

THE ILONGO "REVOLUCIONARIOS" AND THE SECOND PHASE OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

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The revolutionary era in Iloilo Province can be divided into four distinct periods: the first, a period of active, pro-Hispanic loyalism from August 1896 when the Tagalog revolution began until August 1898 when the Spaniards surrendered to the Americans; second, a period of preparation and linking up with Malolos from August 1898 to October 1898; third, a period of brief local autonomy from November 1898 to January 1899, when a U.S. Army expeditionary force landed in Iloilo; and, finally, a period of sporadic fighting in 1899 and beyond as the U.S. military tried to establish control.

Ilongos Protested Against the Luzon Uprising

When the Katipunan revolution broke out in August 1896, the Ilongo elite responded with protestations of outrage and moving evocations of pro-Spanish loyalty. In fact, only a few days after news

of the Luzon uprising reached Iloilo, the Jaro Ayuntamiento or municipal government — comprised entirely of Ilongos — convened a special session to pass a resolution condemning the act of rebellion and calling those who were responsible for it as "ungrateful".¹ They, at the same time, assured the Spaniards of the "unshakable" loyalty of the Ilongos.² Many even enlisted as loyal volunteers in the different towns of the province committed to preserve Spanish hegemony.

Convinced by the outpouring of loyalty that there was a fundamental distinction between the "criminal Tagalog rebellion" and the "purity of patriotic love which animates the Visayan heart", the local Spanish community organized the Loyal Volunteers or "voluntarios" in the various municipalities of the provinces. They also initiated the establishment of the Ilongo Volunteer Battalion of 500 natives and a large

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¹For a full text of the Ilongo resolution, see *El Porvenir de Visayas* (Iloilo), September 7, 1896, p.1.

²Following the lead made by the Jaro Ayuntamiento, other Iloilo towns passed similar measures, some even surpassing Jaro in their expression of support and loyalty to the Spaniards.

ly Spanish officer cadre.³ The Ilongo Volunteer Battalion was supported by regular financial contributions from the Ilongo elite or "ilustrado" class.⁴ After its arrival in Manila in early 1897 it became the largest native unit serving with Spanish forces against Aguinaldo's troops in the battleground of Cavite and established a distinguished combat record.

As a reward for the "valiant" service rendered by the Ilongo Volunteer Battalion, Queen Maria Cristina of Spain issued a Royal Decree on June 11, 1897 awarding Iloilo City the perpetual title "Muy Leal" (Very Loyal).⁵

The Battalion's return to Iloilo City in April 1898 was the occasion for parades and outpourings of pro-Spanish patriotism by the city's

Spanish and Ilongo elite communities.⁶

Ilongo Reaction to Spanish Defeat in Manila

The sinking of the Spanish fleet by the U.S. Asiatic Squadron and the subsequent surrender of the Spaniards to the Americans in Manila changed the attitude of the Ilongos towards the Spaniards. They no longer believed in the "invincible banner" of Spain.⁷ Thus, realizing that they can also put an end to Spanish power in Iloilo Province, the Ilongo elite organized a revolutionary committee.⁸ This committee immediately sent out agents to secure funds for the purchase of arms and ammunitions. It also sent secret emissaries to the other provinces of Panay and the Visayas, and endeavored to establish a link with Malolos.⁹

³El Eco de Panay (Iloilo), December 4, 1896, p. 1; also, El Porvenir . . . , November 28, 1896, p. 1.

⁴Letter from the Archbishop of Jaro, December 24, 1896, Molo Parish Church, Iloilo City. The contributors included Felix de la Rama, Eugenio Lopez and members of most of Iloilo's urban ilustrado families. See Federacion de Monteverde y Sedano, *Campaña de Filipinas: La Division la Chambre* (Madrid: Hernandez y cia, 1898), pp. 102-108; also, El Eco . . . , March 16, 1897, p. 3.

⁵El Eco . . . , June 22, 1897, p. 3; June 23, 1897, p. 12; October 26, 1897, p. 21.

⁶El Eco . . . , April 26, 1898, p. 3.

⁷El Porvenir . . . , September 7, 1896, p. 1.

⁸The forerunner of this revolutionary committee was the "Comite Conspirador" which was formed in March 1898 in Molo, Iloilo. It was under whose orders and plans the revolutionary movement in Panay was initiated, principally at Iloilo. See P.I.R. - Exhibit 1186. P.I.R. refers to "Philippine Insurgent Records", mostly in Spanish, compiled in John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States*, 5 volumes (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971).

⁹P.I.R. - Exh. 1198 - Letter of Roque Lopez, President of the Iloilo government, to Emilio Aguinaldo, Jaro, December 5, 1898.

Transfer of the Spanish Capital to Iloilo

Meanwhile, as a result of the Spanish debacle in Luzon, the capital of the Spanish government in the Philippines was transferred to Iloilo in October 1898. With the evident purpose of saving the Visayas and Mindanao from the fate that had befallen Luzon, Gen. Diego de los Rios, the last Spanish governor-general of the Philippines, asked the mother country to grant some of the reforms¹⁰ demanded by representative citizens of Iloilo. When some of the remedies were finally granted only a few "ilustrado" leaders in Iloilo were satisfied. The flame of rebellion was too far spread for them to have any effect. The Ilongos, especially the masses, wanted independence above all else.

General Uprising

As agreed upon by the Ilongo leaders, the general uprising in the province took place on October 28, 1898. On this day onward several interior towns of the province were

liberated. To the surprise of the Spaniards, the "voluntarios" who were supposed to suppress the revolution should it come, declared themselves "revolucionarios" and had the Spaniards placed under custody as prisoners.¹¹

By the first week of November only Jaro, Molo and Iloilo City remained in the hands of the Spaniards.¹² Thereupon, the Revolutionary Government asked for their immediate evacuation by the Spanish troops, besides the sum of ₱12,000 as indemnification from the Spanish Government for the houses burned by the Spanish soldiers during their skirmishes with the "revolucionarios".¹³ General de los Rios acceded to the evacuation of Jaro and of La Paz but asked for Molo to remain as a neutral post with Spanish troops, "not as guards but as guests" owing to the lack of quarters in Iloilo City.¹⁴ On November 21 Jaro was delivered by the Spanish government to the Ilongos.¹⁵

¹⁰The principal reforms demanded were the expulsion of the friars and of the guardia civil and the granting of autonomy.

¹¹Epifanio Concepcion, *Memorias de un Revolucionario* (Iloilo City: National Press, 1949), pp. 12-20.

¹²P.I.R. - Exh. 1198 - Lopez to Aguinaldo, Jaro, December 5, 1898.

¹³P.I.R. - Exh. 1197 - Letter of J. Hernandez, Commissioner of War of the Iloilo government, to E. Aguinaldo, Jaro, December 4, 1898.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵P.I.R. - Exh. 1196 - Minutes; also, Exh. 1198 - Lopez to Aguinaldo, Jaro, December 5, 1898.

Ilongos Forewarned About the Americans

While the Ilongos were remarkably gaining ground in their move to dislodge the Spaniards from their province, another enemy was preparing itself in Manila to sail to Iloilo. This prompted Aguinaldo in early November 1898 and again in late December of the same year to send instructions to the Ilongos, telling them 1) not to recognize the sovereignty of the U.S. government, 2) to fire against the Americans in case they attempt to land in Iloilo, and 3) to dig trenches in preparation for American bombardment.¹⁶

Significantly, the same instructions told the Ilongos to select uneducated persons to take charge of attacks, if necessary, with bolo arms.¹⁷ Clearly, this was an open policy to exploit the masses to spare the "ilustrados" from fighting.

Establishment of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Visayas

To give a semblance of unity and provide authority to the revolutionary movement, the Revolutionary Government of the Visayas, which was envisioned to be federal in nature, was formally inaugurated in Santa Barbara, Iloilo on November 17, 1898. Roque Lopez served as president and Martin Delgado was appointed as commander-in-chief of the revolutionary army in Iloilo. The government was organized to insure a regular course to the revolutionary movement.¹⁸ In this occasion the Filipino flag was raised for the first time in Iloilo Province.¹⁹ The existence of the Revolutionary Government was made known to Malolos and to the towns and provinces of the Visayan islands.²⁰ The Iloilo government recognized the Malolos Government and adhered to it,²¹ although at

¹⁶P.I.R. - Exh. 1208 - Instructions, Malolos, December 25, 1898.

¹⁷Ibid.; also P.I.R. - Exh. 1209 - Document addressed to the Provincial Presidente or to the Military Chief of Dumaguete, Oriental Negros, from E. Aguinaldo, signed by R. Lopez, President of the Iloilo government, December 25, 1898.

¹⁸P.I.R. - Exh. 1190 - Minutes, November 17, 1898; Exh. 1198; Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (Manila: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969), p. 130.

¹⁹Concepcion, *Memorias . . .*, pp. 19-20.

²⁰P.I.R. - Exh. 1190.

²¹*La Revolucion*, Jaro (Iloilo), January 5, 1899; P.I.R. - Exh. 1191 - Letter from Ilongo officials to Aguinaldo, December 5, 1898; Exh. 1194 - Minutes, Santa Barbara, November 20, 1898; Exh. 1192 - Document addressed to the local chiefs of the towns, signed by Fernando Salas, Secretary General of the Iloilo government, November 18, 1898; Exh. 1198 - Letter of Roque Lopez, President of the Iloilo government to Emilio Aguinaldo, December 15, 1898; Exh. 1196 - Minutes, Jaro, November 21, 1898, signed by R. Lopez and Vicente Franco plus 16 others.

first the Ilongos preferred a federal set-up to the unitary form established in Luzon.²² In fact a long protracted negotiation between Iloilo and Malolos occurred before the Iloilo government was dissolved and was replaced by a Politico-Military Government in accordance with the instructions from the central government in Luzon.²³ This was in September 1899, almost eleven months after the establishment of the federal set-up of government in Iloilo. Gen. Martin Delgado was appointed as Politico-Military Governor of the province.

Fear of the Ilongos of American Intention

By the first week of December 1898 the Ilongo "revolucionarios" were already worried of American intention with regards to Iloilo and Panay, as a whole. This was aggravated by the fact that not one of the armed expeditions sent by Aguinaldo from Luzon had landed

yet on the shores of Panay.²⁴ The Ilongo leadership at this time felt that they had no sufficient elements with which to repulse the Americans.

The traditional enmity of the Ilongos for the Tagalogs was not sufficient to prevent their cooperating with the latter in the central government in Luzon, especially because of the American threat. It is evident that the Ilongo leaders consulted Aguinaldo and Mabini as to what the former should do in the event of an American landing.²⁵

Spanish Offer for Negotiations

Meanwhile, with the Spanish Army being besieged by the revolutionary troops in the positions which they held in Iloilo City and in Molo, and being threatened by a decisive attack,²⁶ the Spanish government in Iloilo opened up negotiations with the "revolucionarios".²⁷

²²P.I.R. – Exh. 1197 – Letter of J. Hernandez to E. Aguinaldo, Jaro, December 4, 1898; Exh. 1212 – Document addressed to the inhabitants of the island of Panay, Jaro, January 5, 1899, signed by R. Lopez and Francisco Soriano. For a detailed discussion of other issues involved between Iloilo and Malolos, see P.I.R. – Exh. 1225 – Malolos, unsigned copy, either prepared for the signature of E. Aguinaldo or else a retained copy of a letter sent by him.

²³P.I.R. – Exh. 1265 – Document addressed to the local presidentes of the towns, signed by Martin Delgado, September 23, 1899; also, Exh. 1264 – From General Headquarters of Santa Barbara.

²⁴P.I.R. – Exh. 1197 – Letter of J. Hernandez to E. Aguinaldo, December 4, 1898.

²⁵P.I.R. – Exh. 1198 – Letter of R. Lopez, President of the Iloilo government, to E. Aguinaldo, Jaro, December 5, 1898.

²⁶John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (New York: Scribners and Sons, 1899), p. 630.

²⁷P.I.R. – Exh. 1202 – Minutes, Jaro, Dec. 21, 1898.

Apparently, the Spaniards still wanted to salvage their authority. The main point of the Spaniards was "to bring about harmony and union between the Ilongo people and the Spaniards" in order to present a common front against the Americans.²⁸ This overture, however, did not elicit any favorable reaction on the part of the Ilongos. They knew that they could command their price at this time and there was no turning back. Therefore, the Spaniards could not do anything but to agree to the terms set by the Ilongo "revolucionarios." The outcome of the negotiations was the evacuation of Molo and Iloilo City by the Spanish troops and the subsequent occupation thereof by the revolutionary troops on December 24 and 26, 1898, respectively.

The American Entrance Into Iloilo Harbor

The victory of the Ilongo "rev-

olucionarios" was short-lived. On December 28, only three days after Iloilo City was occupied by the native troops, the American warships under Gen. Marcus Miller appeared at the Iloilo harbor.²⁹ This military expedition was sent to Iloilo from Manila on petition of foreign businessmen and merchants in Iloilo who asked for American protection in the face of the fighting between the native and Spanish troops.³⁰

Despite the vehement refusal of the Ilongos the Americans could have landed immediately through their superior military force, if not for the pending treaty with Spain which Pres. William McKinley wanted to go through the U.S. Senate. Miller had specific instructions to be conciliatory and to avoid conflict with the Ilongos.³¹ American troops, therefore, had to stay on board their transports for 44 days.³² This event is referred to by

²⁸P.I.R. - Exh. 1196 - Minutes of the Meeting, Jaro, November 21, 1898; also Exh. 1203 - Minutes of the Meeting, Jaro, December 22, 1898.

²⁹For the composition of the American Expeditionary Force, see P.I.R. - Exh. 1219 - January 19, 1899, signed by Apolinario Mabini; also, Foreman, *Philippine Islands*, p. 631.

³⁰Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army, in *Annual Reports of the War Department*, Part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 64; also, Philippine Information Society, *Facts About the Filipinos*, Vol. I, No. 10 (Boston, September 15, 1901), pp. 82-83. Hereafter referred to as *P.I.S.*, Facts.

³¹James H. Blount, *American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1968), p. 152. Blount was an officer of the U.S. Volunteers in the Philippines, 1899; later served as U.S. District Judge in the Philippines, 1901-05; also, *War Department Report*, Part 2, 1899, pp. 55, 59, 79.

³²Blount, *American Occupation*, p. 155.

American writers as the "Iloilo Fiasco."

Meanwhile Gen. Delgado ordered all troops in the interior towns to converge at the city. So quick was the response to his orders that within the short period of three days since the arrival of the Americans, 12,000 men, 2,500 of whom were well-armed, had come to the city.³³

Malolos, on its part, made it clear that it was ready to open hostilities if the American troops attempted to take forcible possession of Iloilo or any Visayan island under its jurisdiction.³⁴

The Iloilo Fiasco augured well for the Ilongos. It swelled the ranks of the "revolucionarios" who were willing to fight the enemy. Blount, writing about this, states:

The Iloilo fiasco did indeed furnish to the insurgent cause aid and comfort at the psychological moment when it most needed encouragement to bring things

to a head. It presented a spectacle of vacillation and seeming cowardice which heartened the timid among the insurgents and started among them a general eagerness for war which had been lacking before.³⁵

The Outbreak of War and the American Landing at Iloilo

As a result of the outbreak of the Filipino-American War in Luzon, General Miller finally received his long-awaited order to take Iloilo on February 10, 1899.³⁶ On the morning of February 11 the Americans heavily bombarded Iloilo City. This was followed by the landing of American marines in the city and its subsequent occupation. The suburb towns of Molo, La Paz, Jaro and Mandurriao also fell shortly thereafter.

Moving out to the interior, however, was a different story. American advance was hindered by the stiff resistance put up by the Ilongo "revolucionarios".³⁷ In fact it was

³³Report of Gen. Elwell S. Otis (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 61.

³⁴P.I.R. - Exh. 1205 - Letter of Apolinario Mabini to President Aguinaldo, December 24, 1898; P.I.R. 186.10 - Letter to Galiciano Apacible, Malolos, January 6, 1899; Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolucion Filipina*, Tomo Primero (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), p. 246; Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines - Past and Present* (New York: Mac-Millan Co., 1914), p. 137.

³⁵Blount, *American Occupation*, p. 155.

³⁶Annual Reports of the War Department, Part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), p. 104.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 107; P.I.R. - Exh. 1239 - Addressed to E. Aguinaldo, from M. Delgado, Iloilo, March 25, 1899; P.I.R. - Exh. 1225 - To Aguinaldo, from Leandro Fullon, Antique, March 31, 1899.

not until November 1899 that the Americans succeeded in occupying the other principal towns of Iloilo. But even then, due to insufficient troops, the Americans were not able to establish immediately effective control over these outlying areas and some of them reverted to Ilongo hands for some time. Even in areas that were reportedly under the effective jurisdiction of the Americans, U.S. troops were continuously harrassed by the Ilongo "revolucionarios" who organized themselves into guerilla columns.

The Ilongo Guerillas .

The remaining revolutionary elements in Iloilo that were organized into guerilla units in the early part of 1900 were given official sanction by General Aguinaldo when he signed General Order No. 202 to the Philippine Army, reiterating the freedom of all guerilla commanders "to attack any detachment or post of the enemy, and continually molest the same."³⁸

Aguinaldo and other Filipino leaders believed that the stronger the demonstration they made of opposition to the United States continuing in the Philippines, the greater the certainty of American public opinion insisting upon with-

drawal of sovereignty.

Thus, in 1900, the natives in arms against the Americans in Iloilo had even redoubled their efforts at harrassing the latter so that it was no longer safe for the Americans to move from one municipality to another. No less than the commanding general of the Americans' Visayas Operations, Gen. Robert P. Hughes who succeeded Miller, had admitted the gravity of the American position. He wrote in one of his reports, dated August 16, 1900:

It is not safe for three men to go out on any road in Panay. If bridges were built, they would burn them down, as they have done in the few instances where we have to build . . . the people with rifles are just as persistent as they were fourteen months ago.³⁹

There was no doubt at all that the Ilongo revolutionary leaders, especially General Delgado, had the support of men and non-combatants alike. It will be remembered that in September 1900, General Hughes reported: "The people of the island (Panay) are a unit against us."⁴⁰

Thus, despite the arrival of add-

³⁸Quoted in Elihu Root, *Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, p. 51, cited by W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*. Vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), p. 112.

³⁹Contained in the Diary of Events from August 23, to September 21, 1900, in P.I.S., Facts, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 93.

ditional American troops operating in Iloilo Province, resistance even increased in intensity due to frequent guerilla activities.

Towards the end of 1900, conditions in Iloilo and in Panay, in general, became so bad that General Hughes, writing on December 25, says:

The whole population has been rank insurrectos from hide to heart, and all have been contributing to the support of the course in one way or another according to their ability.⁴¹

Measures Employed by the Americans to Weaken Resistance

To weaken resistance to their rule the Americans initiated the policy of attraction by inviting Ilongo leaders to join the U.S. controlled government. Good positions with good salaries were offered, especially to those who renounced their association with the resistance movement.⁴² Obviously, however, the invitation to join the American government was limited only to

the "Iustrados".

Also, there is plenty of evidence that the Americans employed threat and violence in forcing people to submit allegiance to the American flag. Such threats and violence as confiscation of property, subjecting people to torture or forcing them to flee to the mountains, reconcentrating them in specified villages, and even death were commonly resorted to if the people did not recognize American sovereignty and take an oath of allegiance before two witnesses. Cases of whole towns and barangay communities razed to the ground by the Americans were recorded.⁴³ Reports of extortion, torture and murder in Iloilo even leaked to the United States that mass meetings of protests against the suppression of truth about Iloilo, in particular, and the Philippines, in general, were held in Boston in the early 1900's.⁴⁴

It is important to note that among the first ones to abandon

⁴¹Ibid., p. 33.

⁴²P.I.R. - Exh. 1260 - Document addressed to Emilio Aguinaldo, from 35 signatories, Santa Barbara (Iloilo), August 1, 1899.

⁴³P.I.R. - Exh. 1306 - To Sr. Juan Somociera, President of the Katipunan of Santa Barbara, from P. Mondejar, Guerilla Chief, November 30, 1900; Exh. 1307 - Addressed to "My Dear Com-patriots", from Martin Delgado, December 2, 1900; Exh. 1312 - Document dated April 7, 1901.

⁴⁴Two celebrated cases reported were: 1) the extortion of the amount of P30,000 and murder of a priest of Molo through the alleged secret orders of General Hughes; 2) torture of a Filipino doctor of Jaro and alleged extortion for \$38,000. See *Mass Meetings of Protest Against the Suppression of Truth About the Philippines*, Faneuil Hall, Thursday, March 19 (Boston, March 1903), no page number.

the cause well before the surrender of their guerilla units and sought an accommodation with the U.S. civil government were those who had extensive sugar "haciendas" in Negros. They were concerned with the survival of the sugar industry and their personal interests in it.⁴⁵ With only a few exceptions, the Ilongo officer cadre that remained in the field against the U.S. Army until 1901 were local town leaders with small or medium landholdings in the interior of Iloilo.

It must be stated here that many of those who took an oath of allegiance to the U.S. government were not at all sincere. This lack of sincerity, no doubt, was known to the Americans, but it suited their purpose. The presentation of thousands of documents acknowledging their sovereignty aided in convincing their government back home of the subjugation of the Ilongos.

What hastened further the taking of oath of allegiance to the U.S. government was that those who failed to do so were not only excluded from office, but were also disenfranchised.⁴⁶ This certainly put a high premium on the taking of the oath.

Resistance Continued Despite the Surrenders

Despite the surrender of many of the prominent "revolucionario" leaders, especially in late 1900, the resistance against the Americans continued. The younger and bolder spirits among the Ilongos remained faithful, engaging in many battles and much hiking, many of them unto death. But almost from the very start the Ilongo resistance to the Americans was undermined by many factors,⁴⁷ among them were: inadequate funds and supplies, lack of cooperation and coordination among military commanders in the field, antagonism between the Ilongo troops and the Tagalog expeditionary troops, and public disorder. Topping this list of course was the willingness of the "ilustrado" class in Iloilo to collaborate with the enemy, turning into loyal allies of the latter.

By December 1900 the desire for peace had grown so strong among the "ilustrados" in Iloilo that a circular letter was written by the leading citizens, urging General Delgado to surrender. The letter explained that the fight was futile and would be lost in the long run

⁴⁵ P.I.R. - Exh. 1284 - Addressed to the General of the Government of Occupation, March 1, 1900; Exh. 1281 - To the Local Presidente, Tigbauan, January 31(?), 1900, from Pio Claveria, Delegate of the Military Government; Exh. 1289 - To the Guerilla Chief, Nicolas Roces, from Francisco Jalandoni, Acting Chief of Staff, June 1, 1900.

⁴⁶ P.I.S., Facts, p. 85.

⁴⁷ A detailed discussion of these factors is treated by the writer in a separate article.

and that the early surrender of the general-in-chief would save many lives.⁴⁸

It is important to note that among the eight signatories to the circular all but one were former prominent leaders of the nationalist movement in Iloilo. Heretofore they were considered irreconcilables and the change in their attitude was most important to the Americans, even if not entirely sincere. The Americans were hopeful that such change in attitude would lead to an effective pro-American movement in Iloilo.

The circular succeeded in getting Delgado, together with his men, to surrender on February 2, 1901 in Jaro.⁴⁹ His surrender produced a profound effect in the pacification of Iloilo and the whole of Panay. Together with the efforts of the influential propertied men in Panay, the rank of surrenderees to the

Americans swelled in number.

By the end of 1901 it was expected that peace was attained, especially as a result of the surrender of the last prominent Ilongo "revolucionario", Col. Quintin Salas. But the reports of the U.S. War Department, the Philippine Constabulary, which was organized to campaign for the maintenance of peace and order in the archipelago, and the Governor of the Province of Iloilo from 1901 to 1904 show that the expectation for peace was illusory.⁵⁰ Resistance which the Americans dubbed as "outlawry" persisted in the province, as well as in other parts of Panay. It was precisely because of this "outlawry" or "banditry" that, despite the organization of the Philippine Constabulary in the island, the Americans still had to maintain a strong military presence in the area through the retention of garrisons.⁵¹

⁴⁸For the full text of the letter, see P.I.S., Facts, pp. 59-61.

⁴⁹For a detailed account of the surrender of General Delgado, see Diary of Events from December 29, 1900 to January 12, 1901, in P.I.S., Facts, pp. 91-92.

⁵⁰Report of Maj. C. J. Crane, Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Visayas, Iloilo, September 10, 1901, in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901*, Part 5 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), p. 435; Report of the Third District, Philippine Constabulary, Iloilo, June 30, 1904, in the *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*, Part 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), pp. 93-95; Report of the Governor of the Province of Iloilo, Raymundo Melliza, Iloilo, August 23, 1904, in *Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*, Part 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 505.

⁵¹The U.S. War Department reported that Camp Jossman on the island of Guimaras had 10 companies of infantry and 3 companies of Philippine Scouts, while Fort San Pedro in Iloilo City had a garrison of 2 companies of infantry. See Reports of Division and Department Commanders, in *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904*, Vol. III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904); also, Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. I, p. 191.

The leaders of the supposed "outlaws" were men like Torribio, Sano and Oto of Iloilo; Ompong and Pitoc of Antique; and Julian Vertosa of Capiz, who had established a name for themselves after the surrender of the "ilustrado" leadership of the resistance movement in Pa-

nay. The question is, were these men plain outlaws, or did they assume the mantle of leadership of the movement after such men like Delgado, Salas, Fullon and others went over to the American side? A study on the lives of these men is therefore necessary.

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- September 7, 1896 El Porvenir de Visayas (Iloilo)
- November 28, 1896 El Porvenir de Visayas (Iloilo)
- January 5, 1899 La Revolucion (Jaro, Iloilo)
- December 24, 1896 Letter from the Archbishop of Jaro, Molo Parish Church, Iloilo City.