbayan at bibiguan ng recibo ang mga quinunan ng baril.*
3. *Patulong sa mga Presidentes Locales ng pagoorganiza ng caual na dating casama sa paquiquilaban ng panahong may insurreccion at cung ito'y mga pahanda ay siang ilalaban na cahalile ng mga caual na napapagod.*
4. *Patulong din naman sa mga nasabing Presidentes Locales at mga tauong bayan sa pagtatayo ng trincheras sa mga costas at sa lugal na inaacalang mapapasucan ng caauay at sa bauat trincheras ay tatayuan ng limang caual na sandatahan at limang may taglay na baril, dapuat ang mga trincheras ay magcacaroon ng caual sa*

Other preparations were made to support the war. Militias were organized upon the orders of the president. Travel to and from Manila was restricted and stores of supplies were stocked with ammunition and food. There is some interesting communication regarding the Chinese from Lt. Col. Pantaleon Quintero:

Ypag utos pong mahigpit na pag iingat sa mga lugal ng lusungan sa aplaya ng bayang inyong mga sakop na sinomang inchik ay houag papayagang makapag viaje na ang tungo ay sa Maynila o sa mga bayang kalapit o sa iba pa man dito sa loob ng provincia, at sa ganitong paraan ay pabantayan din ang mga daan sa pangangati, upang ating maiwasan ang isang ikadorool natin sa labanang sumasalukoy, palibhasa'y ang mga inchik ay siyang tinatanong ng mga kaaway natin tungkol sa mga daan at iba pang bagay bagay dito sa mga provincia.²¹⁹

It is strictly ordered that care should be taken to patrol the beaches of the towns under your charge, that any Chinaman should not be permitted to travel to Manila and its environs or to any point within the province. Patrol also all areas exposed at the ebb of the tide that we may prevent a misfortune in the war that is raging. For the Chinese are the ones questioned by the enemy about the roads and other matters about the provinces.

Besides organizing new forces in Laguna, the western towns prepared for war. The arsenal in Calamba was moved to a safer position away from the coast. The prisoners of war in Biñan and Calamba were ordered evacuated to the interior, to Santo Tomas and Lipa in Batangas.

After February, the supply of materiel for the defense of the province was reduced to trickles. By July, after the resumption of all non-military traffic in Laguna de Bay, supplies were sent over from Manila on contraband missions. In general, the military blockade of Laguna was too porous to have had any major effect, although it did impede the ready access to supplies from Manila. Brass plates were

being imported in September 1899 for the manufacture of cartridges.²²⁰ On the other hand, coconut oil produced in Laguna was finding its way to Manila on board *cascos* that plied the route from Santa Cruz to Manila. The export of this article appeared to have been encouraged by revolutionary authorities in Santa Cruz because the item was taxed.²²¹

By 5 March 1899, the Americans extended their lines to cover the entire length of the Pasig River. The strategy was to cut the Filipino forces in two, making the deployment of troops much more difficult. The Americans could thus concentrate forces on one front while keeping the other stable. This strategy also freed the waterway for American gunboats en route to the lake, which was to be secured by the gunboats, thus preventing the lake's use for troop movements.

The lake had hitherto been a "highway" that facilitated both communication and transportation to different points on the coast. Calamba and Santa Cruz easily communicated via steamboats and bancas. At least three Filipino-held steamers, the *Otalora*, the *Oceania* and the *Capitan* had been regularly plying the two points of the Laguna coast as well as Cardona and Angono on the Morong side. However, these ships had been rendered unusable after the outbreak of the war. Coal reserves had been used up and petroleum was being saved for future use. There were attempts to block the river's many passageways to the lake but these were ill-placed and did not hinder the gunboats from entering the lake. The American gunboat *Laguna de Bai* finally commenced its operations in the lake.

Toward the end of March, the Americans resolved to take the towns of Calamba and Santa Cruz. A force was organized under the command of General Lawton, with the specific objective of capturing the town of Santa Cruz. Other objectives were:

First. The capture of Santa Cruz, and if possible, cut off the enemy's retreat.

Second. Destruction of the telegraph lines.

Third. The distribution among the inhabitants of the country of copies of the United States commissioner's proclamation.

Fourth. The location and capture of launches or gunboats in the hands of the insurgents.

Fifth. After the capture of Santa Cruz, the country and towns to the east and north along the east coast of the lake were to be reconnoitered.²²²

The 1,500-man expedition composed of elements of the 4th U.S. Cavalry, 14th Infantry regulars and the Idaho, North Dakota, and Washington volunteer infantry, under the command of Gen. Charles King, gathered at San Pedro on 8 April. They were ferried on board 17 *cascos* pulled by eight steam launches and supported by two *bancas*.²²³ The entire flotilla was to have reached Santa Cruz by daybreak; but because the boats were frequently grounded, the fleet negotiated the Pasig only at dawn. The incident made an American correspondent remark that “Perhaps, through the cunning of the native pilots, who were not anxious to see the Americans successful” the groundings were intentional.²²⁴ Of course, the water level of the Pasig and the Laguna de Bay was unusually low during that dry season, which could have made navigation more difficult.

Harper’s Magazine provides a detail of the battle for Santa Cruz:

It was noon before the white church towers of the city (of Santa Cruz) appeared in the shadow of a great volcanic mountain on a marshy plain, dotted with occasional palm groves.

A *casco*, with a force of two hundred picked sharpshooters under Major Weisenberger, mostly belonging to the 1st Washington Regiment, was run into a shallow inlet about five miles south of the city.

Then a few shells were sent toward the intrenchments of the rebels at the edge of the woods, sending the enemy scampering inland.

A number of Americans jumped into the water and wading for about a hundred yards, crept forward and formed in line, covering the landing of the remainder, which was finished about 5 o’clock.

The three troops of the 4th Cavalry unmounted, were sent ashore in a dangerous marshy point directly south of the city under fire from the enemy’s trenches.

Meanwhile in the town itself, there was utter silence and not a sign of life. General Lawton, desiring to make an inspection and to give the inhabitants an opportunity to surrender, went on board the *Laguna de Bai* (gunboat), and, accompanied by the Associated Press launch, steamed slowly to the dock, the whole fleet watching anxiously. When it was discovered by the glasses that the trenches and some of the buildings were swarming with white-clad soldiers, the two boats withdrew, receiving volleys from the trenches thrown up on the marshy plain north of the city.

The flotilla anchored in compact formation for the night, ready to resist any surprise from the rebel gunboats supposed to be in the lake. At sunrise to-day (Monday), the assault began. The American line south of the city stretched two miles inland and, with its left sweeping the shore, it moved north, while the 4th Cavalrymen on the point advanced toward the city, pouring volleys upon the trenches. Simultaneously, the gunboats hovered along the shore, shelling the woods ahead of the troops and driving the Filipinos inland. The Gatlings cleared several trenches.

The shore brigade was divided into squads of five and the fighting was carried on in the same frontier fashion, from behind trees, and through bushes or rushing across. The trenches that were not cleared by the gunboats gave considerable resistance when the line was nearing the city, and the *Laguna de Bay* and the *Oeste* bombarded for an hour in the hope of making them too warm for co-occupancy, but did not succeed in clearing them entirely.

General Lawton, with the 14th Infantry battalions, approached a narrow iron bridge across a creek on the south border of the town. Here, a company of Filipinos was entrenched across the stream and behind a stone barricade at the entrance to the bridge. The Americans rushed forward in single file, in the face of a galling fire, demolished the barricade with their hands and drove the enemy from the trenches, killing a dozen.

The Filipino soldiers in the town, secreted in various buildings and firing from the windows, gave the invaders an interesting hour. There was a regular nest of them in the stone jail which is hedged by a wall. This was a veritable pepper-pot.

The Americans, singly or in pairs, entered the houses, and many warriors were taken prisoners.

A considerable body of Filipinos fled northward, crossing the open marshes, but the Gatling guns poured upon them a deadly hail until they disappeared in the woods, slaying dozens.

Major Weisenberger deployed the sharpshooters along the shore, and they crept steadily forward, aiding the Gatlings. Finally, a large body was sent straight against the enemy in the woods, driving them towards the mountains.

General Lawton established headquarters at the elegant palace of the Governor, and a guard was immediately placed in the church, as the sacred edifices are always the objective of looters. Within an hour, the town was patrolled and all looting rigidly prevented.

Almost all the inhabitants had fled during the two preceeding nights, and only a few Chinese shopkeepers have emerged from hiding and resumed business.²²⁵

The American campaign was a resounding success. Losses on the side of the revolutionaries were staggering. In the town, General Lawton counted 93 dead. In the woods near the town were discovered 42 dead Filipinos. The Gatlings and the shelling from the gunboats were devastatingly efficient. A letter in the *Chicago Record* narrates:

A peaceful quiet had spread over the plain. The firing line settled down and the work of gathering the dead began. The men of the hospital corps straggled across the field, and little groups of soldiers here and there marked where some Filipinos lay. When I reached the shore from the Laguna a few minutes later, work of removing the bodies had not begun, but the surgeons were going over the field administering to the wants of the wounded and preparing to take them to the improvised hospital in Santa Cruz.

• The scene was an extremely sad and touching one. There were bodies, huddled as they fell, twisted and distorted. Many were struck three and even four times, showing where the gatlings had followed the death blow so quickly that other bullets struck home before the bodies could reach the ground. One handsome officer was lying dead. I had often seen him driving on the Luneta with his sister during the

months of peace last autumn. Some of the Filipinos were young boys, scarcely 16 years old and some were men well advanced in years. Their clothes were soaked to a dark crimson color and the fierce hot sun was baking the blood in their faces to a thick dry crust. To many of them, death had come quickly and half-opened eyes stared up to the blue sky with no sign of pain or suffering in their brows. The wounded lay passive and uncomplaining, hardly a moan escaping the lips of men who were even then close to death. Some of them expected that the Americans would kill them as they lay, and looked appealingly at the soldiers who came near them, while others seemed utterly indifferent to the fate that might meet them. A Filipino concealed in a bunch of bamboos firing cowardly shots at the Americans is one thing, but when we find him to be a young boy and see him lying out in the sun with his white clothes drenched with blood and a big hole in his chest, it is hard not to feel sorry for him.

In places there were little heaps of clothing showing how some poor fellow had thrown aside his uniform in the hopes that he might be considered an *amigo* or non-combatant. American soldiers were strolling listlessly around, picking up trinkets and souvenirs, here a shot riddled hat or a bolo or a Mauser rifle. One cut part of a shirt from a dead body that had a bullet hole through its heart. It had an anting-anting—a *catapunan* (*katipunan*) charm consecrated by the priests and warranted to shield the wearer from the bullets of the enemy. A garment of this kind is profusely decorated with emblems and signs and the priests prey upon the ignorant natives by selling it at an exorbitant price to the superstitious Filipino soldiers. Sometimes as high as \$40 is paid to a priest for one of these worthless shirts.²²⁶

The fighting resumed the next day (10 April). American firepower from the surrounding gunboats forced the Filipinos to flee their trench positions and retreat toward the towns of Pagsanjan and Lumban. The next day, the troops pushed toward the two towns, which they captured with little resistance. In Pagsanjan, the Americans captured six steam launches that the Filipinos had used intermittently at the beginning of the war, but which had been left unusable by the

lack of coal. These were brought to Manila.²²⁷ Several miles of telegraph cable were also taken back.

From a tactical perspective, the campaign in Santa Cruz achieved little. Due to the greater need of forces in the campaigns in the north, the town was abandoned. However, the ease with which the Americans captured Santa Cruz did not augur well for the efforts to defend the province from external attack. In July, with higher lakewaters after the rains, a new expedition was sent to capture the town of Calamba.

A newspaper account of the campaign against Calamba narrates:

An expedition composed of troops from San Pedro Macati, Pasig and Morong, under Brigadier General R. M. Hall, yesterday (26 July) captured Calamba, an important trading town on the south shore of Laguna de Bay. There were two hours of sharp fighting, in which four soldiers were killed and twelve wounded. The trenches commanding the harbor were underwater, and the swampiness of the land made the work harder. The troops boarded cascos on Tuesday night. The force comprised 400 of the Washington Volunteers, 450 of the 21st Infantry, 150 of the 4th Cavalry and two guns of the 1st Artillery. These and the gunboats Napindan and Oeste assembled opposite Calamba on Wednesday afternoon. Crowds of people in carts and on foot were seen rushing to the hills. Natives escaping from Calamba in canoes said a hundred insurgents held the town.

A force under Captain McGraith of the 21st Infantry and Captain Eltonherd landed east of the town, but found a river intervening. Captain McGraith and Lieutenant Batson swam the river under fire from twenty Mauser rifles. Having crossed the stream, the officers procured a casco to ferry the troops over. The insurgents retreated through the town, shooting from houses and bushes as they fled to the hills. Three members of the Washington regiment waded from cascos through swamps often shoulder deep while a group of Filipinos concealed in hay stacks were shooting at them, until the Napindan focused her six-pounders and Gatling guns on the stacks for a few minutes. Most of the work was done before the Washington volunteers could reach the town.

There was much shooting by amigos who emerged from the bushes with white flags. After the fight, a dozen men holding up their hands and shouting “Castillanos” met the American cavalry. Even Spanish soldiers embraced Americans hysterically. There were fifty Spanish prisoners at Calamba, of whom some were civil officials and some were soldiers, to whom the choice of joining the Filipino army or becoming servants to Filipinos had been given. They chose the army, intending to surrender at the first opportunity. Most of the civilians reached the American lines during the fighting, but the insurgents took others away with them in their retreat.²²⁸

Calamba served as an important point from which the American campaigns in Southern Tagalog could commence. It also served to divert the attention of the Filipino troops that had been concentrated in Muntinlupa, prior to an attack on Pasig.²²⁹ These forces included the troops from the provinces of Batangas, Cavite, Laguna and Tayabas, and those under the high command of Gen. Mariano Trias. There were several attempts to dislodge the Filipinos from Muntinlupa but these efforts were repulsed. However, the attack on Calamba, which was further south of Muntinlupa, was not, and the Americans gained a significant beachhead.²³⁰

Ten companies occupied Calamba from the 21st Infantry under Col. Jacob Kline. However, due to the lack of material resources, they were unable to move out of the confines of the towns of Calamba and Los Baños. Malvar reacted swiftly to contain the Americans. Troops under the direction of Malvar harassed the Americans in Calamba and managed to momentarily gain good offensive positions in October 1899. But the Americans could no longer be dislodged.²³¹

The Calamba invasion cut off the Cailles government in Santa Cruz from the western towns. Cailles ordered the establishment of a pony express to convey directives between the towns.²³² As noted earlier, the coming of the Americans to Calamba actually contributed to the blurring of the jurisdiction lines between the forces of Generals Malvar, Rizal, and Cailles. Malvar, who was in charge of the troops that had been massed in Muntinlupa, proceeded to Calamba to defend the town from the

American invasion. He thus established a precedent whereby forces within Laguna existed without accountability to Santa Cruz.

The American Campaigns in Laguna

Despite the rout of Santa Cruz and the occupation of Calamba and Los Baños, Laguna profited from the relative peace in 1899, giving it a chance to organize the local government and the military establishment. The Americans, although in control of Calamba and Los Baños while occasionally shelling the coastal towns of Laguna, were in no position to launch any large-scale offensive against the Filipinos.

However, war had arrived. The relentless operations of the American gunboats in Laguna de Bay were forcing many to seek the safety of inland towns. Paete, for example, was shelled by American gunboats in August despite assurances from the Americans that peaceful assemblies would not be attacked. The town was in the midst of conducting a market that day.

However, in December 1899, reinforcements from the United States arrived and the push toward the south was planned and slated to begin in January. On 3 January 1900, American troops moved into Muntinlupa from San Pedro Macati, marking the beginning of the campaign against the Filipinos in Southern Luzon. The following day, troops entered the abandoned towns of San Pedro Tunasan and Biñan. From Calamba, an unauthorized push south under the direction of Col. Robert Bullard toward Santo Tomas in Batangas began to clear the road for the occupation of the rest of the province of Laguna.²³³ Santo Tomas was taken and the road was cleared for the entry of the Americans via San Pablo.

Filipino troops under the leadership of Colonels Placido Escudero and Luis Banaag concentrated on defending the road east of the town of San Pablo, leaving the defense of the town itself to Inocencio Martinez, the town's *presidente local*. On 14 January, the Americans under Maj. Benjamin Cheatham and Capt. Walter Loving arrived in

San Pablo and overpowered Martinez's forces.²³⁴ Three days later, the Americans and Filipinos again met in the vicinity of barrios Ilog and Pauli in what was to be the most decisive battle for Laguna. In that battle, the Americans sustained heavy casualties in an effort to breach the Filipino defenses. The object of this offensive was to cut a path toward Santa Cruz. The fighting lasted from noon until nighttime. However, the Filipinos, seeing the futility of fighting the well-armed Americans, retreated and Laguna was left for the Americans to occupy. After January, regular formations and conventional warfare quickly gave way to guerrilla tactics.

Laguna's Guerrilla Struggle

In July 1900, a meeting of the local government in Laguna was called to discuss the proposition to surrender the politico-military government to the Americans. This was conveyed to Cailles through the mediation of Vicente Reyes. But the call to abandon the struggle was unanimously rejected and the province entered a new phase of guerrilla warfare.²³⁵

For the second time since 1896, fighters in Laguna resorted to guerrilla warfare. General Cailles moved his base to the hills behind Longos after he evacuated Santa Cruz. There was no point in defending the towns from American forces; what mattered was to conserve the resources of the revolutionary government in Laguna and to sustain the people's revolutionary fervor.

Operations of the government in Laguna focused heavily on carrying on the armed struggle. However, the Filipinos saw early on that taking a conventional military stand against the Americans was useless because of the overwhelming advantage of the American Army. The Filipinos thus adopted guerrilla warfare as the main form of conflict. As early as November 1899, the government of President Emilio Aguinaldo officially shifted to guerilla warfare against the Americans.²³⁶

On 20 August 1900, Filipinos descended on the town of Los Baños to commence an offensive that would be repeated elsewhere in the province. The Los Baños attack led by Lt. Colonel Julio Herrera resulted in 24 casualties, both dead and wounded, on the American side. After a two-hour gun battle, the revolutionaries retreated to the hills. On 24 August, Lt. Col. Fidel Angeles, together with Maj. Canuto Aritao, attacked the Americans in the vicinity of Siniloan. On 25 August, Aritao's troops attacked the American position in Tuyong Ilog in Paete. The details of the battles appear in a letter Cailles wrote to Mariano Trias.

I have the honor to inform you that the column commanded by Lt. Colonel Julio Herrera, in obedience to my orders attacked the detachment of the enemy found in the town of Los Baños, on the night of the 20th. The said Colonel ordered that the principal strategic positions of the enemy be taken by our forces, and the positions having been in reality taken, an obstinate struggle was kept up against the enemy defending the convent in that locality, protected by the fleet, which fired upon the stations of our troops. The attack was a surprise, for the enemy awoke, distressed by our bullets, their rifles maintaining silence even after half an hour. The Lt. Colonel attempted to take the convent defended by the enemy with bayonets but without effect, because the hostile fleet never rested one moment from discharging its artillery. The fight lasted two hours. The result of which, we lament, was the wounding of the commandant of the column and five other soldiers. The losses of the enemy according to exact information, consisted of 24 killed and several wounded, among those killed being two officers.

On the 24th of the same month, the first column commanded by Lt. Colonel Fidel S. Angeles attacked, in conjunction with Major Canuto Aritao, a convoy of the enemy at Sulib in the vicinity of Siniloan, and after five minutes, the said Lt. Colonel ordered a running attack, pursuing the enemy some 70 meters when the brave Lt. Colonel fell wounded in the left side. Providentially, it was not serious. The soldiers, seeing their leader had fallen, began to retreat in order to save the Lt. Colonel. On our side, we regret to have two wounded men, the Lt.

Colonel and an officer struck in the left calf. Losses of the enemy were four killed and five wounded, among them an officer. A Kragg gun with ammunition was captured as spoils of war.

On the 25th of this month, the column, under the command of Major Canuto Aritao, attacked an exposed position of the enemy in Tuyong Ilog, entrance of the town of Paete, the action lasting nearly one hour. One soldier on our side was wounded. The enemy losses were 9 killed and many wounded.

On the 20th of the same month, the column commanded by Lt. Colonel Pedro Caballes attacked the garrison of the enemy in Pagsanjan, surprising them as they were going to water the horses. The attack lasted two hours. Losses of the enemy, 10 killed and 34 wounded, 60 mules among the killed and wounded, two mules being captured unhurt. On our side, two killed.

Nothing new in the province except the desertion of the Philippine police organized in the town of San Pablo by the enemy and today incorporated in my brigade with their corresponding Kragg rifles.²³⁷

Another detailed report of an ambush in Liliw in 1901 illustrates the *modus operandi*.

Ypinagbibigay tanto co sa inyo na ngayong arao na ito ay tumangap aco ng isang parte ng Comandante G. Roman Dimayuga Jefe ng 1a Linea nitong Columna alinsunod sa ginawa niyang labanan sa ating mga caauay sa nayon ng Bongol, sacop ng bayan ng Lilio sa daang patungo sa Magdalena, na ang nangyari ay ang sumusunod.

Lumagay sia sa nasabing nayon ng umaga ng arao fecha a 13 nitong lumalacad na silay nagtatlong pulutong nahang isang tongco at ang pinagcaisahanay pagdating ng caauay na may hatid na comboy sa guitna ng canilang tongco ay saca pagbabarilanan; caya nga ganito po ang nangyari na sa oras a las ocho ng nasabing umaga ay nagsi dating ang mga caauay na hindi sila naquiguita at ng naguiguita na sa canila ay pinagsabayanan ng descarga, caya ngat nagulumihanang ang mga caauay na ualang guinaua cundi ang magtacbohan na patungong Magdalena na naiuan sa daan ang canilang Bagon; ngunit dumating na madali ang saclolo na caballeria na galing sa Magdalena caya ngat tiniguilan nila ang paghabol sa calzada sa

mga caauay na nagsi pagtacbo; ang guinaua nitong saclolo ay quinuha lamang ang ibang Bagon at pinagtacbuhan, dinala sa Magdalena na hindi naman sila hinanap at ang sabi, mucho insurrecto, pag alis nitoy lumabas oli ang ating mga caual at tinignan ang isang Bagong naiuan pa ay ng maquitat ualang laman sa canilang malaquing cagalitan ay pinagtagaanan na sa oras namang itoy dumating ang saclolong galing Majayjay na hindi rin nagpatuloy sa canilang pinaglabanan at nagsiurong na ang sabi mucho insurrecto, sa bagay na itoy nagorden ang Comandante ng retirada sa dating pinagcaisahang bago maglabanang na wurungan na hindi naman nalaon siyang pagdating ng saclolong galing Nagcarlang at nagtipon lahat ang mga saclolo sa lugar na pinaglabanan na may mga isang daan at limang pu humiguít cumulang at inipon ang canilang mga patay at sugatan inilulan sa Bagon at inihatid ng iba sa bayang Magdalena ang mga natira guenerrilla ang bayan ng Lilio at ang isang Seccion ay pumanhic sa Campanario at pagcahihip ng Corneta ay pinagpuputucan ang mga gubat gubat sa tabi ng bayan na dahil ditoy may natamaang isang lalaqui nanaliligo sa ilog, hinalughog ang bahaybahay ng boong bayan datapuat uala silang naquitang anomang masama caya ngat hindi sinunog ang bayan.

Ang bajas ng mga caauay na naquita sa acto ng paglalabanan ng ating mga matatapang na sundalo ay dalawa ang tinbuang na patay at na ang tagalog na canilan casama at marami ang may sugat na hindi na mabilang. sabi ng mga paisanos ay marami ang nabaja dahil sa tulo ng dugo ng nagdadaan ang Bagon.

Sa atin ay sa aua ng Maycapal ay ualang na baja liban na lamang sa isang cabong may sugat na pumasocang bala sa pisngi na tumayo sa sentido na hindi nacalalabas datapuat ang sabi ng medico ay hindi naman icamamatay.

Itong labanang ito ay tupad sa ordeng co alinsonod sa mahalagang orden ng ating General caya at ipagbigay alam ninyo sa mga oficiales clases at soldados na inyong pinamamahalaan sa lubos na icagagalac ng canilang mga calooban.

15 Enero 1901

Coronel Jefe ng Columna,

Julio Herrera.²³⁸

I give you notice that today I received a report from Commandant Roman Dimayuga, Chief of the first Line of this Column, concerning the battle between his forces and the enemy in the area in Bongol in the jurisdiction of Lilio, on the road towards Magdalena. The following transpired.

He had stationed himself in the said area in the morning of the 13th of the current month and divided his troops into three, arranged as though a three-legged stove, and arrayed upon the arrival of the enemy escorting a convoy in their midst. Firing would begin as soon as the convoy entered the "stove". This is what came to pass at eight in the morning, when the enemy arrived unaware of the ambush and when they were at the middle, volleys of fire were discharged which caused the enemy to panic and to do nothing more than flee towards Magdalena, leaving behind their wagon. However, the cavalry that had come in rescue from Magdalena arrived immediately so the pursuit of the fleeing enemy was abandoned. The relieving forces took only some of the wagons and fled immediately to Magdalena without searching for them (the revolutionaries). After they departed, our troops came out to inspect the remaining wagon and were dismayed after finding out that it was empty, all their efforts were for nothing. At this moment, the relief from Majayjay arrived, which did not engage them for long and retreated, saying there were "*mucho insurrecto*". After this, the Commandant ordered a retreat to the agreed fall back position at which time arrived the relief from Nagcarlan and all the relieving forces converged at the site of the battle, all one hundred and fifty more or less, and collected their dead and wounded onto the wagon. Some of the forces accompanied the wagon to Magdalena, the remainder combed the town of Lilio and a section went up the bell tower and at the sound of the bugle, shot at the forests near the town, as a result of which a man taking a bath in the river was hit. The houses in the whole town were searched although they discovered nothing suspicious and so spared the town from the torch.

The casualties of the enemy as seen in the battle with our valiant troops were two dead including the Tagalog accompanying them and those wounded were many. . According to the people, there were many casualties, as evidenced by the blood that trickled from the wagon.

On our part, by the grace of our Lord, there were no casualties save for a corporal who was shot at one cheek with the bullet exiting through the temple although the doctor says it will not kill him.

The battle was in fulfillment of my order, following superior orders from our General, so communicate this to our officers and soldiers under your jurisdiction so that they may be heartened.

However, the establishment of American rule forced new realities on the Filipinos. The lowlands were abandoned, showing the shift in power and resistance in the province. Where once it was centered around the lowland settlements of Calamba and Santa Cruz, it later shifted to the protected hills and mountains of the interior.

The attack on Mabitac was a good example of General Cailles's tactic to attack weak American positions. It was also a most lucky break for the Filipino army, which had so far sustained the bulk of war casualties. Cailles had ordered an attack in conjunction with the forces of Lt. Col. Fidel Angeles of the Baybay column. Half of the forces of Cailles's camp were concentrated in the headquarters of the first column. Cartridges were sent to the camp from the arsenal to prepare for the large-scale assault, which was to be timed with an important congressional action related to the granting of autonomy to the Philippines. Food was collected from among the towns of the Baybay district to feed the large number of troops massed for the assault.²³⁹ On 14 September, the revolutionaries, with about 300 men from general headquarters, the Baybay column and the Binangonan de Lampon (Infanta) column of Col. Pablo Astilla entered Mabitac and a message of challenge sent to the Americans in Siniloan.²⁴⁰ On September 17, 1900 the Americans responded:

Siniloan and Mabitac were connected by a narrow causeway. In Mabitac, the insurgent leader, Juan Cailles had raised an insurgent flag and sent an insolent message to Colonel Cheatham in command of the American troops at Santa Cruz. Colonel Cheatham decided to send a company of the 37th and the 15th Infantry regiments to make Cailles "eat his words". Command of the expedition was given Captain David Mitchell of the 15th Infantry. The general plan agreed upon

had been for Mitchell's company of the 15th Infantry to move around the east side of the estuary and attack Mabitac from that direction, while company L of the 37th was to approach it in the boats from the west and wade across the shallow bay. On September 17, when the attack was made, Colonel Cheatham watching operations from a launch, was horrified to see Mitchell's company of the 15th Infantry approaching Mabitac, not from the east but directly across the narrow causeway. As the advance elements of the company came under the entrenched insurgents in Mabitac, one officer, the first sergeant, and the entire advance party were killed. The remainder of the company deployed in the estuary became excellent targets and sure fatalities from drowning if struck by a bullet. In attempting to rally his men, none of whom had ever been under fire before and who refused to advance further, Mitchell himself was killed. Finally, some troops of the 37th Infantry, which were being kept in reserve, were pushed into the action and forced the insurgents from the trenches, but not until after the American casualties had mounted to twenty killed, twenty-four wounded, and thirty rifles lost. The entire command then withdrew and the insurgents reoccupied Mabitac immediately. It was a testimony to the high character of the insurgent General Juan Cailles, that on the following day, he returned the bodies of eight American soldiers killed in the engagement with all personal property remaining on their persons, a rare occurrence. Cailles claimed to have had only ten casualties in the engagement.²⁴¹

The Americans tried to pursue the Filipinos in the hills and mountains of Baybay to make the revolutionaries pay for the rout at Mabitac. As many as 3,000 Americans were used to scout the countryside of the northeast. This provided the revolutionaries greater opportunity to strike at the lightly defended garrison towns in the rest of Laguna.

However, upon Cailles's instructions, skirmishes were to be avoided unless the odds were stacked in favor of the revolutionaries. The ambush and the *ducut* (abduction) system became the main form of engagement. Of course, the effectiveness of the guerrilla war in Laguna relied heavily on the support of the people. There were simple

but effective intelligence networks, supply lines, and communication links between the towns and the revolutionary government of Cailles.

The activities of the guerrillas in support of the war consisted mostly in making American action difficult. The telegraph lines between towns were frequent targets of sabotage. These lines, strung along posts spanning sparsely defended areas or accessible points, were easy targets. These operations were conducted on the local level, with the town or barrio captains being in full charge of such activities. Women and children, on the other hand, were encouraged to collect empty shells of bullets for the use of manufacturing more bullets for the Filipino army.²⁴²

To provide an adequate military establishment to complement the arrangement, the province of Laguna was divided into several columns. The designations differ in various Philippine Insurgent Records (PIR) documents relating to the formation of these columns, but the component towns remained comparatively stable. The first column under the direction of Col. Severino Taiño covered the towns of the west, (San Pedro, Binan, Santa Rosa, Cabuyao and Calamba). Another column was established to cover the towns of Bay, Los Baños Calauan, and Pila, under the direction of Lt. Col. Regino Relova. A third column covered the towns of Magdalena, Liliw, Alaminos, San Pablo, Rizal, Saluyan, and Nagcarlan under the direction of Lt. Col. Julio Infante. A fourth column under Lt. Col. Pedro Caballes sprawled across most of the upland towns of Pagsanjan, Majayjay, Luisiana, and Cavinti. Under Lt. Col. Fidel Angeles, the remaining towns of Lumban, Paete, Longos, Pakil, Pangil, Mabitac, Siniloan, Famy, and Santa Maria comprised another column. Santa Cruz made up a separate column under Lt. Col. Melecio Napiza. He also controlled the politico-military district of Infanta through a subordinate, Col. Pablo Astilla, and when Tayabas was abandoned by its commander, Cailles appointed Buenaventura Dimaguila as P.M. governor.

Cailles had one other important task: to keep the revolution alive in Laguna. To achieve this, he had to keep his soldiers motivated and amply paid. He also had to keep the people supportive of his

government. Toward this end, Cailles proved to be a consummate pragmatist who employed any and all means.

Cailles was a most effective leader. Far from letting the Americans control the towns of Laguna, he sent insistent messages to all the *principalia* to refrain from participating in any American-government construction. The penalty for such was simple - death. He made sure this was enforced.

Cailles severely punished collaboration with the enemy. The Americans were in awe; Filipino *principales* refused to participate in the American government. Those who did risked the ire of the General. In July 1900, for example, the president and vice-president of the town of Bay were executed as a clear warning against cooperating with the occupation force.²⁴³ On 28 August 1900, the revolutionaries took hold of Honorato Quisumbing, local president of Los Baños, who was apprehended by the local president of Bay.²⁴⁴ When Quisumbing called out to Americans near where he was apprehended, the revolutionaries shot him together with his companion who was accused of being a spy and a guide of the Americans.²⁴⁵ Cailles justifies Quisumbing's death:

As you may understand, the fate of the prisoner [Quisumbing] is bitter, but it is a necessary evil which the patriotic hearted adopted, in order that the progress of the revolution may not be enfeebled in dark times by any of our brethren, who, in an evil hour, cast the cause from out of their bosoms. The crime has its punishment, and justice always triumphant, encompassed it, vindicating public vengeance which has been insulted and mocked by the enemies of the country. Warn our brothers, with the hope of avoiding effusion of blood, that they may not imitate the conduct of the prisoners, becoming a mark for harsh punishment, so that tombs may not be offered before the altar of our ideals, nor the mantle of mourning wave over Filipino homes.²⁴⁶

On 3 September, another execution was carried out in Santa Cruz against Salvador Reyes. As early as April 1900, for example, Cailles

had instructed the municipal leaders in Pagsanjan to capture or execute Vicente Panaligan, Salvador Reyes, Julian Piñon and one Capitan Enrique. Death was prescribed.²⁴⁷ Two men followed the alleged traitor and after arriving in front of the house of one *Cabezang* Jacinta Tabon, shot Reyes three times at close range. His executioners, not content with having shot him, kicked the dead Reyes and disarmed him of his revolver. Reyes was left in the middle of Maria Cristina Street for all to see.²⁴⁸

Members of the Federal Party, the Filipino political party advocating American dominion, were also threatened with death.²⁴⁹ The Americans razed the town of Calauan for failure to hold municipal elections.²⁵⁰ Many were forced to stay in Bay.

In July 1900, the insurgents complained of pillage and looting in the towns of Liliw, Nagcarlan, Rizal, Pila, Calauan, Bay, Santa Cruz, Lumban, Cavinti, and Luisiana, as well as the burning of certain barrios in Santa Cruz, Nagcarlan, Majayjay, Pagsanjan, Paete, and Cavinti.²⁵¹

Cailles severe in his treatment of deserters and criminals, also did not tolerate the misdemeanors of his own forces. In August 1900, he ordered Lt. Col. Caballes to arrest Guillermo Vito, local president of Majayjay and a major in the revolutionary army for charges of assault in the towns of Majayjay and Luisiana. The town's police force was disarmed and all the implicated persons arrested.²⁵² Vito was later exonerated and reinstated to the presidency of Majayjay, but his name had been dishonored. As recompense for this injustice, Cailles ordered the immediate execution of the implicated persons.²⁵³

Capt. Fulgencio Capili, commander of volunteers, was denounced by citizens of his town for being an abusive drunk. He was also alleged to have encouraged gambling in Luisiana, in violation of strict directives to observe otherwise. Capili was ordered arrested and relieved of his command.²⁵⁴

Such decisiveness created the impression of Cailles as being brutal and ruthless. The Americans wanted him captured and brought to justice for the crimes he had committed. Filipinos were both awed and fearful of such a leader. His word was rarely disobeyed in Laguna. He earned the respect of his American adversaries. In a way, Cailles

rationalized his severity because the need to impose law and order in his province. In this regard, with the law followed to the letter and justice swiftly administered, he could rightfully demand the allegiance of the people of Laguna.

Taxes were continually collected and were denied the Americans. In fact, the collection of taxes and tariffs seems to have been a big bone of contention. After they had effectively conquered all of Laguna, the Americans began collecting industrial taxes and other assessments.²⁵⁵ Cailles forbade the people from paying industrial taxes, and instead established markets outside of the towns to allow the people to conduct their business without fear of being molested by the revolutionaries. This was certainly the case in Pagsanjan.²⁵⁶ However, these measures certainly hurt rather than helped the revolution. A few days after the order was issued, it was rescinded for basic industries like rice trading and milling, and clothing stores.²⁵⁷

His men were supplied and paid from collected funds. In July 1900, as money from Bicol was being conducted through Infanta, Lt. Col. Fidel Angeles appropriated the money, about P27,000, for the use of the revolutionaries in Laguna.²⁵⁸ In a communication, Cailles's men justified the appropriation:

(There is an) . . . imperative necessity of . . . withdrawal of said funds for the alleviation, at least in part, of the affliction of the suffering forces of Laguna who have received no pay nor gratuity of any kind for the past six months, and in addition, are at the present time almost shirtless from the continuous military operations in which they have been engaged, and the bitter privations of the mountain life to which they have been in consequence subjected by the hardships of the campaign, so as to avoid perhaps the inevitable demoralization of said forces on account of the complete lack of resources at the aforementioned headquarters to meet the necessities alluded to; and notwithstanding, that these facts were represented by me, the Governor [Sr. Pablo Astilla], apart from the humanitarian and patriotic sentiments which should be considered, regarding the destitute

soldiers and the danger in this locality of said funds being taken by the American invaders.²⁵⁹

However, the taxes collected by the towns were not enough. By October 1900, Cailles was declaring that he had not a cent with which to support the troops, urging the local presidents to double their efforts in tax collecting. Having exhausted the finances of the province to sustain the war, Cailles's troops relied heavily on contributions of war, which the local presidents and the *sanggunians* (councils) collected from the people. These contributions were mostly in kind, like rice, oil, and clothing.²⁶⁰ This sorry state of the finances of the revolutionaries can be gleaned from an order Cailles addressed to the local presidents.

Having observed a notable disregard on your part as to the collection of taxes of last year and for funds for this headquarters...I advise that you take active measures to collect the said taxes and imposts, delivering what you collect to the chief of column which operates in the towns of your district, all of whom I have duly authorized for the purpose, whom you will recognize until further orders, aside from his position as chief of column..²⁶¹

However, the difficult economic times in Laguna precluded the large-scale infusion of funds into the coffers of the provincial treasury. The truth was, money was getting difficult to get. The merchants of Santa Cruz could not trade; the oil factories could not produce without contributing to both American and rebel taxes. As a consequence, there was a problem with providing additional funds for the revolution. To dodge any more contributions, many pretended to be members of guerrilla forces and other informal armed groups which were exempted from paying taxes.²⁶²

War was taking its toll on the leadership and the resolve of Laguna's people. Even if the Americans were rarely on the offensive and stayed in their garrisoned towns, the efficiency of their fighting force and their military hardware was decimating the Filipinos.

American offensive against the Filipinos continued. On 1 April 1900, the Americans, guided by a Spanish deserter Antonio Martinez, attacked the main camp of Cailles. From the estimate of Cailles, about 1,500 Americans participated in the battle. The surprised Filipinos tried to hold off the Americans for three hours, after which Cailles ordered a general retreat. As a consequence of the American attack, the Americans took hold of the revolutionary arsenal and papers.²⁶³

On 1 August 1900, Colonel Cheatham commenced an attack on the general headquarters. For three days, the assault was pursued until Cailles was forced to flee toward the mountains of San Antonio.²⁶⁴ This was a big loss to the forces of Cailles; besides destroying the arsenal and the supplies needed by the revolutionaries, the Americans also captured vital documents and seals used by the government. The attacks against American positions were suspended until a new headquarters could be found.

In western Laguna, in San Pedro Tunasan, there was agitation in December 1900 because of the contrary views of the local leaders with the politico-military chief. While the document does not state the nature of these differences, this did not mean that there was specific opposition to Cailles because the office of PM Chief was claimed by many.²⁶⁵ However, it meant that the revolutionary leadership was losing its hold on the town governments of the area. Though the revolutionaries threatened to kill the members of the Federal Party, their message of peace and tranquility became appealing to a society ravaged by war.²⁶⁶

Despite the rigid rules against collaboration, the townspeople of Laguna were forced to cooperate with the Americans. As early as October 1900, the residents of San Pablo had been warned about continuing their cooperation with the Americans, providing aid to the enemy and being totally indifferent to the orders of the revolutionary government.²⁶⁷ The local president was placed under the direct command of the column chief, Julio Infante. In fulfillment of his threats to punish the people of San Pablo, Rafael Añonuevo and Luis Aranza were executed on 27 October and another Sabino Dichoso was also condemned.²⁶⁸

The tenor of Cailles's directives against collaboration became more grave toward the middle of November 1900.²⁶⁹ The penalties for treason were increased to include not only execution but also of reducing the dependents of such condemned men to destitution. Their property was to be confiscated and their houses burned. The payment of taxes to the Americans was considered a crime grave enough to merit confiscation of property and the burning of the houses of those who paid. On 1 March 1901, Caballes recommended the burning of his hometown of Pagsanjan because the people had abandoned the cause.²⁷⁰ On 23 March 1901, Florencio Trinidad of Majayjay tells of the same sad state in his town. He claimed the not only the rich nor the intelligent but "the general ignorant masses" were falling for the American policy of attraction. He advised severe punishment for all.²⁷¹ The defections of his troops were increasing every day, bringing with them their arms that the movement needed badly.²⁷²

Toward February 1901, Col. Julio Herrera, whose column controlled San Pablo, Alaminos, Nagcarlan, Saluyan, and Magdalena, surrendered to the Americans. On 26 April 1901, Cailles's *Tierra Libre* camp was overtaken by the troops of Capt. Wilson Chase.²⁷³ It was rumored that Cailles was seeking surrender to the Americans, but he of course vehemently denied such rumors. In April, or about two months before his surrender, he denied any inclination to surrender.²⁷⁴ Cailles surrendered to the Americans in Santa Cruz without the forces under Pedro Caballes on 24 June 1901.²⁷⁵ Weeks earlier, however, he received a letter from Generala Agueda Kahabagan who was at then staying in Morong (now Rizal province):

...At sa probinsiya ng Morong, walang magtangkilik ng catuiran sa naaaping ducha na capwa natin, yamang di napaaampon sa taga-ibang lugar ang mga tao...dapat namang canlungin at payungan ng catuiran ng Kalayaan ang di ikasisinsay sa ipinag-utos.

*...Humihinging pahintulot sa ganang inyo po ng isang catibayang mapanghahawakan co upang macapagtipong muli ng mga taong datihan sa paghihimagsic.*²⁷⁶

....In the province of Morong, nobody supports the right path for the oppressed poor who are like us, because they do not follow people from other places but the poor should be attended to and guided by the right path of freedom in accordance to your expectations.

....I am requesting for an authorization to gather the forces who were part of the earlier uprising.

The *Generala* was asking for authority to establish a new force. Little did she realize the change of heart of General Cailles. Wearied by the long guerrilla war, forced to live in the wilderness, and hounded by the Americans, Cailles chose what many other Filipino leaders did: accept American sovereignty while continuing to profess a commitment to nationhood. In a broader sense and reflecting the times, Filipinos of various social origins were exploring possibilities of responding to a similar objective—independence—using dissimilar means. According to Reynaldo Ileto,

....many of the ilustrados and large-property owners who had participated in the Malolos government continued to work for independence. But they chose to do so within the framework of the colonial order, banking on American hints that total self-rule would eventually be granted after a period of “tutelage” in which power would be shared between the Americans and the native elite. Their approach was through the formation of political parties bearing various shades of the independence platform.

Not until 1907, however, did their cautious efforts bear fruit with the election of a national (Philippine) assembly dominated by the Nacionalista Party.²⁷⁷

The Nacionalista Party advocated immediate independence. It was not until 1946, however, that the country finally shed direct American political tutelage.

The meaning and practice of *Kalayaan* have taken many forms. Every generation has its own undertaking. “The path of *Kalayaan*” from 1896-1901 has been discussed with the province of Laguna as

the site of its localization—a distinct yet contiguous part of national history, experience, and recollection.

Conclusion

Laguna, as a component of the Filipino nation, exists firmly within what can be termed the national historical experience. Its links with the capital, Manila, have always made it closer to national issues or movements; local issues, in turn, were aired in national fora. For example, the province suffered the invasion of the Spaniards in 1572, which brought the entire lake district under the control of the Spanish colonial regime in Manila. Tribute, forced labor, forced trade, the *encomienda* system and *reduccion* were instituted in the province and the experiences of the province read like the national narrative.

During the process of developing Filipino national consciousness, Laguna provided the chrysalis for a shared national grievance against Spain. The Calambeño Jose Rizal's struggles against the friar regime articulated and defined the sentiments of many members of the Filipino elite. All of these experiences point to the province's deep and continuing affinity with the national whole. At the same time, while it can be said that the history of Laguna converged with the history of the nation, there was divergence, peculiarity and localization. These divergences are to be expected, since local conditions demand local solutions.

What developed was a dichotomy into at least two cultural units. The basis of the disconnected provincial consciousness is geography. Eastern Laguna has a varied landscape, with hills dominating a narrow coastal plain while western Laguna is flat to rolling. Climatically, the east is wet while the west is dry. Ecologically, the east is lush tropical rainforest and the west is scrubland.

These geographical conditions fostered the development of two economies and two cultures. The east remained dependent on an economy that exploited coconuts for oil and wine. The west, on the other hand, firmly entrenched itself in the cultivation and trade in

rice and, later, in sugar planting. It did not help that the communication between these parts was, at best, difficult.

However, this apparent divide did not preclude the development of a strong identification with national concerns, and the province rose in revolt against Spain together with other Filipino provinces. At the time of the revolution, the grievances of the people were subsumed under a concept of *katipunan* and this propelled the movement into a national uprising. Despite the absence of local chapters of the *katipunan* in most towns of the province in August 1896, many movements soon claimed affiliation with the movement. This was the case in Pagsanjan prior to the attack on Santa Cruz in November 1896 when *colorums*, *tulisan* bands and simple peasants armed with nothing more than *bolos* congregated under the leadership of a *katipunero*.

During the revolutionary period, the province's disjointed pattern re-appears in the form of a dual hierarchy of leaders. The eastern region was led by the likes of Severino Taiño, Juan Cailles, and Pedro Caballes, while the west was led by Antonino Guevara, Paciano Rizal and Miguel Malvar. These leadership hierarchies, while supposedly united under one provincial government, acted independently of each other. Even the motives of those who joined the Revolution in both sub-regions exhibited marked differences.

For a province that sits so close to Manila, differences with the national historical experience are bound to exist. These are to be celebrated, affirming as they do a sense of historical empowerment: localities responding to their own realities. At the same time, the similarities must also be praised for these assure that a nation can continue to exist all throughout. A shared history is a shared destiny.

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- 142 El Gobernador de Laguna da cuenta del efecto politico producido por la defensa y ataque de Nagcarlan. 25 June 1897, SRS
- 143 Guevara, Antonino, p. 8
- 144 Expediente sobre indicios de que una partida insurrecta de mas de cien hombres se alberga en el monte Tuntungin distante de tres horas del pueblo de Los Banos (Laguna). 1897, SRS.
- 145 It appears that the forces organized under Jacinto concentrated in the vicinity of the mountains. He was allegedly wounded in an encounter in Majayjay sometime in 1898 and was left infirmed until his death. From Santos, Jose. Buhay at Sinulat ni Emilio Jacinto, 1935, p 21.
- 146 6 March 1899, Philippine Insurgent Records, PNL.
- 147 HDP, Luisiana. PNL.
- 148 Paterno, Pedro. En Automovil. Appended account of Sr. Gana, p. 30.
- 149 Alvarez, Santiago, pp. 443-444.
- 150 Paula Carolina S. Malay translation to English.
- 151 See Ileta, Reynaldo, Pasyon and Revolution, e.g., pp. 97-98.
- 152 Taylor, John M. The Philippine Insurrection Against the U.S. (Reprint) Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation. 1971, Exhibit 548, addendum 2, v.5, pp. 49-50.
- 153 Santos, Jose and de los Reyes, Arturo, pp. 67-68.
- 154 Nakpil, Julio. Julio Nakpil and the Philippine Revolution. Edited and translated by Encarnacion Alzona. Manila: Carmelo & Bauermann. 1964, p. 49.
- 155 The reluctance of leaders in Laguna, specifically Severino Taino, to deal with Jacinto may be related to the factional conflict between those loyal to Andres Bonifacio and those loyal to Aguinaldo. Jacinto was pro-Andres Bonifacio while Taino was an Aguinaldista. Since most of the forces in Santa Cruz were under Taino, they refused to deal with Jacinto.
- 156 Santos, Jose and de los Reyes, Arturo, pp. 364-369.
- 157 Guevara, Antonino, p. 9.
- 158 Santos, Jose and de los Reyes, Arturo, pp. 233-235.
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- 160 Gotiangco, Gil, p. 158.
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- 162 Expediente sobre propuesta de recompensas a favor de los cuadrillero y demas vecinos del pueblo de Bay (Laguna) por el encuentro sostenido con una partida de rebeldes en 27 de Julio anterior. 24 Agosto 1897, SRS.
- 163 Gotiangco, Gil, p. 159.
- 164 Zaide, Gregorio, *Maikling Kasaysayan ng Lalawigan ng Laguna*, (typescript, n.p. n.d.)
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- 168 Gotiango, Gil. p. 169; and Nakpil, Juan, pp. 47-48.
- 169 Nakpil, Julio, p. 48.
- 170 Nakpil, Julio, Ibid. and Zaide, Gregorio, *Maikling Kasaysayan ng Lalawigan ng Laguna*. Julio Nakpil claims Jacinto was on the mission to reconnoiter the coast of Infanta when the encounter occurred in July-August. February is more plausible because Rizal had returned to Bay and had received a series of communications from Hongkong on the resumption of hostilities.
- 171 Santos, Jose and de los Reyes, Arturo, p. 364.
- 172 Guevara, Antonino, pp. 23-26.
- 173 Guevara, Antonino, p. 28.
- 174 Guevara, Antonino, p. 30.
- 175 History and Cultural Life of the Municipality of Calamba. HDP.
- 176 Del Rio, Antonio. *Sitio y Rendicion de Santa Cruz*, p. 7.
- 177 Ibid.
- 178 Hernandez, Juan, *Between Two Wars—American Regime*, Quezon City: Juan Hernandez, 1981, p. 11.
- 179 Del Rio, Antonio, p.8.
- 180 Ibid., p.9.
- 181 Guevara, Antonino, p. 31.
- 182 Del Rio, Antonio, p. 14.
- 183 Del Rio, Antonio, p. 20.
- 184 Ibid., p. 24.
- 185 There is some disagreement on the date of capitulation. Guevara places it at 15 August 1898, while del Rio claims it occurred on the 31st. The Philippine Insurgent Records on the Spanish prisoners of war interned in Calamba places their date of capture as 1 September.
- 186 Zaide, Gregorio, *Maikling Kasaysayan ng Lalawigan ng Laguna* and 277/5 SD, PIR.
- 187 PIR, passim.
- 188 Malolos, 21 December 1898, 631/6, PIR.
- 189 1092/7, SD, PIR.
- 190 277/5, SD, PIR.
- 191 27 May 1899, 294/1, PIR.
- 192 Acta. 84/1, SD, PIR.
- 193 Santa Cruz, 12 July 1900, 631/2, PIR.
- 194 25 August 1899, 294/3, PIR.
- 195 Gotiangco, Gil, p. 189.
- 196 Santa Cruz, 21 July 1899, 602/1, PIR.
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- 215 Correspondence of Juan Cailles, PIR
- 216 Ibid.
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- 218 14 February 1899, PIR.
- 219 P. Quintero to local presidents of Los Banos, Bay, Kalawan and Pila, Kalamba, 19 February 1899, PIR.
- 220 947/2, SD, PIR.
- 221 PIR, *passim*.
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LAGUNA, as a component of the Filipino nation, exists firmly within what can be termed the national historical experience. Its links with the capital, Manila, have always made it closer to national issues or movements; local issues, in turn, were aired in national fora.

During the process of developing Filipino national consciousness, Laguna provided the chrysalis for a shared national grievance against Spain. The Calambeño Jose Rizal's struggles against the friar regime articulated and defined the sentiments of many members of the Filipino elite. All of these experiences point to the province's deep and continuing affinity with the national whole. At the same time, while it can be said that the history of Laguna converged with the history of the nation, there was divergence, peculiarity and localization. These divergences are to be expected, since local conditions demand local solutions.

For a province that sits so close to Manila, differences with the national historical experience are bound to exist. These are to be celebrated, affirming as they do a sense of historical empowerment: localities responding to their own realities. At the same time, the similarities must also be praised for these assure that a nation can continue to exist all throughout. A shared history is a shared destiny.

Nineteenth Century Conditions and the Revolution in the Province of LAGUNA

