



THE STORY OF THE LOPEZ FAMILY

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CLEMENCIA LOPEZ

*Who came to seek justice at the hands of the President
for her imprisoned brothers*

THE STORY OF THE LOPEZ FAMILY

A Page from the History of the War
in the Philippines

EDITED AND WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By CANNING EYOT

“O ye loud Waves! and O ye Forests high!
And O ye Clouds that far above me soared!
Thou rising Sun! thou blue rejoicing Sky!
Yea, *everything that is and will be free!*
Bear witness for me, wheresoe'er ye be,
With what deep worship I have still adored
The spirit of divinest LIBERTY.”

— COLERIDGE: *Ode to Liberty.*



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Dedication.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
WHO, FOR THE SAKE OF LIBERTY,
HAVE SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF A NATION WHICH HAS ITSELF
PAID THE PENALTY AND OBTAINED THE PRIZE,

This Book is Dedicated

WITH THE HOPE THAT IT MAY IN A MEASURE CONTRIBUTE TO THE
CAUSE WHICH THEY HOLD DEAR,

AND WITH A FERVENT PRAYER THAT,

IN PEACE,

STEADFASTNESS, AND PATIENCE,

THEY MAY LIVE TO SEE THEIR NATIVE LAND SUBJECT TO NO POWER
SAVE THAT OF THE CREATOR.



[SPANISH TRANSLATION.]

Dedicatoria.

Al Pueblo Filipino que, por causa de su Libertad, ha sufrido en las manos de una Nacion que ha pagado ella misma la pena y obtuvo el Premio, este libro está dedicado con la esperanza de que en alguna manera contribuya á la causa para él tan querida, y con el ferviente voto de que en PAZ, Firmeza y Paciencia, viva para ver su tierra natal libre de todo Poder excepto á aquel de su Criador.



[TAGALOG TRANSLATION.]

Alay.

Sa Bayan Filipinas na sa pag ibig sa Kalayaan, nagtamong hirap sa kamay nang isang Bayan nang unang panahon ay nagdusa rin at Kinamtan ang Kapalaran, ang sulat na ito ay inialay nang mi pag asa na makatulong nang gaano paman sa bagay na Kanyang minamahal, at mi nasang taimtim na sa PAYAPA, sa Tiaga at sa Tiis siya'i, mabuhay na makita ang kanyang tinubuan lupa hindi alagad nino man makapang-yarihan maliban na lamang sa Lumalang.

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“It is unworthy of a mighty and generous nation, itself the greatest and most successful republic in history, to refuse to stretch out a helping hand to a young and weak sister republic just entering upon its career of independence.”

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



“Under the best of circumstances, therefore, a colony is in a false position. But if the colony is in a region where the colonizing race has to do its work by means of other inferior races, the condition is much worse.”

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



Note

THE facts set forth in the following pages are not published with the object of parading the misfortunes of those to whom they relate. What is told of the Lopez family is, unfortunately, true of many other families in the Philippines.

Those of the Lopez family who were here in America urge that it cannot truthfully be represented that theirs is an isolated case, or that their sacrifices and sufferings have exceeded those of many others of their fellow-countrymen.

It should also be stated that the Lopez family, as well as Dr. Rizal and Señor Basa whose portraits appear in this book, are full-blooded Tagalogs. This statement is made authoritatively, in refutation of oft-repeated assertions to the contrary, and in order that readers may know that they are in contact with real Filipinos. It may, then, be asked, Whence the Spanish names,—Lopez, Castelo, Rizal, etc.? The explanation is a simple one, and has to do, not with genealogy, but with history: Many years ago, before Spain became despotic and odious, the better-class Filipinos, at the suggestion of the Spanish authorities, adopted Spanish surnames. The possession of a Spanish name by a Filipino does not, therefore, imply racial mixture.



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from Europe in 1891.

This photograph has a special interest owing to the attitude of the Manila authorities toward the dead and the living patriot: thus, while the Members of the Civil Commission were each subscribing toward the erection of a statue to Rizal, they were at the same time excluding Lopez from his own and Rizal's native land!

It is interesting also because of an incident which occurred when it was being taken. In response to the customary injunction to "look pleasant," Rizal said to Lopez, "Yes,— imagine that you are just about to be executed by the Spaniards!" These words were prophetic of Rizal's tragic death, which occurred five years later.

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Señor Basa, frequently referred to in this book — sometimes under the familiar name of Don Pepe — is the “Grand Old Man” of the Filipinos. Once a well-to-do merchant in Manila, a man of independent mind and hence unwilling to cringe to the small tyrant, he was exiled to the Island of Guam under a false charge of complicity in the Burgos insurrection of 1872. After serving three years of his sentence he was released from Guam, but was not permitted to return to the Philippines. For the past twenty-eight years he has lived in Hong-Kong, where his home, at 7, Remedios Terrace, is the Mecca of all Filipinos who visit that picturesque British colony.

Señor Basa was the life-long friend of Rizal, and is now the custodian of Rizal’s library and letters, which are destined as the nucleus of a public library to be founded when Rizal’s ideals have been achieved.

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The Story of the Lopez Family

A Page from the History of the War in
the Philippines

TRUTH is not only stranger, but in most instances more interesting and instructive, than fiction. No epic or romance, no literary art or descriptive skill, could furnish a truer conception of the war in the Philippines and its achievements, or give a better insight into Filipino life and character, than the simple truth of the story of the Lopez family as set forth in the accompanying series of letters — a story of the infliction of wrong and injustice on account of adherence to principle and fidelity to family ties.

In order, however, that this page of history may not be wholly detached from natural continuity it will first be necessary to give a brief account of the Lopez family and of their attitude toward the Spanish government.

“In Former Times.”

“Old Batangas,” as the province is now appropriately termed, — the last to yield in the unequal struggle, and

the scene of some of the most regrettable incidents in the war, — has been the home of the Lopez family for several generations. Immediate interest, however, does not extend beyond Natalio Lopez, who died in 1886, the father of the present family which comprises Maria Castelo,* his widow ; six sons, Mariano, Lorenzo, Sixto, Cipriano, Manuel, and José ; and four daughters, Andrea, Clemencia, Juliana, and Maria. Natalio was in many respects a remarkable man. His education, received at the college of San José, was due solely to his own activity and industry. But business cares at an early age made it impossible for him to continue his studies at the university. Yet in later years, though without the distinction of a university degree, which means so much in the eyes of the Filipinos, he became the acknowledged friend and counselor — “the unprofessional and unpaid adviser” — of his fellow-townsmen, who styled him “Defender of the just.” In this, one is reminded of Scott’s beautiful lines :

“The thatched mansion’s gray-haired sire,
 Wise without learning, plain and good,

 Whose doom discording neighbours sought,
 Content with equity unbought.”

Though devoted to his religion and to an unwavering belief in the protecting care of the Virgin Mother, Natalio Lopez always took the part of the people against the unjust methods of the Spaniards and the Friars,

* The wife or widow, according to Spanish custom, retains her maiden surname. Señora Castelo’s full name is Maria Castelo de Lopez, but this would be used only in certain special circumstances.

never failing to condemn their irregularities. As a natural consequence he incurred the displeasure of the Religious Orders, and, although himself a peace-loving man, those who feared honesty and uprightness were never at peace with him. On more than one occasion he was secretly denounced and arrested on false charges; but his reputation among men, and his palpable honesty of character, were a shield and buckler against the attacks of his enemies. On one occasion, when confronting his accusers before José Maria Alix, the then Governor of the province, the Governor was so impressed with Natalio's straightforward bearing that he declared: "This man is innocent; he *cannot* be guilty of the charge preferred against him." Years later, when Alix had returned to Spain, the charge was again trumped up against Natalio. His only means of obtaining justice was to appeal to his former protector, and in those days, before the completion of the Suez canal, it was a slow process to transmit and receive communications from Spain. Nevertheless, though it meant a delay of several months, the appeal was made; and not in vain, for Alix, who must have been one of the best of men, readily bore witness to Natalio's integrity, with the result that he was finally acquitted and set free.

But though thus protected, Natalio realized that there were others of his fellows who were less fortunate. He saw that justice under Spanish rule was the rare exception, and, though he never openly advocated separation from Spain, he impressed upon his children the obvious truth "that they could not live an honest life and escape tribulation as long as the source of authority was in a foreign land."

This was the school, so to speak, at which the present members of the family graduated. In such surroundings and with such teaching — the justness of which few will dispute — it was natural that they should be impressed with the writings of José Rizal, whose final dictum was that there was no salvation for their country short of separation from Spain. The whole family, even to the youngest daughter, finally shared in this aspiration for freedom from foreign rule, but perhaps a larger share of the mantle of Natalio fell upon Sixto, his eldest son by the second marriage. Unassuming and quiet, yet gifted with an unusual tenacity of purpose, it was Sixto Lopez who, at an early age, became associated with Rizal; who, later, introduced and circulated Rizal's books in the Philippines; who, privately, gave pecuniary aid to Rizal and personal aid to his plans; who was set down for arrest when Rizal was arrested, on the ground that he was "Rizal's most active agent"; who escaped Rizal's fate only by accepting voluntary exile from his native land; who endeavored, along with Dr. Regidor of London, to rescue Rizal from the hands of his executioners during Rizal's memorable voyage from Barcelona to Manila; and who, humbly taking up the banner as it fell from Rizal's dying hand, has worked unassumingly for the independence of his country, notwithstanding recent political changes and in spite of personal and family loss and misfortune.

But if Sixto was thus persistent and devoted, the other members of the family were equally resolute and were ready to make any sacrifice for the liberation of their country. They were wealthy, and, had they chosen to be time-servers, and to throw in their lot with Spain,

they could have retained their wealth and secured unlimited favor. But such was not their character or inclination. They aspired to national freedom and were prepared to support their aspiration with their wealth. So, when Aguinaldo and his compatriots rose in revolt, and when Rizal — to use his own words — “sealed his life’s work with his blood,” the Lopez family risked everything they possessed, including personal liberty, in support of a cause which others might regard as hopeless but which they believed would ultimately succeed.

Their fidelity cost them dear. When the seriousness of the revolt became known to the authorities, and when additional troops had been brought from Spain, the Spanish forces swept their estates as with a withering breath. The laborers on their plantations, who had grown up with them from childhood to manhood, were mown down and slaughtered and their families dispersed. Of their five thousand working-animals, used by these laborers in the fields and in the sugar-mills, only seventy were finally recovered. Their house was plundered; their sugar, coffee, and rice fields were laid waste; and the \$700,000 which they had advanced in purchasing on-coming crops from smaller planters were reduced to the value of an entry in a cash-book. In all, their losses during the insurrection amounted to upwards of a million and a half Mexican dollars, and the male members of the family were imprisoned with apparently small hope of escaping with their life.

Yet they were undaunted. Calamity might wreck their possessions, but not their principles. During the lull in the insurrection after the Treaty of Biac-na-Bato they gathered together the remnant of their possessions.

It might have been justly conceded that the family had already made more than their share of sacrifice for their country's freedom; but their resources, in fidelity at least, had not been exhausted. When Aguinaldo returned with Admiral Dewey they again offered their personal aid and gave of their remaining property to assist in the cause which at last seemed to be assured of final success. And when the new Republic was born, though their wealth had been sacrificed, though two of their ships were gratuitously in the service of the government, as were also two of the brothers—the one, taken from sorely needed attention to their business affairs, to serve in Aguinaldo's army, the other, as a member of the Malolos Congress—the family felt that they had ample recompense in the achievement of their country's freedom from foreign rule.

“Was it All for Nought?”

It was at this juncture that the then American Administration conceived the idea of *purchasing* the Philippine Islands from Spain, and of demanding of the Lopez family and all other Filipinos unconditional allegiance to a new foreign sovereignty.

Now, unquestionably, American statesmen had a right to adopt any new policy, consistent with justice; they may even have had a right—if the people so willed—to discard those principles of democracy which have made America a great and free and prosperous nation. But had they the right—admittedly they had the power—to demand that the Lopez family, who had made such sacrifices for freedom, or that the Filipinos,

who had suffered and fought for liberty, should, in the twinkling of an eye, change their political beliefs because of a new policy conceived at Washington? One of the tests of the righteousness of a policy is its reasonableness, for a righteous policy will always be reasonable even if a reasonable policy may not always be righteous. Applying this test to the Philippine policy, was it reasonable to demand that these people, who were fighting for national liberty, or that this family, whose life's teaching had led them to reject foreign rule and whose sacrifices in behalf of their ideals had meant to them the difference between prosperity and adversity — was it reasonable to demand unconditional submission to a new foreign authority which did not and has not even yet declared its policy as to the immediate or ultimate status of their country and people? Was it reasonable to expect these people to submit, without protest or murmur, to what may or may not be given them in a "distant and indefinite future," without treaty or pledge or intimation of ultimate intention on the part of America? There are many Americans, kind of heart and pure of motive, who, apparently without due thought, have accepted the theory that the Filipinos were rebels and traitors, and that they had therefore forfeited every right and all reasonable consideration. But to be a rebel presupposes former allegiance; to be a traitor predicates infidelity to a principle or party or power to which allegiance has formerly been given or owned. In neither of these ways had the Filipinos offended against America, and the theory that they had so offended is based upon ignorance of the real situation prior to the unsought, though welcomed, intervention of the United States.

“To thine own Self be true.”

But when the American Administration, rightly or wrongly, proclaimed its intention of taking possession of the Philippines, by force “if need be,” and when the consequent outbreak of hostilities occurred, what attitude did the Lopez family assume, and what action did they take?

Obviously, no policy conceived in America, however artful, could change their opinions; no Paris Treaty, however adroit, could alter their desires; and no force, however great, could make them cease to love liberty. Hence, they remained, and still remain, firm in their beliefs and true to their principles; they still maintain the right of their country to independence.

But in view of what they regarded as the futility of an armed conflict with America, the family — with one exception to be hereafter explained — withdrew from active participation in the war.

Thus, the mother, the four daughters, and two of the sons, Lorenzo and Manuel, who were engaged in working the plantations at Balayan and the shipping-business in Manila, took up a neutral position.

The youngest son, José, a student at the Manila university, after taking his degree, finally went to England to study naval architecture, where he is so engaged at the present time.

The eldest son, Mariano, withdrew from the Malolos Congress, to which he was an elected member, and counseled peace. His position is best described in his own words in a recent letter to his brother Sixto: “In answering your letter I will only say that, considering the at-

mosphere in which you live, alone, and almost called upon to be a martyr for your country, it seems to me excellent and not to be improved. But as for me and millions of our compatriots in the surroundings in which we live, considering the circumstances and our respective families, for whom we must have very special regard, we cannot follow you on the patriotic road which you have laid out. *But we do not on that account consider ourselves any less patriotic than you are*; for if history holds up to you examples of heroism, even to the point of sacrificing one's life for one's country, it gives us, on the other hand, examples of even great nations who have yielded to the superior force of the enemy, preferring to submit to the conqueror rather than to continue the struggle at the price of total extermination."

Sixto, who at the time of the outbreak of hostilities with the Filipinos was serving as secretary to the Commission which went to Washington seeking recognition for the newly formed Philippine Republic, wrote numerous despatches to Aguinaldo and to the Central Committee at Hong-Kong urging a cessation of hostilities, pointing out that armed resistance could not secure independence, but would only confuse the issues and do injury to a good cause. He also repeatedly urged the sending of one or more Filipinos to America with the object of informing the American people of the real situation which, he claimed, was being woefully misrepresented by General Otis and others. In this manner he hoped to bring about negotiations and an adjustment of the difficulty by peaceable means. While he was thus urging his own people to cease warlike and adopt peaceable means, he secured publication of several articles in the

American press, having the same object. In one of these articles, published in the *Independent* of December 14, 1899, — four years ago, — he concludes as follows :

“Why not negotiate? If negotiations fail, it will then be time enough for war.* True, in the past our overtures of peace and good will were not received in a hearty manner by the Administration. But let that pass. It cannot be undignified to do what honor and righteousness demand. Who will help me in the cause of peace? Could any cause be worthier the genius of the statesmen of a great nation?

“In placing this statement before the people of America, I beg to assure them that whatever its demerits may be it is the outcome of a sincere desire for peace and for an honorable settlement of the differences and difficulties of the Philippine question.”

Finally, when none of his fellow-countrymen could be induced, or were able, to visit America, Sixto Lopez himself, on the invitation of Mr. Fiske Warren, of Boston, came to this country, and his demeanor and utterances while here have been characterized by moderation, respect, and good feeling.

Cipriano — the exception referred to above — was an officer in Aguinaldo's army, prior to and during part of the conflict with America. He was therefore subject to exceptional rules of conduct; for though the civilian may choose to adopt a neutral position under given circumstances, the soldier has no such choice. To resign

* This was addressed to the American people, as the article itself shows.

one's commission, for whatever reason, in the midst of active warfare, is universally regarded as cowardly and dishonorable. Had Cipriano thus forsaken his chief, even through disapproval of the war, he would have been subject to very general condemnation. For these reasons, though realizing the futility of the conflict, Cipriano kept his sword until the 11th of March, 1901. Even then, it was only because of repeated illness in the field, and in response to the entreaties of his mother and the urgent representations of his eldest brother, that he surrendered to Major Bullard, *with all his men and arms*. His conduct in all this will be understood and appreciated even by opponents.

It need not be regarded as a violation of the canons of good taste, since this is simply a narration of facts, to tell also of the hospitality shown by the Lopez family to the American officers stationed at Balayan; or how, by keeping open house and providing social diversion, they induced some of the younger officers not to indulge in habits of intemperance which were all too common among soldiers unaccustomed to a tropical climate and shut off, by the strained relations during the conflict, from refining and elevating associations. One of these officers tells, in an American newspaper, how existence was made "delightful" to himself and other officers by the kindness and hospitality of the Lopez family, for "the 'latch-string' was always left out for us at the Lopez residence, the finest in Balayan." But, while the family thus entertained the American officers, they never made any secret of their desire for Philippine independence, nor did they conceal or try to conceal the fact that they had a brother in the "insurgent" army.

Furthermore, foreseeing that the prolonged resistance of his countrymen to the forces of the United States, though futile in the securing of independence, would provoke the American forces to greater severity and cruelty, Mariano Lopez placed his services and influence at the disposal of the American authorities with the object of bringing about peace. In this he was largely successful, securing the surrender of several important Filipino commands, including Generals Cailles, Gregorio Katigbak, and (indirectly) General Trias. Official testimony to the nature and value of these services is given by Major R. L. Bullard, as follows :

“MANILA, July 5, 1901.

“I take pleasure in certifying that the bearer of this paper, Señor Mariano Lopez, of this city and of Balayan, Batangas province, has rendered service to the United States in the pacification of Luzon as follows :

“In March of 1901 he accompanied me *at his own expense* into the country west of Lake Taal, and there through the influence of himself *and family* he opened negotiations with all the insurgents of Batangas west of Lake Taal, which negotiations resulted in their surrender and the pacification of all Batangas west of Lake Taal, and cut off from the insurgent General Trias in Cavite province all his military support from the south.

“At my request he afterwards visited Lipa in the province of Batangas, with a view to opening negotiations with the insurgent General Malvar. From these latter negotiations there resulted, as I believe, the surrender of insurgent General Gregorio Katigbak and Colonel Cipriano Calao, Señor Lopez's personal friends, and some 125 officers and enlisted insurgents. He also offered his services and did all in his power to induce the surrender of the insurgent General Cailles, who did surrender.

“I have found him a man of judgment and honor in all his dealings with the United States.

(Signed) “R. L. BULLARD,
“Major, Commissary,
“United States Army, Chief Commissary.”

It will be noted in the above testimonial that Mariano, in rendering these services, did so “at his own expense.” Though desirous of peace for the sake of saving the lives and property of his countrymen, he wished to remain neutral and to avoid being, even in appearance, in the paid service of America. For the same reason he refused to accept a proffered office under American rule.

But though Mariano was thus largely successful in his efforts to secure peace, he failed to have any influence with General Malvar who, with General Lukban, still kept the field. Accordingly, Sixto Lopez, who was desirous of returning to the Philippines, left America with the hope of being able to induce Malvar, with whom he was personally acquainted, to cease fighting. He believed that, owing to his knowledge of the real situation in America, and because of his long service in the cause of Philippine independence, he would have some influence with Malvar, and that Malvar would listen to him as he had listened to no one else. But on Sixto's arrival at Hong-Kong, the Manila (American) press published several inflammatory and foolish statements, one of which was to the effect that “Sixto Lopez was coming to order America out of the Philippines, failing compliance with which, he would wipe Uncle Sam out of existence.” And so, before his services were even formally tendered, they were rejected—unless he were prepared to submit to certain conditions which would have at once disqualified

him as a successful emissary to Malvar. He holds, however, that if General Chaffee had been willing, as was Vice-Governor Wright, to make use of his services, much if not all of the bloodshed and reconcentration and burning and torture that characterized the later period of the war would have been avoided. In this he is supported by General Bell who, in a letter to General Wheaton, dated December 27, 1901, says: "If Sixto Lopez, or any other man of equal influence, could be trusted to work honestly and sincerely there is no doubt but what he could bring about peace."*

"Man's inhumanity to Man."

Now, the above is a brief statement of the position of the Lopez family in relation to the war and to American sovereignty in the Philippines. Beyond the great and general suffering which war entails, their interests and their person — with one exception — had not been unduly interfered with up to the time when General Chaffee, according to reliable report, declared his intention of putting an end to the war within three months "even if he had to kill everything living and burn everything standing in Batangas and Samar." The time, so it was thought, had then arrived for extreme measures. The resistance to American sovereignty had continued for nearly three years, notwithstanding frequent reports and predictions to the contrary. General Otis had failed to pacify the Islands, although he was supposed, according to his own and Secretary Root's opinion, to be contend-

* Report of Senate Committee on the Philippines, p. 2604.

ing with *only a part of one out of eighty-four "tribes."* General MacArthur's chief success was his discovery that the war was being directed against the inhabitants of the "entire archipelago," whose "unique system of warfare depended upon almost complete unity of action of the *entire native population.*" (These are his own words, in an official report.) It was therefore necessary to adopt more rigorous methods of warfare. Accordingly, the so-called "Kitchener methods" were put in operation by General MacArthur, but without success. Even the defeat of the Democratic presidential candidate, which, according to Governor Taft's prediction, would put an end to the war within sixty days, produced only the effect of adding another to the list of unfulfilled prophecies. The capture of Aguinaldo, from which so much had been expected, produced no more effect upon the Filipinos than the fall of Pretoria produced upon the Boers. The institution of Civil Government, which Governor Taft believed would give universal satisfaction, was a disappointment as far as peace was concerned. The Filipinos still expressed a preference for the Declaration of Independence, and there, on the noble brow of Mt. Maquiling, within sight of Governor Taft's palace, were the harried forces of General Malvar.

And so, General Chaffee, fresh from his brilliant successes before the walls of Peking, was given command in the hope that he would be equally successful in Luzon.

But General Chaffee after a time discovered that even "Kitchener methods" were inadequate to cope with a people imbued with a passion for independence. "A nation of men bent on freedom," says Emerson, "can easily confound the arithmetic of statist, and achieve

extravagant actions out of all proportion to their means." Even kind-hearted Governor Taft, though committed to a policy of peace, seemed to be at his wits' end. His evil genius, Buencamino,—like "Judas, who also betrayed him,"—then whispered words in his ear,* and Governor Taft thereupon urged the military to greater severity in the war, under the euphemism of "pinching" † the wealthier non-combatants who did not praise or approve his Civil Government. The military formed their own interpretation of what "pinching" was to mean, and the Manila press became quite jubilant, and even jocular, over the prospect of final triumph by extermination! Thus, one newspaper opined that "there was likely soon to be a *large decrease in the population of Samar!*" Another understood that "Samar was to be made so that even the birds could not live there," and declared that "what fire and *water* had done in Panay, *water* and fire would do in Samar." This was the first *public* admission that the "water torture" had been practised in the Philippines; hitherto the charge had been indignantly denied.

* Buencamino is said to have recommended the arrest of all the wealthy non-combatants; and in a letter to Governor Taft he even approves of the extermination of the entire population of Batangas province. (See Buencamino's letter to Governor Taft, dated January 8, 1902, and published in *Renacimiento*, June 28, 1902.)

† "What I said was that, in my judgment, measures which would bring home to the rich persons, who were responsible for the continuance of the war, a pinching—I think I used the word 'pinching'—a pinching knowledge of what the war meant, would end it."—*Governor Taft's evidence before Senate Committee: Report, p. 104.*

“And there was Weeping in all Judea.”

It was in this spirit, and apparently with permission, if not instructions, in keeping with General Chaffee's policy and Governor Taft's recommendation, that General Bell was given the task of *pacifying* “Old Batangas” and the adjoining provinces. To take and hold large tracts of mountainous country, in many parts inaccessible to American troops, against a mobile and an illusive foe, required a much larger force than General Bell had at his command. The task in the Philippines was as difficult as was the similar task under similar conditions in South Africa. Even wholesale burning, and reconcentration with all its horrors, were found to be inadequate in both countries. Friendly conference and concession were finally adopted with satisfactory results in South Africa, but apparently no such humane policy could be thought of in the Philippines. Consequently, Generals Smith and Bell were compelled to resort to methods of warfare not provided for in the Geneva Convention. Blame, however, must attach not so much to these men as to the policy that drove them to these extremes.

“A self-deluded man is he who deems the *head* is innocent that moves the hand.”

To drive Malvar's forces from mountain fastness to swamp and jungle, and thence to final defeat, would have required a force as large as the army with which Napoleon entered Russia. It was absurd to expect that the American people would provide General Bell with such a force in order simply to defeat a few of General Otis's

“ladrones.” Governor Taft’s recommendation of “pinching” the wealthier non-combatants had therefore to be resorted to. Those in arms were not within reach, and consequently the natural if doubtful procedure was to make the sufferings of those within reach so intense as to appeal to the humane sympathies of Malvar and those in the field.

It has been pointed out that one of the tests of the righteousness of a policy is its reasonableness. Another test is the cleanness and fairness of the methods necessary to its accomplishment. If in the nature of things there is one certitude it is that a righteous end does not demand unrighteous means. The theories that it is right to “do evil that good may come,” and that “the end justifies the means,” are now utterly discredited by common honesty, to say nothing about religion and higher morality. The apologists of the methods adopted in the Philippines have therefore been unfortunate, to say the least, in their plea that the methods were “necessary,” for if the methods were necessary the policy stands condemned. General Weyler also found similar methods necessary in Cuba, but the plea of necessity did not save him from the righteous condemnation of the American people and of the civilized world. The man — whether it be Weyler or Waller — who pleads the necessity of wholesale killing in order to inflict what he or his superiors regard as good government, is in the same category as the inquisitor who tortured and burned his fellow-man for the glory of God.

“ God ! — that the worm whom Thou hast made
Should thus his brother-worm invade !

Count deeds like these good service done,
And deem THINE eye looks smiling on !”

General Bell, whose conscience is keener apparently than that of the “seasoned soldier,” himself declares that he considered for a whole month the adoption of these methods, and that he finally yielded because of “necessity.”* It is instructive to trace, when he had thus yielded in spite of the prompting of conscience, how he reached extremes by what must have been familiarity with horror. Not only were the ordinary

* In a letter written to a friend in Washington, dated Batangas, April 10, 1902, General Bell says: “The policy which has been pursued here is absolutely the only one which could have accomplished such results. Well knowing the views of the American people on the concentration in Cuba, you can readily believe that it has been a time of great anxiety to me. However, I thought over the matter for a month. I finally became thoroughly convinced that I could not bring *peace to these people and FULFILL MY OBLIGATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT* in any other way. . . . Knowing my disposition and kindly feeling [1] toward the natives full well, you will have no difficulty in understanding that the *necessity* for severe measures has been a source of distress to me.”—*Army and Navy Journal*.

The “views of the American people on the concentration in Cuba” are best expressed by President McKinley in his first message to Congress: “This cruel policy of concentration . . . the late cabinet of Spain justified as a *necessary measure of war* and as a means of cutting off supplies from the insurgents. . . . It was not civilized warfare: it was extermination. Against *this abuse* of the right of war I have felt constrained on repeated occasions to enter the firm and earnest protest of this government.” In a subsequent message President McKinley wrote: “As I said in my message of last December, it was not civilized warfare: it was extermination. *The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave.*”

Thus, when General Bell speaks of bringing “peace to these people,” President McKinley prophetically tells what the nature of the peace is to be: “that of the wilderness and the grave”!

people herded like cattle in concentration camps which have elsewhere been described as "suburbs of hell," but almost all of the prominent men in Batangas — lawyers, doctors, merchants — were imprisoned and made to do hard labor in the streets like common malefactors. And to sustain these men in this unaccustomed exertion, in a tropical climate, they were given a diet of rice and salt !

"Can Honor save?"

It might have been thought, however, that the Lopez family, on account of their honorable record and in view of the services they had rendered to the American authorities, would have received some consideration. But neither honorable conduct, nor services rendered, nor hospitality shown, were of any avail in the presence of a policy dictated by "necessity." Accordingly, three of the Lopez brothers were arrested, and imprisoned for a term of five months ; the family house at Balayan, and the barns and storehouses on their plantations, were seized, along with the title-deeds of their estates and other documents and papers ; their steamship, the "Purissima Concepcion," was confiscated to the use of the military authorities ; their house at Abra-de-Ilog in Mindoro, though it had frequently given shelter to American officers during the stress of the rainy season, was burned, along with a store of rice ; and, worst of all, one of their superintendents on the Balayan plantations — Isabelo Capacia — was tortured to death.*

* The following is an extract from the letter of Señor Ignacio Laines, of Balayan, Batangas, who, at the request of the Lopez family, made an inquiry into the circumstances of the death of Isabelo Capacia :—

At the time of these arrests only three of the family, Lorenzo, Cipriano, and the eldest daughter, Andrea, were in Batangas under General Bell's jurisdiction. The mother, Señora Maria Castelo, with Mariano, Clemencia, Juliana, and Maria, were in Manila. Manuel, though a resident of Manila, where he attended to the shipping business, had gone on the "Purísima" to Boac, in the island of Marinduque, which was under Civil Government. General Bell had no jurisdiction in Boac or Manila, between which ports the "Purísima" was then trading, and the manner of Manuel's arrest might well form a subject for future investigation: he was on board the "Purísima" at Boac, enjoying "all the privileges and immunities" of Civil Government, when Lieutenant Allen, in command of twenty-five soldiers, applied to him to be taken to Batangas. Now, the ports of Batangas had been closed; and Manuel, though he regarded the

" . . . I will now continue the history of poor Isabelo until his unhappy death, which was as follows: . . . Isabelo was taken from the prison and put into a wagon by Inspector Bunzon, with a few soldiers as a guard; they then went to the town of Tuy, where a company of Macabebe 'scouts' was stationed, under the command of the American officer, Lieutenant Shawski [?]. The next day, Tuesday, Lieutenant Shawski, Bunzon, and the Macabebe soldiers took Isabelo to the bank of the river Matauanak, where, after having wrapped him in a Carabao skin and attached a stone to his belt as a weight, they threw him into the water, allowing him to be entirely submerged. When the executioners of this torture saw through the clear water that the victim no longer moved, and therefore no longer breathed, they took him out on the bank, where they terminated their torture by jumping on his body, until blood burst from his mouth, nose, eyes, and ears; finally breaking some of his ribs, and thus they left him unconscious. Having accomplished this, Bunzon returned to Balayan, with the tortured man, completely mangled, stretched out in the wagon; and in this condition he was returned to the detention room in the convent. . . . The American physician of this detachment, Mr. Cheedester [?], applied all the convenient remedies to save the tortured man, but it was all useless, for in a little while he died." [See complete letter hereinafter printed.]

request as in reality an order, hesitated to comply, in the absence of higher authority. Lieutenant Allen thereupon took matters into his own hands, commanding that the vessel be put to sea for Batangas, and giving orders that no one be permitted to leave the boat. Upon his arrival at Batangas Manuel was formally placed under arrest and the steamer was seized to the use of the United States government.

Lorenzo, the delicate one of the family, had suffered for years from a chest disorder. He required special attention as to food and clothing, and, indeed, had never, since his first seizure with the disease, slept out of his own specially prepared bed. Yet, when he was arrested with Cipriano and Manuel, he was compelled to sleep on bare stone floors, and to eat "wretched food" during his imprisonment in Batangas. Apparently, he and they would have suffered from starvation had it not been for the kindness of their fellow-prisoners, to whom outside relatives supplied food. "We were thus able," says Manuel, in a recent account, "to eke out our fare from their provisions, and did not, therefore, become ill."

Continuing, Manuel thus tells of their treatment during the first month of their imprisonment: "From Batangas they took us to [the Bay of Manila, en route to] the Island of Malagi, Laguna de Bay, as exiles; and you cannot imagine the kind of treatment we were all subjected to. They put us in the bottom of the hold of the steamer 'Legaspi,' and I doubt if they would have treated animals so inhumanly. We were kept there for four days, and if we had been thus kept much longer, half of the hundred men would have died; as it was,

many of them became ill." One can imagine what this modification of the Black Hole of Calcutta must have meant in the no less tropical climate of Manila. One hundred prisoners for four days in the bottom of the hold of a small steamer without port-holes! "Afterwards," proceeds Manuel, "we were transferred to the steamer 'Liscum,' where we were somewhat better off as regards space during the following fourteen days. There also we were put in the hold, but with the advantage that this boat had port-holes through which the air entered. They gave us the best place, which was the space provided for the transportation of horses. On the 14th of January . . . they took us off in small boats, towed by a little tug, and transported us to Malagi, an island that had never been inhabited, where they kept us for three months and six days."

" . . . That is the Question."

Now, the reader may very naturally ask: For what reason and on what grounds was all this done? That is the question to which no one has yet been able to obtain a satisfactory reply. Was it that the Lopez family had abandoned their former attitude toward the American authorities? Or, had they violated any of the common rules of neutrality? They are conscious of no such abandonment or violation. No charge of the kind has been brought against them, and they have sought in vain for an explanation of the unjust treatment to which they have been subjected. There was no formal indictment at the time of the arrest of the three brothers, nor at any subsequent period. It is true that an informal

charge was made against Cipriano, to the effect that he had failed to give up certain rifles at the time of his surrender to Major Bullard ten months previously. But after what appears to have been an equally informal inquiry, undertaken in the leisurely manner of Spanish times, the charge was abandoned, and Cipriano, though still a prisoner, was made to accept a position of some responsibility under the military government of the province.

As to the other two brothers, the only reason assigned for their arrest appears to have been that they were brothers of Cipriano and Sixto. This would indeed be humorous were the circumstances less serious, for at the time when they assumed this relation to Sixto, or he to them, they were too young to know better and too feeble to raise successful objection!

During the imprisonment of all three brothers, the family made repeated representations to the military authorities in Manila, but all without avail. In this they had the able and kindly assistance of Captain George Curry, the Chief of the Manila Police, and formerly an officer in "Roosevelt's Rough Riders," who communicated also with General Bell. In reply, General Bell stated that "he would keep Cipriano in prison until his hair turned gray," unless he delivered up the above-mentioned rifles (this was before the inquiry had been held); and that as to Lorenzo and Manuel, "for the good of the government they had better remain to keep Cipriano company; besides, as they were brothers of Sixto Lopez, who was a great enemy of the government, they were justly imprisoned"!

A personal application, by two of the sisters, to General



JOSÉ RIZAL AND SIXTO LOPEZ

From a photograph taken in Hong-Kong in 1891

[See note in list of illustrations]

Bell elicited only insult* and the information that the intention and purpose was "to humiliate the Filipinos." So also, when Mariano Lopez personally applied to Captain Bash, to whom he had been referred by higher authority, he was met with the impolite question: "Why are *you* not a prisoner?" Indeed, why not? He too was "a brother of Sixto Lopez," and was as much under the jurisdiction of General Bell as had been Manuel. "I do not know," said Mariano; and his reply was suggestive of a deeper meaning than at first appears!

"Appeal thou to Cæsar!"

From the first it was apparent that justice would not be obtainable in the Philippines. The military were the sole judges of their own acts, and were subject to all the unconscious bias that comes from looking only at one side of the shield. The Civil Government was civil only in name, and was unable or unwilling, or both, even to protest against the arrest, by the military, of Manuel who, at the time, was under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities and not under that of General Bell. For these and other reasons, one of the Lopez sisters determined to seek justice by an appeal to the highest authority. Accordingly, within twenty-four hours after receiving the news of her brothers' arrest,—which reached her in Hong-Kong, whither she and her youngest sister, all unaware of the calamity that had befallen the family in Batangas, had gone to visit their exiled brother, Sixto,—

* It is only fair to state that General Bell has since apologized for his rudeness, stating, in explanation, that he was out of temper at the time.

Clemencia Lopez, with characteristic courage, without relative to protect or experience to guide, a stranger to the outer world, started on her long journey to the United States.

Her kindly reception in Boston by relatives and friends of Mr. and Mrs. Fiske Warren; the assistance they gave her in her unusual mission; and the nature of her audience with the President in March, are more or less known to American readers. It may be said that the President showed a more than ordinary interest in her case, and, as was to have been expected, referred her petition to the Secretary of War, with instructions that it was to have early attention.

After some delay, in reply to an inquiry by Mrs. Samuel D. Warren, who, with friendly interest, had accompanied Miss Lopez to Washington and introduced her to the President, the following letter was received from Mr. Secretary Cortelyou:

“White House, WASHINGTON, April 23, 1902.

“*Dear Madam:*

“The President has received your note of the 22nd instant, and requests me to say in reply that he has gone carefully over with the War Department the matter of which you write, having been in correspondence with the authorities at Manila and in consultation with Governor Taft here, and that he does not think anything can properly be done. He will see Secretary Root on his return from Cuba, but there appears to be a consensus of opinion that no injustice was done.

“Very truly, yours,

“GEORGE R. CORTELYOU,

“*Secretary to the President.*

“Mrs. MABEL BAYARD WARREN,

“Boston, Mass.”

Naturally, nothing was to have been expected from "the authorities at Manila," who had inflicted the injustice, nor from "Governor Taft," who practically had recommended it. When William II., of Germany, dismissed his aged Chancellor there was a certain admiration for the young Emperor, provoked by his determination to be Emperor in fact as well as in name. However, it was, of course, difficult for the President to interfere with the acts of generals in the field, although, if absolutely no supervision is to be exercised and no interference tolerated, then the military become complete masters of any situation, and can conduct matters according to their own sweet will. But proper respect demands that criticism in this connection shall be confined to the merest generalities.

Not so with the wording of Mr. Cortelyou's reply, which must be regarded as somewhat unfortunate. Here was a petitioner who had come from a people repeatedly alleged to be in ignorance of "the beneficent purposes of the United States"; who believed that a great injustice had been done her and her family; who was conscious of the futility of seeking justice from those who had inflicted the injury; and who had come all the way to America filled with hope and in the belief that those who had wrongfully imprisoned her brothers were not representative of the justness and kindness of the American people. Now, if Mr. Cortelyou's reply had admitted the hardship of the case; if it had pleaded temporary military necessity, a plea so frequently made use of in other directions; if it had counseled patience and given assurance of final justice, Miss Lopez and her fellow-countrymen would have felt that there were essential justice and

good will at the centre of authority. But the effect upon Miss Lopez, of the inconclusive reply that "there *appears* to be a consensus of opinion that *no injustice* was done," must be left to the imagination of those who have the sympathetic power of placing themselves in her position. Fortunately, she was in the hands of her kindly hostess, Miss Cornelia Warren, whose sympathy and counsel were all that Mr. Cortelyou's reply was not.

There still remained one faint possibility: the President "will see Secretary Root on his return from Cuba." Perhaps the phrase was a mere formality, but, to one who pondered in the silent watches of the night on the sufferings of dear ones in a distant land, here was something which hope might cling to and love interpret in its own way.

"The Law's delays."

If, however, a decision was arrived at by seeing Secretary Root, only those then present, and perhaps the angels in heaven, know of its nature. Up to the present time no intimation of it has reached Miss Lopez. But in a printed document issued by the Senate Committee on the Philippines there is a deliverance by Mr. Charles E. Magoon, "Law Officer, Division of Insular Affairs," dated 11th of April, in which it is recommended that "the application to the President by Clemencia Lopez for the release from arrest and detention of her three brothers, Lorenzo, Cipriano, and Manuel . . . be denied." Whether this recommendation, addressed to the Secretary of War, was adopted by the President is not known. The Lopez brothers have since been released along with, or shortly after the release of, their

fellow-prisoners, but the mystery of their imprisonment remains a mystery still. Indeed, the statement of Mr. Magoon only serves to intensify the mystery. For if his theory as to the powers of a commanding general be correct,—if, as he claims, the immunity from interference enjoyed by non-combatants is due entirely “to the grace of the conqueror,” and if General Bell therefore had the right to arrest and imprison those within his jurisdiction to whom even “suspicion” attached, there might have been some shadow of justification for the imprisonment of Cipriano Lopez, against whom there was at least an unfounded charge. But how does the theory apply to Lorenzo, who had always lived at peace with all men, never even, as far as is known, expressing an opinion for or against American rule, and to whom no suspicion could conceivably attach? If General Bell really had the right to arrest such men as Lorenzo, he must indeed have had the right to arrest *any one* within his jurisdiction. This is certainly an extraordinary decision, which, it is hoped, will not be accepted as a precedent in military jurisprudence. But, admitting for the moment its correctness, where did General Bell obtain the right, and whence the legal authority, to arrest and imprison Manuel, who was in a part of the archipelago then under civil rule and not within General Bell’s jurisdiction? These are points not touched upon in Mr. Magoon’s hasty deliverance.

“When Doctors differ.”

But Mr. Magoon, apparently unintentionally, removes the last remaining shred of suspicion against the Lopez

family, thus leaving General Bell, whom he is endeavoring to support, without the shadow of a pretext for the actions complained of. The Lopez family have been informed, by several military officers in the Philippines with whom they were on friendly terms, that the arrest of their brothers was in order to secure the "submission of Sixto Lopez," and that the seizure of their property was in order to prevent their giving him pecuniary support in his work in America. This would almost seem incredible were it not that incredible things are forever occurring in the Philippines. The confiscating of their steamer, at that time their only means of livelihood, and the seizure of the title-deeds of their estates, which would prevent the securing of advances, seem to lend countenance to the theory. Captain Curry takes a similar view: "These harsh measures," he writes to Mr. Warren, "were believed by General Bell to be necessary; and whereas I differ with him as to the guilt of the Lopez brothers, they are undoubtedly suffering largely on account of their brother, Sixto Lopez." The "guilt of the Lopez brothers" refers to the above-mentioned charge against Cipriano, which, upon inquiry, was abandoned by General Bell, thus confirming Captain Curry's opinion as to the innocence of the brothers, in spite of Mr. Magoon's contention that the General was a better judge than the Captain. But General Bell himself practically admits that these arrests and seizures were for the purpose of securing the acquiescence of Sixto Lopez in American rule; for, in a letter to General Wheaton, written only fourteen days after the arrests, General Bell says: "These people need a thrashing to teach them some common sense [!], and they should have it for the

good of all concerned. Sixto Lopez is now interested in peace because I have in jail all the male members of his family found in my jurisdiction [and one not *found* in his jurisdiction !], and have seized his houses and palay (rice) and his steamer, the ' Purisima Concepcion,' for the use of the Government." The fact that Sixto Lopez had *always* been "interested in peace," and that he had urged his own countrymen as well as those in America to adopt peaceable means, does not seem to have been known to General Bell. So too, the General assumes that Sixto Lopez was a member of the Hong-Kong Junta — an assumption which is not sustained by fact. On the contrary, Sixto Lopez has never belonged to any Junta, and has always had serious differences with the Junta at Hong-Kong as to its war-policy. Nevertheless, on the document of release of the Lopez brothers there is this endorsement on the upper margin of the paper : "*Brother* of Sixto Lopez, member of the Hong-Kong Junta." This is the only indictment against them ; it provides strong confirmation of the theory of Captain Curry and other officers that the Lopez brothers "are undoubtedly suffering largely on account of their brother, Sixto Lopez."

Now, if General Bell construed the relationship of the Lopez brothers to Sixto as a ground of suspicion or a cause of complaint, he must have done so without the knowledge, sanction, or approval of the Law Officer of the Department of Insular Affairs. For Mr. Magoon elaborately denies that Sixto Lopez had or could have anything to do with the arrest of the Lopez brothers. "No one," says Mr. Magoon, "has ever considered his [Sixto Lopez's] presence in the United States, or the

efforts in which he was engaged, as in any degree jeopardizing the interests or plans of the United States. The political complications in respect of the Philippines which have arisen in the United States and the *obstacles encountered in the Philippines* would have been the same had *Sixto Lopez never existed*. . . . His public utterances have been *advantageous* to the Administration rather than otherwise. . . . I am unable to discover, either in the papers filed with this application or in the records of the War Department, any evidence that General Bell, in ordering the action complained of, took thought of its possible effect upon Sixto Lopez." (The italics are not Mr. Magoon's.)

Thus the plea put forth, or at any rate implied, by General Bell and others in the Philippines, is haughtily repudiated by Mr. Magoon in Washington. This is interesting, but it does not serve to clear up the mystery of the arrest of the Lopez brothers. Indeed, the only gleam of light thrown on the mystery by Mr. Magoon's prolix deliverance is found in the affront which he offers Miss Lopez by implying that she was ready to become the tool of those whom he unwarrantably charges with seeking to secure "the sympathy Americans naturally feel for a woman in distress, *whatever the cause*." Rudyard Kipling tells, in his "Brushwood Boy," how Cottar discovers that there are "things no fellow can do"; that is to say, there are things which no gentleman must do — even in an official capacity. The demeanor of General Bell toward two of the Lopez sisters in Manila, and that of Mr. Magoon toward the other sister in America, indicate a contempt, born of unconscious race prejudice, which helps to explain the matter. It is in-

conceivable that either of these gentlemen would offer insult under similar circumstances to women of their own race, or treat those whom they regarded as equals in the manner they have treated the Lopez brothers. But when dealing with a race of people for whom contempt is felt, any reason, or no reason at all, is sufficient excuse for the infliction of a convenient injustice. Lorenzo and Cipriano and Manuel know this to be true; General Bell and Mr. Magoon have simply furnished the proof.

Miss Lopez will therefore return to her own country wiser only in experience and in the knowledge that even good men, who act in violation of fundamental principle, are sometimes powerless to rectify an incidental injustice, however great.

“The Palm, for the Olive-Branch.”

But let honor be given where it is due. It must be said that the President showed interest in Miss Lopez's case, and it may be presumed that he felt sympathy for those in distress. His personal intervention, if it did not secure or hasten the release of the Lopez brothers, apparently did service in ameliorating their condition during the remainder of their term of imprisonment. In marked contrast with their treatment already described is the account given by Manuel of how they fared later: “Company H of the 28th Infantry,” says Manuel, “who were our custodians, and especially the officers, behaved themselves divinely toward the three of us. They were very gentlemanly in their bearing, gave us whatever we asked for, and treated us with every consideration.”

To the President's personal intervention may also be attributed the wonderful manner in which the Lopez brothers have been restored to American favor since their release. The whole family have been shown marked kindness, and Cipriano, who was to have been kept in prison until time whitened his locks and dimmed his eye, has received special consideration and praise from General Bell. Thus, one of the sisters writes : "General Bell, of whom three provinces had such a horror, has suddenly assumed very gracious manners and is quite affable toward the Lopez family. I have good reason to say so, for the pass which he gave Cipriano, for Abra de Ilog and the whole island of Mindoro, absolutely prohibits all the chiefs of detachments from interfering with Cipriano and our interests there, and orders that they shall put no obstacles in the way of his business transactions, unless his own actions should give them good cause ; and that even then no one must arrest him without previously obtaining the consent of General Chaffee. You must know that Cipriano is in favor with General Bell ; the latter can do nothing but praise him, and he treated him well toward the last. What is more, one day when the General was in the office of the Provost of Batangas he ordered Cipriano to be called in order that he might apologize to him for the manner in which he had treated Maria and me ; for according to the General's account, he was in a bad temper at the time, and said that we should pardon him, for he was really ashamed. He told Captain Curry the same thing."

Later, the same sister writes : " Last Sunday we were obliged to attend a ball, given, according to their [the

American officers'] account, in honor of the ladies of the Lopez family, which took place in the Commandancia; and this, in spite of the objections we made in order to avoid going. We were there until two o'clock in the morning, when they at last permitted us to leave. It was quite gay, for almost all Balayan was there; and besides, they had made much preparation, so that they had everything. At any other time I should have been somewhat diverted, but at present, far from being so, I was sad, and the more attention they paid us the more I wished to cry.

“You cannot imagine, Clemen, how gallant and deferential these egregious officers are toward us. Without going any further for an example, every time they receive cablegrams with sensational news, or newspapers, they can hardly take time to get them to us. Last night they brought their large phonograph (I have not seen so large a one even in Manila), so that we might hear it; and other things of the same sort. So that we can do no less than be grateful to them.”

The breath comes quickly and the tear steals down one's cheek when one thinks of the essential good-heartedness of these officers in their almost boyish attempts to make some sort of reparation for the wrong that has been done. Indeed, there is more than good-heartedness in all this. General Bell and his officers have been brought into closer touch with some of the Filipinos. Is it possible that the *great misunderstanding* vanished? The two contestants stand face to face as man to man. There is no plea that can justify, no policy that can shield. Do they now see each other's point of view, do they know each other's motives and mistakes?

Has resentment turned to sorrow, and has something been born in each heart which asks : " Was it for this, my brother, that we sought each other's life ? "

" Return, O Israel. "

But the wrong has yet to be righted — the wrong not only to the individual but to the people. The one is the result of the other, and both are because of a violation of principle. All of the misunderstanding, all the injustice, all the evil, all the cruelty and horror are due to the violation of an eternal principle which affirms the right of every people to govern itself. And all the considerations about " philanthropic intention " and the " white man's burden " and the " elevation of alien races " and the " blessings of good government " and the " resplendent world-mission of America " cannot excuse the violation of that principle or obviate the evils and horrors that must follow its violation.

Assuredly, America has a resplendent world-mission to perform — the mission of planting not the *fruits* but the *principles* of liberty in every corner of the earth where despotism reigns to-day. For wherever the principles of liberty are planted, the fruits — light and law and good government — are sure to follow. No need for Old World methods, which have done a little good and an incalculable amount of evil ; the good being lauded and magnified in order to cover up the evil. No need of the sword, except to defend. The emblem of Liberty is the wand, not the sword — the wand to point, not the sword to kill.

There is a rule that embraces all principles and is the test of all policies. It is as old as human sympathy and known to all, yet acted upon by few. It stands to condemn the evil of the past, yet marks a starting-point for the future. Let America, the God-favored of peoples, be the first to elevate the Golden Rule to a place in the conduct of nations.

Letters from the East

THE Bard of Avon, to whose receptive mind everything in Nature had a meaning, could discover "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, *and good in everything.*"

This gem of alliterative wit and philosophy concludes with a literal though startling truth; and this, in spite of the difficulty of discovering good in some of the darker pages of this world's history. Certainly, to those who possess a measure of human sympathy, and a love of liberty which rises to the giving of equal liberty to others, it might be beyond reasonable expectation to find even an incidental good in the merciless phases of the Philippine war. Yet in this, too, Shakespeare stands confirmed. For, as a result of the imprisonment of the Lopez brothers, there has been unfolded a series of family letters of unusual interest and value. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that never before have letters of such a character been received from the dreamy East.

Devoid of any pretension to literary merit or descriptive art, these letters present in the easy simplicity of truth a picture of the life and character of an Eastern people which even a master hand might fail to delineate. Breathing a spirit of the purest family and filial devotion, pathetic and unintentionally humorous in turn, merciless in their scorn of false friend or unworthy foe, frank in admitting or correcting a former error or false report, they are full to overflowing of Filipino human nature — remarkably like human nature the world over. All the more valuable are they because they were not written for purposes of display or to obtain notoriety. They are

simply family letters intended for private perusal only, and were written solely for the purpose of informing those who were absent of the misfortunes that had befallen the persons and property of the family. Yet unintentionally they serve a different and an even more interesting purpose, by giving, as has been said, an otherwise unobtainable picture of family life in the Philippines, and an insight into Filipino life and character, entirely new to the Western world.

Most of these letters are the work of a young Filipina, suddenly called upon to assume responsibilities beyond her years. Up to that time the duties and responsibilities of the Lopez family had been divided among its elder members according to natural ability and inclination. Thus, Señora Castelo, with Lorenzo and Cipriano, managed the Balayan estates; Mariano was the politician, the lawyer, the "gentleman" of the family; Sixto was its natural-born and paternally appointed patriot; Manuel attended to all that went down to the sea in ships; Andrea was the domestic "house-body" and second mother to the family; Clemencia was the general correspondent and factotum, and was her mother's right hand; while Juliana, José, and Maria were still regarded as the "children of the family," and, as such, were struggling with arts and accomplishments befitting the present utilitarian and genteel era! Suddenly, all this was changed, and in the change Señora Castelo discovered that there were latent powers in Juliana, the eldest of the three "children," who was found to be in reality no child but a second Clemencia. Upon her, therefore, devolved many duties hitherto performed by other members of the family, among which was that of family correspondent. In this she was assisted by Mariano and little Maria, the former giving solidity, the latter quaintness, to the correspondence.

The letters were, of course, written in Spanish, but faithful translations have been made by Miss Helen C. Wilson, a graduate of Radcliffe College, and for some

time engaged in educational work in Cuba. These translations retain, in a rather remarkable manner, the simple character of the originals, upon which no attempt has been made to improve. Finally, it should be stated that a few unimportant paragraphs have been omitted from the translations, chiefly because they were regarded as wholly uninteresting to the general reader, and with a view to economy in space.

The Lopez Letters

The first letter is from Juliana ["Ninay"] to her sisters, Clemencia and Maria, then on a visit to Sixto at Hong-Kong. Juliana and the rest of the family at Manila were at the time unaware of the arrest of the three brothers at Boac and Balayan, which had occurred three days previously.

For the sake of clearness it should be mentioned that in this and all future letters the name "Quita" is used as an abbreviation of Mariquita, the diminutive of Maria. "Clemen" stands, of course, for Clemencia.

[From Juliana to Clemencia and Maria Lopez, then at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 17, 1901.

MY DEAR SISTERS: I suppose that by this time you can already distinguish from the deck of the steamer the shores of Hong-Kong, and so, only a few hours will elapse before you arrive and quickly see Sixto and our friends, whom also you have not seen for some time, though not for so long.

I write to tell you that I am delighted because of the joy it will give you to see at last our dear brother and never-to-be-forgotten friends, who will be astonished, not expecting to see you so soon.



JULIANA LOPEZ

Whose letters form the basis of this book

Yes, from the time you started until now I have been counting the hours it will take you to reach them, and have been making conjectures as to how you have passed the journey, whether Clemen would be very seasick and whether Quita would eat as well on board as ashore, in spite of her promise to me never to lose her liking for food. I am sure you will be very cold and that the climate there will affect you in spite of the fact that Clemen said it would not; and I say this because for two nights we have felt it here, and it has indeed troubled us.

Yesterday morning I telegraphed to Lorenzo, through [Lieutenant] Raymond, telling him of your departure and of that of your companions, and I also wrote him by post a long letter, telling him many things. We do not intend to go back to Balayan this week, but shall go next week if they give us a pass, for it is said that well-to-do persons, that is, those who can live comfortably here in Manila, will not be allowed to return to their towns. As I am not sure about this information, I shall try to get permission through our friends, and as soon as we obtain it we shall make haste to leave here as soon as possible, lest other laws be passed and Balayan be completely closed against us so that it would be impossible for us to go there. We know nothing of Balayan and believe it is quiet, for otherwise they would have telegraphed us telling us what was happening.

I will not write any more for fear of missing the mail.

Our affectionate regards to all our friends, and in particular to Messrs. Warren and Patterson, whom I remember always and shall never forget. Receive an embrace from your sister,

NINAY [Juliana].

[The foregoing letter is interesting only because of its natural, almost commonplace simplicity. There is not a striking thought or a noteworthy phrase in its little summary of little things. It might have been written by any young girl in America or Europe, fresh from a

convent school, as, indeed, was the case with its youthful author.

“ Little things minister pleasure,
As ever it fares with the good.”

It represents Juliana before she was transformed by trial and responsibility. Its only value is that it furnishes a means of comparing Juliana as she was with Juliana as she now is, as shown in her later letters.



The next letter is a hurried announcement of the trouble that had suddenly befallen the family. Juliana is still the convent school-girl. There is no expression of depth of feeling, for there were then no depths into which feeling could penetrate. A great trouble may sometimes be known without being realized. It requires trial and suffering and experience to deepen and broaden the soul, and give intensity to feeling and feeling to expression.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia and Maria Lopez, then at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 19, 1901.

DEAR SISTERS: With much sorrow of heart and distress I write to tell you that Lorenzo, Cipriano, and Manuel have been arrested, the first two in Balayan [province of Batangas], and Manuel, I suppose, in Boac; and all three are prisoners in the jail at Batangas [the city]. According to information we received last Friday, the 13th, our house was thoroughly searched, and the title-deeds and also some money were taken away. On the night of the same day the “ Purisima ” went to take Lorenzo and Cipriano, and Manuel went in the steamer with the other two to Batangas. It is also said that the

keys to the rice storehouse are in the hands of the commanding officer, so that nothing can be taken out without his permission. The crew of the "Purísima" are also prisoners.

This news will surprise you as much as it surprised me. Mother does not know it yet, and I shall not tell her, for it would kill her. We are working, and hope justice will be done them and that they will be set at liberty.

I inclose a cutting from the *Diario de Filipinas*. Our friends who have read it are astonished (if Sixto has really had interviews with these gentlemen) that he should have so bound himself; as it is not in their hands to secure the fulfillment of the promise. Moreover, the lawyer with whom Sixto conferred is not to be trusted, according to those who know him.

I do not know what to do, but through it all I hope justice will be done, since, as you know, they are innocent.

Good-bye. Consider what you ought to do, whether you ought to return or not.

Your sister, NINAY.

[A word of explanation is necessary with respect to the above reference to a cutting from the *Diario de Filipinas*.

Sixto Lopez, during his stay in Hong-Kong, had had several interviews with Judge Ladd of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, and with Captain Dwyer and Attorney Tirrell, both of Manila, who were anxious to secure his services in the cause of peace. Señor Lopez had, among other things, pointed out that to yield to the demand that he should take an oath of allegiance to America would at once destroy whatever influence he might otherwise have with Malvar. But he assured these gentlemen that he would give his word of honor to refrain from inciting or encouraging those in the

field to further armed resistance. Satisfied with the reasonableness of this explanation and the sufficiency of this assurance, Judge Ladd declared that Sixto Lopez was "the very man required in the present situation," and Messrs. Dwyer and Tirrell expressed the belief that he could be of great service in securing peace. They therefore undertook to urge both the civil and military authorities to make use of Sixto Lopez's services, promising to inform him by cable if their mission proved successful.

In due course the *Diario de Filipinas* and other Manila newspapers published an account of how Messrs. Dwyer and Tirrell's mission had failed, stating that, although Vice-Governor Wright had agreed to the proposal, General Chaffee remained obdurate and would not accept the offer unless Sixto Lopez first took the oath.

Juliana and her friends were apparently in doubt as to the *bona fides* of Messrs. Dwyer and Tirrell, believing that they had made promises which they had no power to fulfill. This, however, was a misapprehension, for they had simply undertaken to lay the matter before the Manila authorities, and had neither given nor asked any pledge as to future action.



The third letter is interesting, yet in no sense remarkable. It foreshadows a change, an unconscious dawning in Juliana's development.

"Something hath gleamed upon her, and the spell of her childhood is broken.

Hardly she knows, as yet, whether to waken or slumber again."

She is in doubt whether to assume the responsibility herself, or to ask her elder sister to return. Yet she is

“heartsick,” and heartsickness is the prelude to soul-expansion. She has, too, to conceal her trouble from “poor little mother,” and thus to assume the weight of it herself.

Messrs. Dwyer and Tirrell are again referred to in terms of suspicion, and even General Chaffee is regarded as untrustworthy. Those who are inclined to regard this as unwarranted suspicion should remember that the conditions in Manila were and are such as to provoke universal distrust. The Civil Government was unable to protect those under its own authority from its all-powerful military rival. It did indeed make laws, some of which were in violation of the charter from which it derived its law-making power, but the military authorities were complete masters of the situation; were, in fact, a law unto themselves, and defied the civil power. No one knew what would happen next; there was no feeling of security, no guarantee of justice. Every Filipino was under suspicion, and in turn distrusted every American; the former were regarded with contempt, the latter held themselves aloof. No one dared to peep, or to breathe a word of criticism against the military authorities. It was the era of the sycophant and the informer. Manila was swarming with secret police, a goodly number of whom were also to be found in Hong-Kong, Shanghai, and the southern ports of Japan. Who could be certain that Messrs. Dwyer and Tirrell were not of this fraternity? Even General Chaffee was distrusted, owing to the treatment accorded to “Martin C——,” a captured Filipino officer who had been liberated on taking the oath of allegiance, and then re-arrested and imprisoned for six months, notwithstanding that he had endeavored, unsuccessfully it is true, to induce Malvar to surrender. Such were the conditions after three years of American occupation of the Islands.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez, then at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 21, 1901.

DEAREST CLEMEN: When you receive this you will already have read mine of the day before yesterday, in which I told you in detail about how our poor brothers — Lorenzo, Cipriano, and Manuel — were taken prisoners, and of the detention of the steamer in Batangas, and the arrest of all the crew. We do not yet know how they are treated in the prison of Batangas, where they now are, whether well or ill. But I shall soon know, perhaps this evening or to-morrow, for the "Custer" will then arrive. I had commissioned a friend of mine to find out exactly all that is happening in Balayan and Batangas as regards our brothers, and he said he would do so with pleasure. Mariano and I do not cease working to obtain their liberation.

You cannot imagine, Clemen, how heartsick I am, and all the more because I have to conceal it before our poor little mother, who has a presentiment that some misfortune has befallen us because of the lateness of the steamer ["Purissima"]. And I, to persuade her that there was nothing of the sort, told her that the reason was because the Americans had hired it. I do not know whether to advise you to come or not. But for the last two days I have been running here and there and have gotten nothing but promises. I should therefore like you to come, for I can do nothing alone.

Yesterday I went twice to see if General Chaffee would receive me, and failed. They say that he will deal with nobody; and yet I cannot decide to go to Batangas, knowing what Bell is, without first obtaining a recommendation from Chaffee. So I do not know what to do. On the other hand, the Federal party have promised to work, and I do not know whether they will succeed. We all believe that they have taken these harsh measures, imprisoning the principal men in the province, in order that every one may work with energy for the surrender of Malvar.

Say to our brother, if you have not received my last letter, that we have read in the papers of his interview with Captain Dwyer and with a lawyer whose name I do not remember [Mr. Tirrell]. None of our friends believe that he [Dwyer or Tirrell] has the right to promise so much; therefore warn Sixto not to fall into the trap. I should like to send Sixto the clipping, but I do not find it at hand, and I am sure that you have received my letter with the clipping where it tells of his interview with the gentleman, and that General Chaffee has refused to allow him to come unless he takes the oath. Even if he [General Chaffee] should permit it, I do not need to tell you what would happen. Remember Martin C.

Good-bye, with remembrances from your sister who loves you.

NINAY.



[A mistranslation in the following letter unfortunately led Mr. Magoon into the belief that the Lopez sisters had "conducted a correspondence with Sixto Lopez of such a kind and character that prudence dictated the adoption of measures calculated to prevent knowledge thereof from coming to the authorities." The words which misled Mr. Magoon were: "When you write, direct the letter to ——, *so that it may not attract attention.*" The latter part of the sentence, in italics, is a mistranslation of the original "*para que no se extravien,*" a correct rendering of which would be: "so that it may not *go astray.*" Letters had "gone astray" in the Manila post-office, and some of those written by the Lopez sisters had been delivered only after a long and inexplicable delay. Thus, Maria writes: "We are much troubled at your saying that you have received no letters from us since I left there, for Ninay [Juliana] has written to you at least five or six times since I arrived here." Later, Juliana writes: "We have finally found a friend by whom to send you this letter, for I am afraid you have not re-

ceived my previous ones and that they are really lost." There was undoubtedly a desire to secure safe delivery of the letters, and there was also an anxiety on the part of Mariano Lopez that nothing should be said which an over-suspicious official might construe as against the government. This was quite natural; similar anxiety would have been felt by any one else in similar circumstances. But since the letters written by the Lopez family had been voluntarily placed in the President's hands, it ought to have been clear that there had been no attempt to conceal from the authorities the "kind and character" of the correspondence.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 26, 1901.

DEAREST CLEMEN : We did not think it best to answer your telegram received yesterday morning, because of the present condition of our family. Up to the present time our brothers still remain prisoners in Batangas, the steamer is held like all the rest of the property, and, what is more, we do not know to whom to apply to free either our brothers or the property. Everybody with whom we talk about this tells us to have more patience and to proceed with calmness, because it is the military system, and the measure is a general one. The result is that I am in despair because I can do nothing for them. Through a friend I have learned that they are well treated in Batangas, and that they are not made to work as in Lipa, where all the rest, both great and small, except the stout brother of your friend, and some others whom I do not remember, have to work.

The steamer "Purissima" is now an American transport and serves the Government; it does not come to Manila, but only makes trips in the provinces. We have news, also, that they have not changed the crew of the steamer, but they do not let them land, especially in Batangas. I have received no letter from Balayan nor

from our brothers, so I am not certain whether this news is true. I cannot write to them for fear of making their situation worse, for you do not know, Clemen, how the people of Batangas are suffering now, and what they will suffer, from hunger. On the other hand, I cannot write to the officers who are our friends; first, because all those in Balayan are new and I do not know them, and those whom I do know I am afraid of compromising. Captain Cole was removed from Balayan because he did not wish to take our brothers prisoners, and defended them in every way. So it was that I could do nothing else but beg the favor from a friend, known only recently, that he should go in person and at least find out how they are; and the night before last he came and told me that they were well and well treated.* On this account we ought not to be so unhappy, for there are others more unfortunate than our brothers.

Although they say that until Malvar surrenders they will not give them liberty, yet I have great trust in God that they will soon be set free, since Balayan is still peaceful and quiet. I do not know whether you will be able to understand this letter, for it is like my head, topsy-turvy. Arrange it so that when you come you bring nothing, absolutely nothing with you, in order to avoid even unfounded suspicion. Mariano says that our brother [Sixto] ought not to come. Many think that this measure taken against our brothers is on his account and his friends' who were here. When you write, direct the letter to _____, so that it may not go astray [*para que no se extravien*"]. Mother does not know it yet, but suspects, because of the lateness of the boat, and I tell her anything so that she may not be troubled.

Good-bye, with regards to all.

Your sister,

NINAY.



* This report was untrue, as is shown in later letters.

[It is the belief of many persons in the Philippines, both native and foreign, that Mariano Lopez is a lover of American sovereignty. This belief receives no countenance from the following letter, for although Mariano had done everything in his power to secure peace, and although he was agreeable, *under the circumstances*, to a term of American rule, he is anxious that Sixto should "work in America." For what? Sixto's work in America, as Mariano well knew, has always been and will continue to be for independence — until it is achieved. Mariano's words are therefore significant. His attitude is typical of that of many other Filipinos who desire peace — and independence. The desire for peace is not a negation of independence, nor does it presuppose a wish for permanent American control.]

[From Mariano to Sixto Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 26, 1901.

DEAR SIXTO: On the 11th instant the "Purísima" left here for Boac [Island of Marinduque, under Civil Government] with Manuel on board, and arrived there the following day. On the same day Manuel was, by order of General Bell, arrested and transported to Batangas [under Military Government], in the "Purísima." On the following day, i. e., the 13th, still by order of this general, the "Purísima" went to Balayan with Captain Cole and Lieutenant Allen on board, and after having occupied our house and confiscated the papers, title-deeds, and keys, they arrested and took to Batangas Lorenzo, Cipriano, and Felix [the first Presidente, appointed by the United States authorities], where they are now held as prisoners, and the steamer was converted into a Government transport. The motive for this is not known, but it is all the more extraordinary because Balayan is the only pacified town in Batangas, and has supported the Government since the 11th of March of this year until the present date. To such an

extent was this true that the Military Government allowed municipal elections there on the 29th of last September, and good feeling and friendship existed between the Lopez family and the commanding and other officers, so that almost all of these officers often visited at our house.

On the 10th instant the ports of Batangas and La Laguna were closed, and to-day the term of reconcentration-notice ends. Before the close of this period we had already received here, from a trustworthy source, awful news from there, that all the people in the towns who had \$4 or upwards were apprehended, and villages were burned. Now that reconcentration is in full force, what horrors will these poor people not suffer?

I will give you some examples, not to mention some others which happened in Lipa, and which my pen refuses to describe. All the municipal officers and respectable men were imprisoned, and were put to work in the streets. All the barrios were burned, and that of Balete was burned in the following manner: the American troops compelled the householders to walk on foot from the town to the barrio, each one carrying a can of petroleum, and when they arrived they were each one obliged to burn his own country residence.

One day an American soldier knocked at the door of a half-sister of B. Solis, who sold rice, and demanded rice for the horse of a lieutenant. He was answered that at that house rice was not given away, but was sold. The mistress of the house complained to the colonel, who promised to do her justice, but after that two soldiers appeared, and the woman, frightened, yielded, allowing them to enter and take away, out of a large basket, the rice which they desired. Later the lieutenant came with soldiers and searched the house and found ammunition in the basket [presumably placed there by the two soldiers]. For that reason the masters of the house were taken prisoners.

Here nothing can be done for these unhappy provinces,

even to soften the harsh measures. The Government is firm in its decision that until Malvar surrenders there shall be no change, and when protest is made in favor of innocent people who are loyal to the Government, — women, old men, and children, — it is replied that these are measures of war, and that even in America these same measures were taken during the civil war.

Even here in Manila no one lives in safety, since the belief prevails among the military that all the Filipinos are more or less traitors to the Americans. In this, the civil authorities allow themselves to be overruled, although it is clear that the military element desires a continuance of the war and is, with the assistance of the American press here, doing everything possible to have all the islands returned to its control, as you may have already noticed. Therefore, taking note of all that I have said, I beg you to work in America; but I hope that you will do so with great prudence, and in such a manner as will not in any way make worse the situation of your unfortunate and destitute brothers and sisters here. You will pardon me for telling you not to come now, with or without taking the oath, if you do not wish to make worse both their situation and your own as regards the Government, without helping matters. For the same reason do not write to them except by sure and certain messenger.

Good-bye.

MARIANO.



[It has been said that soldiers are bad logicians. Perhaps this is because the sword has no major premise, and always reaches the same conclusion! The following letter contains a specimen of martial logic which may yet find a place in a military edition of "Alice in Wonderland." Captain Taggart is (or was!) a friend of the Lopez family, having known them in Balayan, where for a time he held command. Doubtless he was only expressing a general belief when he declared that the

imprisonment of the three brothers was on account of Sixto; but his solution of the difficulty, as regards the confiscated property, is probably his own: Divide the family property, he says, and then the only part that would remain in the hands of the military would be Sixto's share.

Now, if division or separation of the property would thus secure immunity from confiscation, why were the brothers imprisoned? Were they not already as separate from Sixto as Sixto's property would be from theirs after the division? Where is the major premise? But wait. The soldier is usually credited with an imperfect idea of the meaning and application of scripture. Apparently Captain Taggart and others have concluded that Lorenzo and Cipriano and Manuel were their "brother's keeper," using the latter word in a financial sense. Perhaps this is the reason why Mariano escaped, for he is only a half-brother to Sixto, and the scriptures are silent about half-brothers! But then, what about Lorenzo, who also is only a half-brother to Sixto?

Well, everybody loves the soldier — loves him as the typical embodiment of bravery and strength, and for his keen sense of honor, and his boyish good-nature — when he isn't fighting; but not for his powers as a logician or a theologian!]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 28, 1901.

DEAREST CLEMEN: Two weeks have passed since you went away, and yet I have not received any letter from you up to the present time, and you cannot imagine how impatient I am to receive one, because in the situation in which our family at present finds itself I ought to know your decision, and also what I ought to do on my part. I have done everything and have got nothing but promises, and some tell me that when the war is ended every one will be set at liberty; from this you can judge

whether I can do anything more. I have been able to do almost nothing for their welfare, except to beg recommendations from the friends of Bell that he should treat our poor brothers with consideration.

Yesterday I saw Captain Taggart, who has just come, and he told me, among other things, that the imprisonment of our brothers was on account of Sixto (whom our brothers pecuniarily support), he being a great enemy of the American Government, who will not come to the Philippines and swear allegiance, which would be the only way to settle the matter. I answered him that they were mistaken in thinking this [i. e., that Sixto was an *enemy* of the American Government], and that even if that were the case, if they believe him guilty, as they say, he is the only person who ought to be involved in this affair, for he acts according to his own judgment and does as he thinks best. Finally he advised me that the only way in which the Government could return to us the confiscated property would be for us to divide it up, and in that way we could have ours, and the only part which would remain in the hands of the Government would be that belonging to Sixto. . . .

Yesterday, I learned that you had sent some letters by one who, fearing that they would compromise him, tore them up, believing them to be something else. Indeed, it is not surprising, so many incredible and horrible things have happened. They say that they will devastate all Batangas if it is not pacified at once. All remain prisoners, and the number increases. Even priests and curates are suspected. That is why, in view of all these things, I prefer almost anything rather than to see so many die of hunger — so many people entirely ignorant of what is called politics. When I complain of this inhumanity, they only reply that “such is war,” and explain by this same answer all their inhuman actions. I am much distressed to see mother so afflicted by the lateness of Manuel, and if she knew the truth of what has happened to Lorenzo and Cipriano also I do not know what

would become of her. For my part, I wish you would return, considering the sad condition in which we are; and I have to think of Pepe [José, the brother in England].

Good-bye. Regards to everybody, and remember that you are not forgotten.

NINAY.



[The following letter contains Mariano's proposal that Sixto should take the oath of allegiance in order to secure the release of the three brothers, — a proposal which, it is believed, did not originate with Mariano: Few persons will question the propriety of taking oath of allegiance to the United States if the oath is taken voluntarily and in sincerity, and presumably Mariano never intended that Sixto should take it against his inclination or in violation of conscience. But to take any oath simply as a matter of expediency, or in bargain for the mitigation of an injustice, is an act to which no honorable man ought to consent.]

Sixto's reply — which here follows Mariano's letter — shows the position he has maintained ever since his first association with Rizal. His attitude toward the American authorities is the same as was his attitude toward Spain. Apparently he could have become *persona grata* to both by assuming the role of a hypocrite. It was ever thus; there is no room for an honest man in any system of wrong. It is Benedict Arnold that is welcomed by England, and Buencamino by the Civil Government at Manila. A man is known by the company he keeps; a policy by those whom it attracts.]

[From Mariano to Clemencia Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, December 28, 1901.

DEAREST CLEMEN: I write to tell you that our poor brothers, Lorenzo, Cipriano, and Manuel, are still prisoners, and our steamer and possessions confiscated, and I find

myself now powerless and unable to remedy matters, since all my efforts up to the present time have been useless, and I can think of no other effective remedy but the following: I believe that if Sixto should offer to recognize the Government, swearing allegiance to its sovereignty in these islands, on condition that our brothers should be set at liberty and our steamer and goods returned to us, his offer would be accepted.

In Sixto's hands, then, lies the remedy for our troubles and total ruin, and he must choose one of two things: Either to sacrifice himself, renouncing his desire to set free his country at the cost of his life and put in its place brotherly affection to save us, or, shutting his eyes to all this, to remain sternly faithful to his aims, sublime and heroic it is true, but leaving us all to die, some in captivity and the others destitute. And Sixto must not think that if he should come and offer to suffer everything in place of his brothers the Government would be willing and would remedy our situation. Of this, at least, he must not think, for they might lay hands on him also if he persists in not taking the oath when he comes. Our mother begs me earnestly to tell you to come back by the first boat, and to beg our friends to write us nothing about politics if they do not wish to make our condition worse.

Your brother,

MARIANO LOPEZ.



[From Sixto to Mariano Lopez.]

January 1, 1902.

DEAR MARIANO: While I admire the spirit that has prompted you in proposing [in your letter to Clemencia] that I should make a great sacrifice in order to secure the release of our brothers, I cannot do what you suggest. I believe it to be my duty to make sacrifices for our country and for those who are near and dear to us, but I can never agree that it is right to sacrifice principle



VIEW OF PART OF MANILA, SHOW



VIEW OF THE LUNETTA, MANILA, W

[See note in li.



SHIPPING ON THE RIVER PASIG



E RIZAL WAS EXECUTED IN 1896

illustrations]

or to yield to suffering when we are in the right. You know as well as I do that Lorenzo and Manuel, and Cipriano since his surrender, have done nothing to aid or incite the Filipinos under arms, and that they have done nothing in opposition to American authority. Consequently their imprisonment is neither legally nor morally justifiable. Therefore to make any sacrifices in return for their release would be simply reviving the old system of bribery which held sway under Spanish rule, and would practically amount to yielding to blackmail. This we, of all people, must not countenance. If we cannot get justice for our brothers and our property, then we must suffer, and that suffering is the only sacrifice which it is proper for us to make.

We should remember that our fellow-countrymen have suffered and are suffering for the sake of right. Even the poorest and least educated have been prepared to sacrifice their life for what they believe to be the benefit of their country. Shall we, then, who have been blessed with some degree of wealth and education, shall we flinch and yield at the first stroke of calamity? For myself I answer, "Never." I am prepared to sacrifice my property and my life for the good of my country or for the benefit of our family, but the sacrifice which you suggest I will never, never consent to make. The American authorities may inflict punishment on our family that may break my heart or my life, but they will never be able to break my principle as long as God Almighty remains on the side of what is right.

But the two courses which you mention in your letter are not the only alternatives. There is another course which I believe will secure justice and the release of our brothers. It may not bring relief as soon as the one you suggest, but it will be more effective and permanent in its results. It involves no sacrifice of principle and no violation of right. It would be improper at this stage to give you the details, but I intend to pursue it, and we shall see whether it will prove a success.

Fortunately, if I can obtain no help for my family, I shall still be able to carry on the work, for every injustice inflicted on us will only bring more aid and sympathy to our people. Wrong will always turn upon the wrongdoer, and will finally benefit those who are wronged. It is therefore for us to do what is right and suffer patiently any temporary wrong, knowing that right will ultimately triumph.

But let me make my own position clear. I am entirely in favor of a cessation of all armed resistance to American authority. I have always believed, with you, that the war was not necessarily to our people's interests, and I am of the same opinion still. I am therefore willing to do whatever lies in my power to bring about peace. But I utterly despise the policy which inflicts punishment upon neutral non-combatants in order to secure the surrender of those in arms. Neither morality nor the rules of war sanction such a policy. To my mind it is an unutterably mean and cruel method of securing victory. It is unworthy of an American soldier and a blot upon the escutcheon of the nation that went to war to put an end to the methods of General Weyler. And although under other circumstances I should counsel surrender by Malvar and his forces, I cannot urge him to surrender *in response to such methods of warfare*.

Better a thousand times for us all to suffer, knowing that the more we are made to suffer the sooner will come our final relief. Injustice and wrong will no more bring victory to America than to General Weyler. We should remember that there is One who is more powerful than money and guns, and that One is on our side. We may have to suffer, for we cannot claim that we are immaculate, but the great balance of right is on our side, and that ought to satisfy us and give us the assurance of ultimate triumph.

You will, ere this, have received my letter telling of Clemencia's departure for America, and the reasons

which moved us all to adopt this course. Your and Juliana's letters only served to confirm me in the belief that we have adopted the proper course. If necessary, Clemencia can return within three or four months. Mariquita is happy and contented, and for the present, or until I leave Hong-Kong, I should recommend her to remain. But of course she will do whatever mother advises.

Ever your affectionate brother, SIXTO.

[It is difficult to discover, in the foregoing letter, anything in the form of a threat to the United States. Yet the following words have been so construed by what must surely be a forced interpretation: "Although under other circumstances I should counsel surrender by Malvar and his forces, I cannot urge him to surrender *in response to such methods of warfare.*" In the same paragraph from which these words are quoted Sixto Lopez says: "I am entirely in favor of a cessation of all armed resistance to American authority. . . . I am therefore willing to do whatever lies in my power to bring about peace." From this it is abundantly clear that the supposed "threat" is simply an independent statement that although Sixto Lopez is in favor of peace he would not counsel surrender "*in response*" to certain methods of warfare. But anything in the form of independence of mind on the part of those of dark complexion is naturally construed as a "threat" by the Great White Anglo-Saxon!

In commenting on the paragraph referred to, Mr. Magoon says: "Sixto Lopez, however, insists that a belligerent commander is without authority to punish or even prevent any and every effort to cause the miscarriage of the military operations of the United States, excepting the acts of those persons who are encountered with arms in their hands, and insists that a person who asserts that he is a 'non-combatant' is by such assertion placed outside

the jurisdiction of the military authority." * This might well go down in history as another of the "Curiosities of Literature,"—if, indeed, it were literary,—for it would be hard to find, anywhere in the English language, a grosser misrepresentation of an opponent's words. Where does Sixto Lopez "insist" on any of these absurdities? It will be noted that the only item quoted from Sixto Lopez's letter is the word "non-combatant"; the context attributed to him is pure imagination. It is bad enough to misrepresent, but to attribute foolish things to an opponent is almost unpardonable. Why should any such course be adopted? A good cause and a good case do not require the aid of misconstruction or misrepresentation.

In the following letter, Mariano briefly replies to Sixto's rejoinder in a manner creditable alike to his patriotism and to his ability as a student of history.

The remainder of his letter is devoted chiefly to Manuel Ramirez, who figures in this history, and of whom, more anon.]

[From Mariano to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, January 8, 1902.

DEAR SIXTO: I have received your letter through Mariquita, who came yesterday, very weak, owing to seasickness during the voyage. In answering it I will only say that, considering the atmosphere in which you live, alone, and called to be almost a martyr for your country, it seems to me excellent and not to be improved. But as for me and millions of our compatriots in the surroundings in which we live, considering the circumstances and our respective families, for whom we must have very

* Mr. Magoon, in the Report of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, p. 2605.

special regard, we cannot follow you on the patriotic road which you have laid out. But we do not on that account consider ourselves any less patriotic than you are; for if history holds up to you examples of heroism, even to the point of sacrificing one's life for one's country, it gives us, on the other hand, examples of even great nations who have yielded to the superior force of the enemy, preferring to submit to the conqueror rather than to continue the struggle at the price of total extermination. I admire and respect your views and convictions; but try not to compromise any more of us who are here if you do not wish to force your brothers to follow in your path.

Our three brothers, with Felix Unzon, are in the Bay [of Manila], on the transport "Liscum," to be deported, although it is not yet known where. A military commission has been to inspect the island of Talim, La Laguna, and some people think that perhaps it will be that island. I was able to talk with them, and they tell me that they have been embarked without any formal writ or notification as to the reasons, and if they know anything about it it is because a messenger from the officer who keeps the record of the prisoners has told them that in those records there is no accusation against our brothers except that of being suspected of maintaining the insurrection, and he has offered to endeavor to liberate them, saying that for a small sum of money he could accomplish it. Our brothers refused this offer because of their self-respect and innocence. Several obtained liberty in Batangas in this way, and it is known of Mariano Ramos, the son of Juan Ramos, that he was freed through the influence of the present favorite of the Americans, Manuel Ramirez.

Let us talk of the latter. In case you do not remember his past, I will put it down for you now. You know that Ramirez started as an office-boy and clerk of the deceased Don Manuel Araulio. When the latter died, Ramirez continued in the employ of his son, Don Agustin, now also

deceased, who, through his wealth and influence, made Ramirez chief of the town of Balayan. Having once risen, he showed himself to be capable of anything, since he soon made himself a landholder at the expense of the town and of his master, who died poor. From that time he and the curate (friar) of the town were in league. Several years passed in this way, until Don Caspar Castaño, then governor of the province, tired of this state of affairs, held an investigation as to who was responsible for these intrigues, in order to make a radical reform. It was then discovered that Manuel Ramirez was the author of them all, and he was accordingly deported to Mindoro. There, instead of amending, he became worse, for in a few years he dominated the courts and the officials, and all these also were continually intriguing, while, on the other hand, the governor and the priest (friar) were continually hostile to one another and involved in lawsuits.

The Spanish Government, wishing to put an end to this state of things in that island, selected Don Rafael Morales and sent him there as governor, and he quickly perceived that the disturber was Manuel Ramirez, who was warned not again to trample under foot either the courts or the Government, to stop all plots, and to refrain from any remonstrance in those provinces, under pain of being deported to a distant island. In the year 1898, when the island of Mindoro was taken by the Philippine forces, Ramirez was one of those singled out by the popular wrath and arrested. But the officer in command of the forces was governed by the desire to pardon bad Filipinos and to attract them to the right course; and so, taking advantage of the popular delirium of joy after the triumph over the Spaniards, he gave him and others their freedom. As soon as Ramirez found himself free, fearful lest the townspeople, once their enthusiasm had passed, should kill him, he escaped to Batangas and went from there to his old home in Balayan. Here he transformed himself into an ardent patriot, assisted the presidente as town secretary, and provided all

supplies for his brother-in-law, the great robber Estaban Causapin, who also pretended to be a great patriot, and raised troops. Later Mr. Taggart, major of the Twenty-eighth Volunteers, stationed in Balayan, ascertained that he was responsible for robberies and assaults in Nasugbu and Lian. (This Causapin also now enjoys the confidence of the Americans, for he is one of their spies.)

In October, 1900, when the Thirty-ninth Volunteers came to relieve the Twenty-eighth Regiment, the troops then stationed at Balayan, the commanding officer of the former, Mr. Langhorne, was arrested by the commanding officer of the latter, Mr. Taggart, before passing over the command.* Already, in the time of Major Taggart, Ramirez had secretly denounced many people. Major Taggart, who does nothing except in accordance with his favorite phrase, "evidence," and who is keenly observant, saw through Ramirez immediately, and found no difficulty in comprehending that he is a man who, although intelligent, is to be feared because of his evil disposition. As I told you before, the unfriendliness between Mr. Taggart and Mr. Langhorne was well improved by Ramirez, who from that time not only acquired influence over the latter but also over all his officers, although the said Mr. Langhorne was a friend and continual visitor at our house, so that, thanks to him, Ramirez could not then do us harm. After the forces of Commander Langhorne had been quartered a few months in Balayan, the following incident occurred in the house of Nicolas Ramos :

As he [Ramos] and his family were in the habit of selling liquors [clandestinely], there came to their house one night some drunken soldiers of the neighborhood to buy wine, and, as it was refused them and they demanded

* The command was passed over to Captain Taylor, who retained it until Major Langhorne was released after about one month's imprisonment, decreed from headquarters in Manila.

it resolutely, they came to blows. There was confusion, since some cried out that they were being assaulted by robbers, and others fought desperately until an officer came and put a stop to it and brought them all before the chief. Once before Colonel Bullard, at that time in command, those who had been assaulted insisted that the intention was to rob them, and they even declared that money and jewels had been taken from them. One of the assailants is a cousin of one of the officers, and certainly found out the truth, for the following night that officer with some soldiers went to arrest Geronimo Ramos, the son of Nicolas, who, when he saw them coming, began to run, and the officer pursued him with a revolver and wounded him in the hand; but so great was the terror of Geronimo that he did not stop until he could hide himself in the house of Juan Garcia. It is known that this officer when he overtook and captured him took a more pacific course, for he agreed to bring him before the chief, Colonel Bullard, and there, through the prayers of the Ramos family, the matter was dropped. This family began to make presents to the chiefs and officers, while secretly Mario, a brother of Nicolas, became once more, with all his family, good patriots, forming committees for contributions to the Philippine forces. Lorenzo and I, when all this happened, were here in Manila and were ignorant of it all. Ramirez who had been informed by his brother-in-law, Causapin, and his brother, Hilarion, of this contribution denounced all those who did not bow the head to him, and they were imprisoned, and were only set at liberty when our brother Cipriano surrendered with all his forces, March 11, 1901.

From that time until the present there has not been a single combat or uprising in all the territory of Balayan, proving that the town is not only peaceful and submissive to the Government of the United States, but that it is completely separated from the insurrection which still exists in other towns. On this basis I solicited and obtained from the military government municipal elections

in the town on the 29th of September, and at those elections Ramirez was defeated, he being the candidate supported by the military, and especially by Captain Cheever of the Sixth Cavalry, commander of Balayan, and by the Ramos family, who became partisans of Ramirez through fear of him, since they had carried off and sold animals belonging to the friars in Balayan. Ramirez made an accusation against us, and he and his friends began to threaten our family.

I protested in writing to the then chief of the Department of the South, General Wade, and to General Chaffee, whose adjutant assured me that no harm should come to us through the denunciation of Ramirez.

In a few days some people from Balayan told us that Ramirez was going about spreading the report that General Chaffee had refused to see me, and that very soon the Lopez family would fall, as his friend Cheever had assured him of this, who, it is said, piqued because his candidate was not elected, would take every means to ruin us. The rigorous exactitude with which the threat against us has been fulfilled leaves no room for doubt that it was they who ruined us, finding in the higher military authorities echo of their desires for vengeance against us, since these latter imagine that all the Filipinos are more or less guilty of sympathizing with the continuation of the war. Now, I have given you all the facts about my services and those of my family to the Government, which will fairly justify the statement that we are simply the victims of the revenge and baseness of Ramirez. All the commanding and other officers who were and still are at Balayan, and who visited at our house and were our friends, will bear witness to this.

I have wished to give you a complete picture of Ramirez, for I had a notion of attacking him through the governmental press here, . . . but friends tell me that it will be better to do it in America.

General Bell was sent to Batangas by his superiors with absolutely unlimited power, and as he is naturally

of a very violent temper, and incited by his friends the friars, and Spaniards, you can imagine what sort of barbarities will take place there. Poor Cipriano surrendered with all his forces, trusting in the honor of the American representatives in the Philippines. He has given absolutely no cause for suspicion; Balayan was absolutely peaceful, pacified, and submissive to the Government of the United States after his surrender; he was chosen electoral judge in the municipal elections of the 29th of last September and named councilor by popular vote, defeating Ramirez. Do you suppose this adversary of ours would have kept silent if there had been any fault which would have disqualified him for these positions?

Moreover, Cipriano's arrest on the 13th of last December happened in the following way: That evening he was going on horseback with Lieutenant Raymond, of the Sixth Cavalry, to look over and mark out territory within which the reconcentrados would have to remain, and when they returned to the town and were opposite the barracks, another officer appeared and arrested him by order of General Bell. . . .

Now, the American friends who helped us as far as they could are the chief of police, Captain Curry, and Lieutenant Pendleton, who was the captain of the port of Balayan. The former went with me to General Chaffee, whom we could not see, but we saw the inspector-general, who, after listening to me with benevolence, advised me to see the adjutant-general of the north, Colonel Wagner. I could not see him, but Adjutant-General Wheaton received me and agreed to present a memorandum of my services to the Government.

Take care in writing to us, now that you know how closely watched we are.

MARIANO.



[When Manuel Ramirez was defeated in the election for Presidente of the town of Balayan, which position he had previously held by appointment of the American military commander, he was angry beyond all reason. He might have comforted himself with the reflection that he was not the first or the only candidate in this world that had suffered defeat at the polls. But instead of thus taking his defeat quietly and with dignity, he needs must harbor deep-seated ill will toward his opponents, and especially toward the Lopez family, upon whom he vowed all kinds of vengeance. Such vows would have been futile had it not been that he was the nominee of Captain Cheever, who felt that his own dignity had suffered owing to the refusal of the people of Balayan to confirm his ill-bestowed choice. For this and other reasons Manuel Ramirez was given authority, under the military commander, before which the power of the elected presidente was insignificant and wholly inoperative. The smaller the Tsar the greater the tyrant, and so, the manner in which Ramirez abused his authority may yet be a matter of investigation.]

Among his several attentions to the Lopez family was the following letter "To the Honorable Committee in Batangas." It is doubtful whether this letter ought to find a place in these pages, but in fairness to Ramirez — since he has been under the lash of Mariano Lopez — it may be as well to include it, even if it suffers by comparison with its surroundings. It would, however, be a needless tax on time and temper to give what would be an easy refutation of its numerous mis-statements. Indeed, Ramirez may yet have to answer for them in a court of justice, or at any rate, a court of law. For the present it will be sufficient to say that there is no truth in his insinuations and charges against the Lopez family.]

[Manuel Ramirez to the Committee in Batangas.]

TO THE HONORABLE COMMITTEE IN BATANGAS :

I, Manuel Ramirez, presidente of the town of Balayan, with all due respect and through the president of the Board of Organization of this municipality, make the following declaration :

That at the municipal elections held in the town-hall the day before yesterday, the 29th of September, Señor Julian Afable has been elected presidente. He is the candidate presented by the potentates of this town, the Lopez brothers, who had so great an interest in taking from me my authority in the town and in giving it to Afable that they even went so far as to have votes bought for the latter. In the following pages I am going to state briefly why the Messrs. Lopez did this. Having an interest in the prompt pacification of these Islands, I put myself in November of last year on the side of the American officers stationed in this town, and worked with them to secure the surrender or capture, as the case might be, of the insurgents in this territory, including the towns of Balayan, Tuy, Nasugbu, Looc, Calatagan, and Lian.

Señor Cipriano Lopez, one of the above-mentioned brothers, was lieutenant-colonel and chief of this district and these towns until we succeeded in discovering on Bancalan, Tuy, the encampment of the insurgent Major Señor Ignacio Laines, which belonged to the above-mentioned lieutenant-colonel's company. The Americans found in this place a traveling-bag belonging to Laines, which contained money and important papers, which compromised a number of citizens of this town, one of them being Señor Lorenzo Lopez, brother of Cipriano, and revolutionary ex-presidente of Balayan. In consequence of the discovery of these papers the American military commander of this town, Mr. Langhorne, ordered the arrest of various citizens, and even that of the before-mentioned Lorenzo, which was demanded by a telegram to Colonel Bullard, in

Manila, where the former [Lorenzo] then was, in order that Colonel Bullard, when he returned to Balayan, where the real head of the American detachment was, might bring Lorenzo with him as prisoner, to include him with the other prisoners who were already in the prison, and send them all to Guam unless they secured the surrender of all the insurgents in Balayan, with their arms, numbering upward of two hundred.

That when Lorenzo was arrested in Manila, his brother, Señor Mariano Lopez, who has just affiliated himself with the Federal party, went to Colonel Bullard and begged him not to make his brother, Lorenzo, a prisoner, and that he would arrange that his other brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Cipriano, should present himself within three days of the arrival of Colonel Bullard and his brothers, Mariano and Lorenzo, in the town. The surrender, then, of Lieutenant-Colonel Cipriano Lopez was obligatory, through fear that the god of the family, Lorenzo Lopez, might be sent to Guam. From the foregoing it is clearly seen that the Lopez brothers, revenging themselves on me because I was friendly to the Americans, tried their utmost to take from me my command of this town, going so far as to buy votes, as the military commander, Mr. Cheever, can prove, since an elector has declared before him that he received payment for his vote to the amount of \$3, and produced a witness who was present when he received this sum from one of the Lopez agents who was buying votes. [!]

By the subjoined clippings from the periodicals *Freedom* and *Democracia*, the honorable provincial committee will see that Señor Sixto Lopez, the brother of these here in Balayan, not only spoke very ill of the Americans [Ramirez evidently believes everything that he sees in print, except — when directed against himself!], but also took the initiative in the formation of a new Filipino government on foreign soil to continue the war which had been semi-paralyzed here in the Islands by the capture of the president, Señor Aguinaldo.

[Ramirez is here *creating* history!] This fact, and the tenacious refusal to surrender of General Malvar, the protector and intimate friend of the Lopez brothers, are closely related to the elections at Balayan, since the presidente-elect, Señor Julian Afable, is a brother-in-law of the secretary of the treasury of the Philippine government, Señor Galicano Apacible, and it is not too much to suspect also that the Messrs. Lopez continue to work in favor of the insurrection. [!]

That the honorable provincial committee should not believe that the Messrs. Lopez have tried to take from me my office of presidente because I governed the town badly, since I subjoin to this paper copies of the certificates of my conduct, which have been given to me by the American military commanders who have been here and who still are here. In virtue, therefore, of the right given to me by article 13 of the municipal code, I present this protest, in due time and form, against the election of Señor Julian Afable, praying the honorable provincial committee to declare the elections held here null and void, and to prohibit the electors from voting for Señor Afable [There is democracy for you!], since there are reasonable grounds for suspecting his loyalty, or to take the most extreme action which justice will allow.

MANUEL RAMIREZ, *Presidente*.

BALAYAN, October 1, 1901.



[The following proposed reply of Mariano's, though not intended as a refutation of Ramirez's charges, is here included because it gives information about the Lopez family which may interest the reader. It is understood that Mariano never sent it in, which perhaps was fortunate, for anything in the form of a controversy with Manuel Ramirez would only have resulted in a loss of dignity.]

[Proposed reply of Mariano Lopez to charges of Manuel Ramirez.]

I, a representative of the province of Batangas in the congress of Malolos, having never been in favor of the war of my country against America, declared this at the first outbreak of hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos, before General Otis, together with Drs. Bourne and Pardo de Tavera. Therefore, since I wished that my province should lay down its arms I offered my services to the said general, asking for a pass, so that I might go there and work toward that end. My request was granted; but when I arrived in the provinces I found the military element so preponderant that I could not immediately further my purpose without danger to my life, — except gradually when special occasion offered, as will be seen by my subsequent actions.

At the time of the capture and military occupation of my town of Balayan, by the Twenty-eighth Volunteers under the command of Major Taggart, I persuaded the people who were scattered about through the outlying districts and the mountains to return to their homes and recognize American sovereignty. I had already tried to persuade my brother, Colonel Cipriano, to surrender to the American Government with all his forces, but did not succeed because of his sense of honor.

Some months after that, when good feeling had been established between the town and the American forces, I came to Manila to look after my interests, and there, when the Federal party was formed, affiliated myself with it, was nominated a delegate of this party, and organized committees for it in Balayan and Calaca.

As at this time I was nearing the conclusion of my work in the towns mentioned, I knew that very soon General Trias, the superior officer of my brother Cipriano, would surrender. I urged the latter to do the same, and, with the aid of my step-mother and brothers, finally obtained his surrender and that of all his troops, together with their arms and ammunition. This surrender was

made on the 11th of March of this year to Colonel Bullard, of the Thirty-ninth Volunteers, stationed at Balayan.

On the 2d of April of the same year, at the request of Colonel Bullard, I was commissioned by the Military Government to persuade General Malvar to become loyal, and although I have not accomplished this, I have in its place succeeded in persuading General Katigbak and Colonel Calao to surrender with their forces to the commanding officer in Lipa.

In the same way, to assist Colonel Bullard, I contributed to the surrender of General Cailles.

Since the surrender of my brother with his troops, the peace in my town of Balayan has not been disturbed in the least degree, and being desirous to consolidate this state of affairs, I urged and obtained from the Military Government the holding of municipal elections on the 29th of last September, basing my action upon the peace which the town enjoyed.

Being defeated at the election, Señor Manuel Ramirez laid a written protest before the provincial council of Batangas, not only questioning the legality of the elections, but attacking me and my brothers, accusing us of having close relations with General Malvar because of our old friendship for him, and because of the acts of our brother Sixto, who has lived abroad nearly ten years. As was to be expected, the provincial council has disregarded this protest, deciding that the elections were properly held in accordance with the municipal code. Nevertheless, in view of this protest, which contained also false and infamous accusations, I could do no less than, in return, protest against it in writing to General Wade and General Chaffee.

In the middle of last October I received word from Hong-Kong from my brother Sixto that a friend of his, Mr. Warren, was coming to the Philippines; and because of the favors he owed this gentleman and his family in America, he charged me to receive and entertain him in my house, the invitation having already been

given and accepted. As I was pledged to do, I received this gentleman in my house. While matters stood thus, and as I and my brothers knew that my brother Sixto was in Hong-Kong and desirous to return home, we entered into correspondence with him, telling him of the actual situation of the country, the necessity for pacifying it, and the bad opinion which the authorities held of him as an agitator for the war against America. That this is the truth I can prove by the letter which my brother Sixto wrote me in answer, and which I keep. In this letter he assures me he has never been in favor of the war, and that he would offer himself to the Government to aid in pacifying the country, provided they would not oblige him to take the oath on his arrival, so that he might not thus lose his influence over Malvar and Lukban.

[Reply unfinished.]

[MARIANO LOPEZ.]



[After the foregoing enforced deviation into the realm of the disagreeable, for Ramirez and all that pertains to him must be so regarded, it is refreshing to return to the purer atmosphere of Juliana's letters. The two following were the first that she wrote after she knew of Clemencia's departure for America. The tone of these letters shows a change in Juliana's character, a strengthening and deepening of her nature. With the knowledge that she must then and thereafter act upon her own responsibility, came a corresponding sense of self-reliance; and just as "heart-sickness" is the prelude to soul-expansion, so self-reliance is its natural and necessary accompaniment.

Andrea, the eldest daughter, was the only one of the family then in Balayan. Her report of what the American soldiers were doing, under General Bell's new policy, is in striking contrast with their admirable conduct at an earlier period. And there had been no "provocation," as has been so frequently alleged in other connections.

Balayan was the one "pacified" town in the province. All this goes to show that it is not the American soldier, but the policy and methods, that are essentially at fault.]

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, January 8, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: We have received your letter of the 28th, and indeed we were much displeased that you had allowed Clemen to go alone without any of the family with her, for we should have wished you to go with her, as is natural and the custom of the country. But apart from that we are consoled by the idea that she is accompanied by a friend worthy of all confidence, who will help her in every way and take great pains that she lacks for nothing. Mother agrees entirely to what you have decided, and indeed she was obliged to agree to it, knowing as she does our sad situation. When we telegraphed for Clemen and Mariquita to come it was only so that Consuelo might not come alone, for we thought at first that the idea of going to America was only a proposal; we did not know that you had already decided and that she would go without mother's consent. Believe me, mother, who now knows all that happened here, is willing, and was only troubled by the expense it would occasion, but your letter relieved her.

Since the 31st of last month our brothers have been prisoners in the Bay on board of one of the United States transports, and in three days they will be taken to Olongapo. Yesterday we went to visit them, and the officers of the guard were good enough to let us talk with them for a long time. . . .

They were imprisoned at Batangas, and were not allowed to make a declaration or even know of what they were accused; but, on the contrary, the transport "Liscum" took them, after they had been imprisoned three weeks in the jail, and brought them to Manila on the way to Olongapo. They are, in a way, resigned

to their fate and are glad that they are going to Olongapo, because in Batangas they suffered morally and physically. They say that they were given nothing to eat but rice and salt, and that many of the lawyers and rich men of the town, whose names they gave, were made to work in the streets like the lowest criminals; and although it is true that they [the three brothers] were not obliged to work, they were horrified at so much injustice, and suffered just as much. All our affairs are still suspended, and through a letter which I received from the captain of the "Purissima," who was in Balayan on the 23d of December, Andrea has sent word that she has been obliged to leave our house, so that the soldiers could occupy it, and that she is going away for fear that they should commit some outrage upon her person.

Andrea says that the Americans are now doing everything that the Spaniards did during the war, and I am very much astonished, for always formerly when we told them about things done by the Spaniards they were very indignant, calling the Spaniards barbarous and inhuman and using the strongest language possible. And what makes me despair all the more is that they do not allow us to speak of the injustices which are being committed in these provinces. No newspaper dares to complain, and the only one which explains things is *El Renacimiento*, but even it does not dare to speak openly, under pain of law. We are glad you are not coming now.

Good-bye. Remembrances from everybody.

Affectionately,

NINAY.



[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, January 10, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: I told you briefly in my previous letter that Mariquita arrived Tuesday at 1 o'clock in the morning, but could not land until 8 A. M., when Charing

[wife of Mariano] and I and some other friends went to meet her on board the "Rosetta." We found the poor thing very thin, and so weak that she could not stand, so that for a moment we thought she had been taken ill before starting; but she told us that since going aboard she had eaten nothing, owing to the badness of the voyage. She had also suffered much when she remembered the few happy days spent with you, wondering when she would see you again. Indeed, only God knows when we shall all have that great pleasure, if in a few days you go far from these Islands, as you think of doing. Pardon me for saying once more that we are all, and particularly mother, very willing, and all the more so, because of Clemen's going; although, to tell you the truth, many who call themselves our friends do not approve, but prophesy that all sorts of horrible things will happen to our family when it is known that Clemen has gone to look after our affairs.

Yesterday afternoon Mariquita and I, accompanied by an American friend, went to visit our brothers on the "Liscum." According to the officer who has charge of the prisoners, they are to be taken to a place in the island of Talim, which is in La Laguna de Bay, and, as you will understand, we become more and more despairing, since they are thus to be taken to a place where we can neither see nor communicate with them. Nevertheless, I hope that Captain Curry will obtain permission from Chaffee to keep them here in Manila; for he has promised to try to arrange that if they are not set at liberty, they may at least be imprisoned here in Manila, where we can see them when we wish, and be treated as their position demands. I have just found out that the "Oretano" is also seized and the crew arrested.* I have no news from Balayan; I only know through the newspapers that it continues tranquil as ever. I must close this now, for I have still to write to all the officers

* Only temporarily — see later letters.

in Balayan to beg from them a statement vindicating the conduct of our brothers.

Good-bye, and keep well.

NINAY.

[Juliana's next letter tells, among other things, of the assistance given her and her family by Captain Curry, one of the kindest of friends and best of men. Unfortunately for the Filipinos, but fortunately for himself, he has since resigned the position of chief of the Manila police, which he had accepted only upon the urgent and repeated request of Governor Taft. "I have no heart for such work," he was often heard to say. Besides requiring hardness of heart in its performance, the work, in its less objectionable phases, was essentially inequitable. The Civil Commission were making laws at the rate of about one a day, "and frequently," said Captain Curry, "on my tour of inspection I find Filipinos in prison for breaking laws that *I* didn't know existed."

Captain Curry was one of the few men in the Philippines who endeavored to look at things from the Filipino point of view. When fighting with the Filipinos he "fought hard," to use his own words, but he was also severe in the discipline of his own men, and rigorous in the punishment and prevention of abuses. The result was that he won the respect and admiration of his foes; he could go, and did go, absolutely unprotected within their lines and camped for several days at their headquarters, treating with their leaders. He finally pacified the entire province of which he had command, and of which he ultimately became governor. As governor, he lived in the house of a wealthy Filipino, and thus made himself one of the people. When he provided entertainment, as was customary with governors of provinces, it was at his own private expense, and the Filipinos were invited. Though a loyal Roman Catholic he was opposed to many of the acts of friars, and, much to their dis-

pleasure, when he attended church he went as a private citizen, without pomp or ceremony.

His policy was to avoid the sycophant who made elaborate protestations of "loyalty" to America; he had no use for the Buencaminos, the Taveras, the Legardas of his province. On the contrary, he held that the men best fitted to take part in the government were those who had fought honestly for their ideals. Thus, on one occasion, he took a captured "insurgent" officer out of prison and gave him the important office of Fiscal Provincial — an act which he never had occasion to regret. His province was one of the best governed in the Islands, and Captain Curry himself declares that he could travel from end to end of it without a guard or protection of any kind.

All this is in striking contrast to the methods pursued in other provinces, where the native is often despised as a "nigger"; where thrice-renegade sycophants are given responsible positions; and where honest opponents are treated too frequently with contempt and "marked severity," to use no stronger term.

Furthermore, Captain Curry's methods and success are a significant refutation of the contention that the abuses of the American soldiers were "provoked" by the Filipinos themselves. There were no cases of "water cure," or wholesale slaughter, or torture, or burning within Captain Curry's jurisdiction. "Military necessity," in his case, did not demand any such methods, yet his success in pacification has never been equaled, or even approached, in any other province.]

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, January 14, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: Two days ago Mariquita and I went to see Captain Curry to beg him that he, in his turn, should ask the other authorities that our brothers should not be taken to the island of Talim as proposed, but that

he might be answerable for them, keeping them as prisoners here in Manila. As they are both delicate in health, especially Lorenzo, we should like to have them here near us, so that we can see them and help them when they need our care. This good friend promised that he would speak to Chaffee about all this, and what is more, he told us that if he succeeded he would keep our brothers in his house, where they would be much better off. But this afternoon we learned from him that this would not be granted us, and that he had received a telegram from Bell saying that Cipriano would not be set at liberty until his hair turned gray, since there were fifty guns which he had not given up on the day of his surrender; but that he would be freed the moment that he gave them up; that as for the other two, according to his notion and for the good of the Government they had better remain as they were to keep Cipriano company; and finally, that because they had a brother, Sixto Lopez, who was a great enemy of the Government, they were justly imprisoned. [!]

This, as you will understand, distresses us very much, because it makes us realize more and more that we can have no hope for justice from these gentlemen, who boast of doing everything according to the law and for the good of the Government, although they sacrifice those who have not deserved such punishment. Nevertheless, it consoles us much to have some friends who help us and who do what they can to have our brothers well treated and well fed; and we ought not to forget that although some desire our misfortune others of that same race are working for our happiness. . . .

Good-bye until next time, with many regards for yourself and for Mr. Patterson.

Affectionately,

NINAY.

P. S. — This morning at 6 o'clock they took our brothers to the island of Talim, where they say there are no houses, so that they will have to live in field-tents.

I have not written about it to Clemen, because I did not know her present address.



[Courtesy to Filipino opponents has not been a conspicuous characteristic during the war. Yet courtesy costs little and means much ; and, so far from its being incompatible with the duty or instincts of a true soldier, it has frequently been the one redeeming feature of war. The chivalrous feeling that has prompted the soldier to treat his captured, helpless foe with courtesy, even kindness, has sometimes raised war from the realm of vulgar quarrel to that of an honorable contest for what each opponent, rightly or wrongly, believed to be the right.

It is therefore surprising that the following respectful request of Señor Lopez's, based "on grounds of humanity alone," should have met with no response ; more especially as he is a man of good personal repute, and, although an opponent, is not an "enemy" of the United States. It may be urged, however, that Señor Lopez was, in General Chaffee's belief, if not in fact, an enemy of the United States, and, as such, was not entitled to consideration. But may not General Chaffee have owed it to himself, if not to Señor Lopez, to show courtesy even to an enemy ? Assuming, however, that the reason is legitimate, it fails entirely to cover the case of Señor Agoncillo, chief of the Filipino Commission to Washington, who, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, wrote several respectful communications to the Secretary of State, to which he received no reply whatever. Those who incline to the theory that the Filipinos were the first aggressors ought to know that twenty-four days before the outbreak of hostilities Señor Agoncillo, *who could not then be regarded as in any sense an "enemy" of the United States*, appealed to the Secretary of State, in what has since proved to have been prophetic language, for a frank communication of America's intentions with



JOSÉ MARIA BASA

[See note in list of illustrations]

regard to the Philippines: "Permit me," wrote Agoncillo on the 11th of January, 1899, "to express my sincere regret that up to the present time I have not been favored with a reply to or an acknowledgment of the [previous] letter submitted. . . . In view of the present status of affairs in the Philippine Islands, and of the fact that, in the present strained position, the impetuous action of a Filipino or the over-zeal of an American soldier—acts based upon the impulse of a moment—may create a condition resulting in grievous loss of life, as well as in a memory that both nations might carry with them for years, I again urge upon you the necessity of an early and frank communication between the representatives of the countries in question." On the 24th of January—eleven days before the "over-zeal" of the Nebraska sentry precipitated the conflict—Agoncillo again appeals on behalf of the Filipinos for an assurance that the troops then being sent to the Philippines were not intended as a menace to his government or his countrymen—appeals to the Secretary of State and to "a Republic whose name they [the Filipinos] have always believed was associated with freedom and to which they have come first applying for recognition among the nations of the earth."

Not a word of reply, not even an acknowledgment of receipt, was ever given to these respectful, almost pathetic, appeals. Had some form of friendly reply been made, had the sought-for assurance been given,—the history of the Philippines might have been very different from what it has been during recent years. Neglect such as this is liable to inflict a wound upon legitimate pride which time alone can heal.

The cause of Sixto Lopez's anxiety, and the reason of his writing the following letter, were reports which reached him to the effect that Lorenzo, who had always been delicate, was seriously ill.]

[From Sixto Lopez to General Chaffee.]

HONG-KONG, January 15, 1902.

Maj.-Gen. ADNA R. CHAFFEE,

Military Commander of the Philippine Islands, Manila.

GENERAL: I have heard from private sources of the arrest and imprisonment of my three brothers, Lorenzo, Cipriano, and Manuel Lopez, and I am naturally anxious on their behalf. But from various reports which have reached me, I am specially anxious about Lorenzo, who has always been very delicate, and who, I fear, will suffer seriously if subjected to even the ordinary hardships of prison discipline. I should therefore be much indebted to you if you would, on grounds of humanity alone, kindly instruct one of your staff to give me any information available in reference to Lorenzo's health, and the conditions under which he will be compelled to remain.

If not inconsistent with your authority and duty I should be glad to know, also, the reason of my brothers' arrest and of the seizure of our family's property.

In the event of your finding it impossible to convey any or all of this information to me direct, perhaps you would be good enough to furnish it to the American consul here in Hong-Kong, who would, no doubt, inform me unofficially of its nature.

I have the honor to be, General, your obedient servant,

SIXTO LOPEZ.



[The following letter is from the youngest sister, Maria, aged seventeen. It tells, among other things, of brotherly kindness which, it is said by the mother, has "not changed" with the lapse of years. This is hardly a fair specimen of Maria's letters; later on it will be found that, young as she is, she has ideas of her own and is not afraid to express them.]

[From Maria (aged seventeen) to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, January 15, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: I have not been able to write you these last few days, because, as Ninay will have written you, I felt so ill after so bad a voyage, and so she had to write for me. I found them all very well, but very unhappy, especially mother, who wept when she saw me, and immediately asked me about you. When I told her you were sorry to have me leave so soon she was even more troubled, for she wanted me to be with you all the time that you were in Hong-Kong so that you should not think of coming — although she wants to see you very much. But she was obliged to telegraph for me to come with Consuelo, because it would not do for mother, having assumed responsibility to Consuelo's parents, to allow her to come alone. For my part I am sorry for having left Hong-Kong while you are still there, and I cannot help crying when I remember the days I passed with you. . . . I have told them all how good you were to me — how you were always taking me out to walk, and giving me all sorts of pleasure; and mother was very happy about this, for she says you have not changed, and are good to your sisters, as you always were.

I suppose you already know from Ninay's letter that our brothers have been deported to the island of Talim. We were very sorry we could do nothing for them. The day before yesterday Ninay and I went to the office of General Chaffee to beg him to let them remain as prisoners here in Manila; but we could only see the adjutant, who told us that the general did not wish to interfere in any way with what General Bell was doing in Batangas. So we went away in despair, not knowing what to do. I feel especially for Lorenzo, who is not accustomed to these privations, for it is said they have nothing but tents there. I am sorry also for mother, who is always unhappy since she has known of the arrest of our brothers, in spite of the fact that I am always

telling her that we ought to be resigned; that we are not the only ones who are unfortunate, but that there are many others. I tell her, too, that you think that Clemen can do much toward getting liberty for our brothers, which indeed is our only hope. . . .

Good-bye. Regards to everybody, especially to the Basa family, and you know that I love you and do not forget you.

MARIA.



[Juliana, no longer of the convent school, may be allowed to continue the story in the following letter.]

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, January 17, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: Yesterday I received two letters from Andrea, in which she says that she is doing well in Balayan and is not afraid the Americans will insult her, so that we have not insisted that she should come to Manila, for if she did come no one would look after what we have there. They told her to leave the house, but at her request they gave her the entresol, and there she has resigned herself to live. They have let her have our room also, because there were so many things in it that belong only to women, and so they respected it. Pardon me for saying that our enemies and those who are jealous of us are glad of all that is happening to us; and not content with that, are improving the opportunity to accuse us of all sorts of things which are false, so that we may be ruined, and our poor people with us, who have committed no other fault than that of being loyal to us.

In order that you may see the baseness with which we are treated, I will tell you that three of our superintendents, in whom Lorenzo had absolute confidence, and to whom we owe favors that grateful hearts can never forget, are imprisoned in Balayan because they are, as those who

denounced them say, the keepers of the fifty guns to which General Bell referred in his telegram to Captain Curry, and which I told you about in my previous letter. From this telegram we infer, then, that Captain Cheever, of the Sixth Cavalry, commanding officer in Balayan for the last ten months, is the author of the arrest of our brothers, incited by Ramirez and company through their denunciations, without any proof that would justify their course. Besides, Andrea says that the report got about in Balayan that you had come at last, frightened by the arrest of our brothers, to take the oath of allegiance. This story was set rolling, as we are informed, by the miserableIVING, whom I suppose you will remember as following his deceased father's footsteps (*requiescat in pace*). . . .

I will not write any more, for this letter is so full of blunders that I am afraid you will not understand it. Good-bye.

Thine to dispose of, NINAY.

[The report, referred to above, that Sixto Lopez, "frightened by the arrest of his brothers," had come to take the oath of allegiance, was apparently another instance where "the wish is parent to the thought"—a wish shared by others as well as by "the miserableIVING"!—as we shall see hereafter.



The following letter contains several items of interest which will be commented upon later.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, January 21, 1902.

DEAR CLEMEN: You cannot imagine how I felt when I read your letters written on board a steamer on the way to Europe. I received them on the 20th in the

afternoon, and the more I read the more distressed I was, for I realized that you were very far from us, alone in a strange country. And so I could not help crying all the time I was reading your letters. We are just as unhappy as we were when you left Hong-Kong, for our poor brothers are still prisoners, and, what is worse, a week ago they were deported to the island of Talim (La Laguna de Bay). . . .

The first time that Charing and I went to visit our brothers we went with Captain Curry (who is as kind as ever), in the launch of the captain of the port, who is a friend of Manuel's. When he knew that I was Manuel's sister he offered us his launch to go out in the bay to where the "Liscum" was anchored. We have been several times, sometimes accompanied by Carlos and at other times alone or with Mariano. Many other prisoners have come with them, and among those that we know are Felix Unzon, Babasa and his son from Batangas, Martin, Marasigan the lawyer, and the old man from Taal who came with us when we went to Calapan. My brothers told me they were better off on board the ship than in the prison of Batangas, for besides the fact that they were there given nothing but rice and salt for three weeks, they had to sleep on the tiles and were given no beds; so that when we saw Lorenzo he was very weak from having been sick with dysentery. He would have died there if they had not taken him away. Fortunately for us, the company which guards the prisoners on board are humane, from the captain to the last soldier, so that they have no complaint to make of them. Besides, the captain and the second lieutenant of this company are friends of Carlos, and our brothers go well recommended to their care by him.

When we went out there they received us well, especially the lieutenant, who has been to call upon us here at the house, offering to do everything in his power to lessen the sufferings of our brothers and to give them everything that they need. As you will understand, I

was very glad, and you would have been, too, if you could know these gentlemen, who are the ones who go with them to the island of Talim. The only thing that troubles me is that in that wild place there is no house, since it is a very small island. It is said that the prisoners live in tents, but that nipa-huts are to be built for them. At present, while we have not yet decided to go to see them, since many of our friends have advised us not to go, we send things by the captain of the steamer which goes to the island three times a week, and we have included a letter for some one of the officers there, who, as I told you, have offered to help us.

We tried very hard to have them kept as prisoners here in Manila, so much so that we begged Captain Curry to become responsible for them and keep them in his house, to which he agreed very willingly, and immediately sent a telegram to Bell, who answered that he could not possibly give them either liberty or such privileges; that, as Cipriano failed to give up the fifty guns when he surrendered, he would not be set at liberty until he did give them up; that it seemed to him a good thing and of great service to the Government that Manuel and Lorenzo should also remain prisoners to keep Cipriano company, who, according to Bell, will be a prisoner until his hair turns gray; and finally, that he would not give them their liberty until Sixto should come and take the oath of allegiance and help the Government of the United States to pacify the provinces of Batangas and Laguna and the island of Samar. How can I say what passed in my mind when I read the telegram? I did not really believe that those who had called themselves our friends in Balayan had been so false, for you must know that the superintendents at Dao, Matayunac, and Toong are also arrested. . . .

For this reason none of us believe that Captain Cole has defended us at all, and we expect even less from Captain Cheever. We have suffered much from the

cowardice of the former. Two days ago [Lieutenant] Raymond was here. He came to see us the first day after his arrival, and you who know us so well can imagine what we said to him. He is very much ashamed, excusing the others for the arrest of our brothers, for I told him that if we had for a moment imagined that the Americans suspected our family, we should not have continued to live in Balayan during such a time, receiving them in our house like real friends; that we should have gone away from there and been on our guard; but that, as they were apparently so kind, we did not think of any danger while we were doing nothing against them.

Andrea has written me three letters, which I have received through some soldiers who have come. She told me in her letter that they sent for her to leave our house so that the soldiers could occupy it. At first she did not want to go, but she understood that she could do nothing against superior force. Still, when she invoked the Constitution of America, they gave up to her our room and the entresol, and there she is now living alone with Emilio. God grant that they may keep well and not be insulted. I have written her several times to come here, but she replied that, in the first place, on account of her health, which suffers in the climate of Manila, she thinks best not to come; that she does not wish to leave our poor people, who are all in the town, and other affairs that no one else would look after. Your garden and flowers are well looked after, according to Raymond. . . .

[Many of our friends] disapprove of your going [to America], . . . for they say that as soon as the authorities find out that you have gone they will revenge themselves on us. At first Mariano thought the same, but seeing his own ill success, he has approved. Mother, who has been told all, is very willing. Good-bye; regards to Mr. Warren and all his family, and I send you a kiss.

NINAY.

[“ Still, when she invoked the Constitution of America, they gave up to her our room and the entresol ”! Was ever a more unique incident recorded of the American Constitution? Did the framers of that great charter ever dream that it would be invoked in defense of personal property in a distant Eastern country, and against those who were pledged to uphold its principles? Well might the roughest soldier yield to such an appeal! An appeal for so small a thing, backed by an invocation so mighty, — and the “ boys in blue ” yielded!

“ If heaven smiles, it is because thou ask'st so little.”

In the name of “ the Constitution of America ” Andrea might, indeed, have denounced those who were attempting to take from her and her people those “ inalienable rights ” which its framers declared to be the birthright of “ all men.” But her plea was only for “ our room and the entresol ”! And while she was thus appealing for permission to occupy her own bedroom, one of the superintendents on her estates was being tortured to death in order to make him disclose the imaginary place of concealment of the fifty phantom guns alleged to be in the possession of her brother, Cipriano!

Of course, there are those who profess to find excuse for this Philippine policy, and all that it entails, in the contention that the Filipinos, of whom Andrea is an example, are savages, and as such are not included in the “ all men ” of the Declaration. The Declaration itself does not contain any such limitation, express or implied. Its very greatness includes ALL; and those who would set limits to its boundless truth are themselves limited either in capacity or by ignorance of the facts, or else by some unreasonable desire for power or wealth. Even the slaves were ultimately set free when Lincoln “ invoked ” the Declaration, which is said to be “ the soul of the Constitution.” And will any one contend that the slave

was included in the "all men" and that the Filipino is not?

In 1888, Dr. Lyman Abbott preached a sermon in which he said: "Mankind are not fit for self-government. That is true. But mankind are better fitted to govern themselves than any portion of mankind, *however selected*, are fitted to govern any other portion of mankind. Democracy rests on the fundamental truth that man as man — not royal man, nor aristocratic man, nor priestly man, nor Anglo-Saxon man, but man as man — was made in the image of God, and to man as man are given the keys of political, as of natural, dominion. Whenever, wherever, and howsoever this divine order is violated, the result is always disastrous." The immutable truth of this last sentence has been attested in blood and fire in the Philippines.



The three following letters contain items of general interest, and sundry opinions about American officers, which give an insight into the effect on the mind of the Filipinos of General Chaffee's policy.]

[From Maria (aged seventeen) to Sixto Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, January 21, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: To-day we have received your letter dated the 17th, and we are much troubled at your saying you have received no letters from us since I left there, for Ninay has written to you at least five or six times since I arrived here, and has sent you \$200 [Mex.]; but Ninay will explain to you why you have not received the letters.

In your letter you advise me to practise on the piano, and I am sorry I cannot please you, for our piano is in Balayan, the one we had here being a rented one; and as soon as Ninay knew of the arrest of our brothers

and the seizure of our goods, she had it sent back at once, because she said she was not in the mood for playing, and besides, it was costing us \$12 [Mex.] a month, and that is too much luxury for us in these days.

At last we have received a letter from Clemen written on board the steamer. She says that she is well and hardly seasick at all. We were much astonished at that.

If you still have the pictures of our group, I would like to have you send me some, for some of our friends would like to have them; but do not send them by post. Mother wants to know why I did not have my picture taken with you, and in the dress which I wore there, for many friends have said they would like to see me in European clothes; but I told them that I never let myself be seen in them, but always wore a cloak.

I inclose in this \$5 [Mex.] which I have just remembered to send you, and, if you can, send us fruits, such as apples, China oranges, and chestnuts, to send our brothers. Do not send us much.

Thine, MARIA.



[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, January 21, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: I am much astonished at what you say in your letter of the 17th, which I received this morning, that you have had no news from us, for both Mariano and I wrote you often, telling you all that occurred to our family. You should know that we directed everything that we wrote to Señor José M. Basa, so that he in turn might give them to Mr. Russell, since Basa told me that I should send to you in that way, and that you had agreed to it; so you can ask Basa about them, and if they have not gone astray he will give you at least six of my letters. . . .

[Repetition of facts stated in above-mentioned letters.]

We have done and are doing everything possible so that our brothers shall not suffer much, but, as you will understand, we are very much afflicted by these false accusations, for if Bell really believes this, what shall we do and how shall we get so many guns, seeing that we have already given them all up? Believe me, we are in despair, because they will pay no attention to the explanations we make, but on the contrary they listen to and believe our enemies, who do not weary of making false accusations, so that only God knows where these calamities will end.

We all believe that Bell was influenced, as Colonel Bullard was not, by a copy of a biography of Cipriano captured from a Nationalist officer, in which it was stated that Cipriano had a well-organized battalion with 400 guns, and that he had been raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel because of the services which he had rendered, and because his family had lost \$600,000 in the insurrection of 1896. This capture was before the surrender of Cipriano. General Malvar sent this biography to Cipriano to flatter him, for it exaggerated in saying that Cipriano had so many guns and other supplies. Therefore, when he surrendered, although these guns were demanded of him, Bullard had to be satisfied with this explanation, that Malvar exaggerated, because this biography was to have been published in *Filipinas Ante Europa*. Besides, when Cipriano surrendered, he did not wish to answer for the surrender of his companions, but only for himself, and notwithstanding, as Bullard and Gale of the Fourth Cavalry begged his help and influence in overcoming those who still remained in the field, he agreed to help them and succeeded in pacifying all the territory which was under his command.

According to letters from Andrea, she is still in good health and complains of no discourtesy on the part of the Americans. For about a week, since the surrender of the Taals, the reconcentrados in our town have been

allowed to go out of the village to work and to harvest the rice in the lowlands, which, as you will remember, is cut at this season; the crushing of the sugar has also begun in Himalas and Caybunga, where there is a good deal of cane. I do not know whether this is true, as stated by an official who has just come from there, but as Andrea tells me the same thing in her letters, I believe it to be a fact.

We are not at all displeased, least of all mother, by Clemen's departure. On the contrary, the idea that she can accomplish there what we cannot here consoles us much; therefore do not be disturbed about it. . . .

The steamer voyages only between the ports of Batangas, and I was mistaken when I told you that the crew had been taken prisoners, for they go with the boat and receive the same wages. That is not so bad. Forgive me for writing to you in this way, but I have such a headache that I cannot see clearly what I am writing, and I only do it so that you shall not accuse me of indolence.

Your most affectionate NINAY.



[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, January 23, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: This is the seventh letter which I have written you, and when you receive this I suppose you will have received my previous ones. Our situation remains the same; our brothers deported to the island of Talim and our goods confiscated. We have just come from the headquarters of the Department of the North, where we went to see General Wheaton and ask for a pass to visit the prisoners; but unfortunately he was not there, nor his adjutant either, and his interpreter told us that he doubted whether a pass would be granted us, for General Wheaton does not wish to interfere in questions which refer to Batangas; and that the only

person with whom to deal was Bell. But, on the other hand, we did not wish to deal with this gentleman, because, from what we had been told, we were afraid to go to Batangas and expose ourselves to his treatment.

From the statement which I inclose you will see that Bell has a good opinion of Mariano, for the inclosed is the answer to the statement which the latter sent him recounting his services to the United States, with the aid of Lorenzo and Cipriano, when he succeeded in pacifying the western towns of Laguna de Taal, bringing about the surrender of many who were in the field.

We do not know what to do; neither do we know about our brothers who were taken away nine days ago. Good news from Andrea. As you will learn from this statement, Bell did not clear up the question of our brothers, although Mariano had stated that except through their influence nothing would have been accomplished. Everything is quiet in Balayan and there have been no combats nor any other trouble.

Thine,

NINAY.



[Of all the documents accompanying Miss Lopez's petition for the release of her brothers, the following letter from Captain Curry was the one that arrested the President's attention and interest. "George Curry!" said the President, on noting the signature; "why, he was one of my officers in the Rough Riders. Anything that George Curry has to say is deserving of attention."

With such high and deserved commendation, Captain Curry's opinions are of special interest, and this is what he has to say of the Lopez family: "Manuel Lopez, who lives here in Manila with Mariano, I am satisfied has done nothing disloyal, and I am very fond of Mariano Lopez and his family. I have done what I could to secure the release of their brothers." He states his belief in the innocence of the brothers, and of the

charge against Cipriano he says: "From all the circumstances connected with the case, I believe the charge to be a mistake, and so informed General Bell." This belief has received full confirmation from several sources, and indeed, from General Bell himself. Nor is it a matter of wonder that Captain Curry's opinions should prove to be correct, notwithstanding what Mr. Magoon had to say to the contrary. Captain Curry probably knows more about the Filipinos than any other American in the Philippines; he has fought with them, lived with them, studied them, governed them, and won their respect and admiration. It is therefore regrettable that Mr. Magoon did not allow himself to be guided by Captain Curry's evidence. It is true that General Bell was, as Mr. Magoon points out, nearer the scene of operations as regards two of the brothers, but General Bell was a principal and not a witness, — the issue being between him and Miss Lopez, who had appealed against his acts to the highest official authority. Captain Curry, on the other hand, was an impartial witness between the two, and his position, experience, and reputation ought to have turned the scales in Miss Lopez's favor. Yet while Captain Curry, satisfied of the innocence of the Lopez brothers, was doing what he could to secure their release, Mr. Magoon, who — to use his own words when speaking of an opponent — "had persisted in keeping a large segment of the earth's circumference between himself and actual hostilities," was preparing a recommendation that the plea for their release be denied!

Such is, and ever will be, the essential character of government by a foreign and distant power. It was so during American colonial days, when such decisions were given, not in accordance with fact or merit, but in the interests of some home policy before which everything else had to yield. It confirms the wisdom of Natalio Lopez in teaching his children that "they could not live an honest life and escape tribulation as long as the source of authority was in a foreign land." It also con-

firms the truth of Dr. Lyman Abbott's dictum that "Whenever, wherever, and howsoever this divine order [the right of man as man to govern himself] is violated, the result is always disastrous."

But Captain Curry's letter deals with a question of wider importance: "All the trouble in Manila," he says, "is in that part of the city where the saloons flourish and the American element live, as the natives who live in the barrios give very little trouble and are easy to control." Captain Curry has frequently said that with two hundred out of the one thousand police under his charge he would undertake to keep order among the entire native population of Manila, if any one else would undertake, with the remaining eight hundred police, to keep order among the foreign population.* This statement has a two-fold significance: first, it confirms President Schurman's declaration that the Filipinos "are naturally and normally peaceful, docile, and deferential to constituted authority," and that "they possess admirable domestic and personal virtues"; and secondly, it shows, as has frequently been predicted, that those attracted to the Philippines for adventure or exploitation are generally of an undesirable class. Further confirmation of this is furnished by a recent dispatch from Manila which tells how, when Governor Taft convened

* In an interview published in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, May 13, 1903, the Hon. Henry C. Ide, of the present Philippine Commission, says: "I ought to say here that Manila has a record for less crimes of violence than any American city of the same size can show. It is an orderly and well-governed city. One of the latest copies of the *Manila Times* which has reached me in this country noted the fact that there was not a prisoner in the city awaiting trial; the courts were disgusted because they had nothing to do. Do you know of any other city of 300,000 inhabitants that could show the same clean page? Most of the credit for this condition is due to the character of the Filipino himself. Taking him by and large, he makes an excellent citizen. He is peaceful and law abiding, not quarrelsome of disposition, but regardful of the rights of others, mindful of his own business, and inclined to be on pleasant terms with his neighbors. An assault by a Filipino upon an American is almost unknown." [Would that the converse also could be said.]

a conference of the presidentes of twenty-two towns in the province of Cavite, to urge them to work for the suppression of the ladrones, he was met with the counter request of the presidentes that they be given "a vagrancy law that would reach dissolute American adventurers and discharged soldiers, whose influence was very bad."

Few persons realize how great are the evils which always accompany attempts to spread our particular form of civilization among what we proudly regard as inferior races. The vices which the dregs of our own civilization carry to such peoples have, without exception, annulled whatever good the philanthropist may have accomplished. Yet we persist in these attempts, and are ever ready to repeat the same disastrous experiments. Fortunately, the Filipinos, though they may have vices of their own, do not take kindly to those of the white man. In this they stand in marked contrast to other alien races. Thus, says President Schurman: "I have never seen a Filipino drunkard. They will take a small wine-glass of liquor, and be content with that; and this temperance in drink is characteristic of their moderation in many other things. Probably no one thing has damaged the American people in the eyes of the natives more than this great vice of ours of indulging too freely in drink." Commissioner Ide adds his testimony, in the following words: "The Filipino is always polite and always temperate. This seems like a sweeping statement, but it is a fact that in the three years that I have spent in the Islands I have seen only two drunken natives. I do not see the natives going into or coming out of the saloons, so I do not believe they patronize them. The Filipino drinks his vino, which you have doubtless heard described as a very deadly beverage. But vino is a cordial or liqueur, and is drunk by the Filipinos as our people drink liqueurs — that is, in tiny glasses, and very little at a time. It is a stimulant, and supplies that want for the Filipino in

the moderate degree that suits his taste. It got its bad name from the way our soldiers fell to drinking it. They took it as they would take whiskey. They found it a cheap drink, and exhilarating, and drinking it in the quantities that they did they suffered serious injuries from its effect upon the brain. Many of them have been made insane and sent back to asylums in this country. Many others are in our hospitals in the Islands — victims, not so much of the vino habit, as of the immoderate use of a stimulant intended to be taken by the thimbleful. I have attended dinners and other social festivities given by Filipinos, and have been struck by their marked temperance. They serve wine of the kinds and in the quantities to which other nationalities are accustomed, out of hospitality to their guests, but they drink almost none themselves. It is a sign of their extraordinary conservatism that, in spite of all that the Filipinos have seen going on about them since the Americans came into the Islands, they do not seem to be acquiring our whiskey-drinking habit." (*Transcript*, Boston, May 13, 1903.) "A sign of *conservatism*"! Is it conservatism to avoid falling into the bad habits of others? Is the Filipino never to be given credit for personal virtue? — But, to return to Captain Curry's letter: —]

Department of Police, Central Office,
MANILA, P. I., January 25, 1902.

MR. FISKE WARREN,
Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of recent date at hand and contents noted. In reply, will say that the three Lopez brothers are still under arrest. They are confined, together with a large number of other military prisoners, on an island in the Laguna de Bay. I, of course, do not know just what the military have against the Lopez brothers who live in Batangas, but Manuel Lopez, who

lives in Manila with Mariano, I am satisfied has done nothing disloyal, and I am very fond of Mariano Lopez and his family. I have done what I could to secure the release of their brothers, and I feel satisfied that as soon as peace is established in Batangas, which now appears to be a question of a few weeks, as the insurgents are fast surrendering, they will be liberated and their property restored to them. These harsh measures were believed by General Bell to be necessary; and whereas I differ with him as to the guilt of the Lopez brothers, they are undoubtedly suffering largely on account of their brother, Sixto Lopez. As you realize the situation yourself very fully, you can understand.

The Lopez girls have been up to see me frequently, and I have treated them with the utmost courtesy, as I really feel very much attached to them. They, like other Filipino families that I have gotten very well acquainted with, improve on acquaintance. They are very loyal to their friends, and I have only regretted that I could do so little to assist them. But, as I stated before, I feel satisfied from what General Wheaton tells me that these parties will all soon be released.

Cipriano Lopez, the eldest brother, is accused by General Bell of having knowledge of a large number of arms, which, from all the circumstances connected with the case, I believe to be a mistake, and so informed General Bell; but General Bell differs with me and appears sincerely to believe that Lopez is doing all he can to undermine the Government.*

Conditions in Manila are steadily improving. My native police are all being taught English and are learning very fast. The city limits have been extended to take in some of the smaller towns, and I am now organizing police in those places, but anticipate very little

* This belief, which doubtless was based on the reports of Manuel Ramirez and Captain Cheever, was finally abandoned by General Bell — as is evidenced by his subsequent treatment of Cipriano.

trouble. In fact, all the trouble in Manila is in the part of the city where the saloons flourish and the American element live, as the natives who live in the barrios give very little trouble and are easy to control.

I feel confident that Governor Taft will present matters in such a way at Washington as will secure some necessary legislation and a permanent peace for these people, whom I really like, and would like to do something to better their condition.

I would be pleased to hear from you at any time. I sincerely hope that if you visit Washington you will consult with Governor Taft; I know, if you meet once and talk with him, you will be convinced of his sincerity and kind feeling toward the Filipino people.

With kindest regards, I remain, yours, very truly,
GEORGE CURRY.



[The two following letters from Juliana tell of many things which do not require comment or explanation; but one sentence of hers gives a clue to what may have contributed to the unfounded suspicion as to the "kind and character" of her correspondence with her brother. In the second of these letters Juliana says to Sixto: "The truth is, I do not know under what address to write you, for if I use your own name . . . I am afraid that it would be sufficient reason for arresting me, because of being in communication with an 'insurgent,' as they call you!" Such was the suspicion then existing in Manila that if Juliana had sent a copy of the Lord's prayer addressed to Sixto Lopez, one of the secret-service police would have reported the fact at headquarters. It was not that Juliana had anything to communicate to Sixto Lopez, or he to her, of a seditious or compromising nature; it was the mere fact of communicating with her brother that was the ground of suspicion. Even Vice-Governor Wright, whom many regard as a fair-minded

man, is reported to have said that Mariano Lopez had "lost the good opinion that the authorities had had of him, on account of Sixto Lopez and his friends."]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, January 29, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: This is the second letter which I have written you in answer to the two you sent me from Singapore and Penang, and which I received a little while ago, together with a letter from our very dear friend. We are very happy over the news and the impressions of your journey which you sent us, and are grateful to the passengers who went with you for the kindness which they showed you. It has lessened the sadness with which we are all weighed down to know that you are well and resigned. As for us, thank God, we all continue in good health, including mother, who, in spite of the gravity of our situation, is resigned, as are our three imprisoned brothers. They were deported to the island of Talim with a number of others from the province of Batangas. You can see how changed the Americans are toward our family by the following incident: The other day we went to ask for a pass to visit our brothers. The island where they now are is not more than five or at least six hours' journey from Manila, but they would not grant us the pass, giving as an excuse that they could not interfere in matters concerning which only Bell could decide.

We go continually from bad to worse. We get news from Balayan that, in spite of its tranquillity and peaceful attitude, they continue to arrest all those whom they believe have guns. In my previous letter I told you that several of our superintendents were imprisoned, as they were believed to be the guardians of the fifty guns which it was supposed Cipriano failed to present when he surrendered. As you know, there are not and cannot be any proofs of these accusations. Simply because of

denunciations they have been imprisoned up to the present time and will continue so. At the same time, not only are they imprisoned, but they are subjected to all kinds of torture, so that finally one of them, poor Isabelo (may his soul rest in peace), the superintendent of Calan, succumbed and died from the effect of all the blows and beatings which were given him to make him produce the guns.

Seeing this, Emiliana, wife of Gregorio (who denied the existence of these guns), managed in some way, I know not how, to get hold of three guns, which she surrendered to obtain the liberation of her husband. Indeed, we were utterly puzzled as to where this woman could have obtained them,* and instead of bettering her unhappy condition she has only made it worse.

As for Andrea, she is well and occupies the entresol of the house, as the upper rooms are occupied by the soldiers. They have offered to give her a pass to come to Manila, but she will not do so, as she does not wish to leave everything in the hands of others. They have also asked her about the guns, and finally they asked her to help to find them. You can imagine how she would answer them!

You ask me about our supposed friends in Balayan. What a disillusion! It seems that they only called themselves friends so that they might injure us afterwards. Here in Manila astonishment is expressed that they have not been able to defend us, for if they had done so our brothers would not be where they are. The only one who seems really to be our friend and who is sorry for what has happened is Lieutenant Raymond, but the others, up to the present time, still continue the work of injuring us. For my part I feel a great deal of resentment toward them, and I do not believe that any

* Sixto Lopez is of opinion that this unfortunate woman was supplied with these guns by Manuel Ramirez, in order to give color to the accusation about the fifty guns alleged to have been held back by Cipriano.

reconciliation will be possible between them and us. Believe me, Clemen, if we did not hope for good results from your efforts in America, we should die of sorrow. Therefore, in spite of the fact that many disapprove of your going, I am convinced that you will accomplish there what we have not been able to accomplish here.

I beg of you, do not show this letter to any one, even to our friend, for its appearance is disgraceful. I send it to you by a friend of Macaria's, who belongs in Boston, and who starts to-morrow for the United States; therefore I write you in haste. Tell our friend that some other day I will write, telling him many things.

Regards from everybody, and a kiss from

NINAY.

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, January 30, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: We have finally found a friend by whom to send you this letter, for I am afraid you have not received my previous ones and that they are really lost. Some of these letters I sent you under the name of —— in the house of ——, and the last two to —— to give to Clemen and Mariquita. You would understand that they were mine to you, as it would be absurd to suppose that they were for those to whom they were addressed, seeing that I know perfectly well that the former has gone far away and that the latter has been here for weeks. The truth is, I do not know under what address to write you, for if I use your own name, which is as well known here as mine in Balayan, I am afraid that it would be sufficient reason for arresting me, because of being in communication with an "insurgent," as they call you! Since Mariquita arrived I have received no letter from you except one dated the 17th, and, as you will understand, I am impatient to know some things about which I asked you. . . .

From the last news from Balayan I know that the town continues tranquil, as always; nevertheless, they are continuing to arrest our superintendents to force them to produce the imaginary guns which they say are being kept back. As is natural, the poor things deny everything, for, indeed, they do not know what guns are spoken of, and for this reason they (the Americans) are torturing them, giving them thousands of blows, whipping and beating them, so that finally one of them died — the Americans and Macabebes beat him so much. He was called Isabelo, and was the superintendent at Calan. It has amazed me that they should have taken such measures, considering that they are so civilized a nation and boast all over the world wherever they go of their humane acts.

The death of our superintendent has saddened us very much, all the more because he was one of those in whom our brothers had confidence, and we all liked him. When I heard this news I could not sleep all night for thinking that perhaps this unfortunate man was martyred because he would not say anything against us, and so they killed him. On the other hand, the wife of the superintendent at Dao, whose husband was imprisoned, sought some way of liberating him, and, nobody knows how, got hold of three guns with which to buy the freedom of her husband, and surrendered them, but they would not give him his freedom for that, but, on the contrary, demanded more and more, and his situation was all the worse. I cannot tell you about this in detail as I have not yet received a letter from Andrea. The prisoners continue in good health, as well as the rest of us here. Good-bye.

NINAY.

[“It has amazed me that they should have taken such measures, considering that they are so civilized a nation.” Has it come to this at last? Civilization rebuked for its barbarity, — and by those whom it would civilize!

“Do the dead know and weep o’er the acts of the living?”

Then must Washington be shedding tears in heaven.



In the three following letters Maria’s youth proclaims itself in its quaintness and directness: “They have arrested 4 of our most trusted superintendents,” who were tortured, “so much so that 1 of them has died.” The use of the numerals, in such a connection, reminds one of Artemus Ward.

Maria apparently does not approve of those who are entrusted with the task of benevolent assimilation: “What vile men! I never want to see them again; I hate them all!” Youth has a habit of setting forth its opinions without any qualification. But perhaps Maria says plainly what many an older head may think but dare not express. Sometimes, however, Maria speaks in the language of the “older head”: “It is evident,” she says, “that we shall not be safe while there is one Filipino struggling for independence.” This is the language of the Russian or of the Polish patriot despairing of the liberty of his fatherland. And that this should be said of any spot of earth over which “Old Glory” flaps in the morning breeze!—No safety while there is one struggling for independence!]

[From Maria to Sixto Lopez, at Hong-Kong.]

MANILA, January 30, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: We have received only one letter from you since I arrived here,—dated the 17th; and we are much puzzled at not receiving another telling us whether you have yet received all our letters. The last one we wrote you was directed to Don —— to be given to the Señoritas Clemencia and Maria, and I don’t know whether he has given it to you. This

address occurred to us because we did not know to whom else to direct it so that you might receive it promptly. We directed the others to the house of Don ——, with the name of ——.

Concerning our brothers, I can tell you nothing more than that they are well, and I believe that, as time passes, the authorities have less and less any idea of giving them their liberty; for they say that Cipriano failed to surrender 50 guns. They have arrested 4 of our most trusted superintendents, demanding from them the 50 guns. These superintendents do not possess the guns, yet they are being tortured—so much so that 1 of them has died.

Mariano continues working for our brothers, but he accomplishes nothing, for they tell him that everything depends upon General Bell. I am sorry for all this on mother's account, for you cannot imagine how it makes me despair to see her weep. I fear everything for her, for she spends whole days weeping, thinking of our brothers, and that, as you know, may do her much harm at her age. We thought of asking for a pass this week so that we could visit them in the island of Talim, only that mother might be convinced that they are well, and be more contented, but friends have advised us that we ought not to go there, seeing that there are no houses, and the boat only goes once a week.

I do not know whether I can send you this letter by Dr. ——. They say that he is the doctor of the steamer. We ourselves will go to his house and beg him to deliver this letter, and at the same time ask how you are. His wife is a friend of ours, and it may compromise him to take you this letter. I am not telling you about things, because Ninay is writing to you also, and she can do it much better than I; at the last moment she decided to write to you, for she had been writing to Clemen.

A soldier from Balayan, a friend of Macaria's, who goes back to America to-morrow, offered to take her

letter to Clemen; he says he lives in Boston. Ninay accepted his offer with pleasure, for she fears that Clemen does not receive her letters by post. We have now received letters from her, one from Singapore and another from Penang. She tells us how delightful it is to travel, and that if she were not always thinking of her brothers she would consider herself very happy. I do hope that when you receive this you will be in good health, as we all are, thank God. Regards to everybody, and remember that you are loved and not forgotten by

Your sister, MARIA.



[From Maria to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, February 6, 1902.

DEAR CLEMEN: Forgive me that I have not written to you until now, but you know how hard it is for me to write and how idle I am; all the more because I have no good news to tell you, for our brothers are still prisoners. We realize more and more the gravity of our situation. All those to whom we apply for help in obtaining the liberation of our brothers make us promises at first, but afterwards tell us that they can do nothing; and this has just happened to us once more. The private secretary of General Chaffee, who promised us so much, and even set the day when our brothers should be freed, has also lost heart now that he has talked with General Bell.

Mr. Curry, our best friend, also talked with him, but without result, since he demands an impossibility — that the 50 guns which Cipriano is charged with having failed to present when he surrendered should first be given up. We are in despair. Yesterday we received a letter from our brothers, and they say they are very badly off, for they spend the day in the sun, acting as overseers to the other prisoners, and they are given very bad food and little of it. They are treated as if they

were criminals. The man who brought us the letter had to talk with them *sub rosa*, for they say that they are very closely watched. Poor Lorenzo! I feel the worst on his account, and we do not know what to do. When we went to the offices of Generals Chaffee and Wheaton, where we only succeeded in speaking with the adjutants, we always got the same answer—that these generals did not wish to interfere with the affairs of Bell in Batangas. What vile men! I never want to see them again; I hate them all!

Four days ago we sent our brothers canned food and some other things which they needed, such as beds to sleep in, — thanks to a soldier who promised to take them. We do not send them money, for they are not allowed to have any. What they had with them when they were arrested was taken from them. Now more than ever we are glad that you went to America, for we have seen that indeed there is no justice here. God grant that you obtain it there, for you are our only hope. What evil days, Clemen, we have passed and are passing through now; and how much we think of you.

I suppose you are still thinking that I am in Hong-Kong, where you left me, but I have been here a month, having returned with Consuelo. . . . I was very sorry to leave Hong-Kong while Sixto was still there. If you could have seen how I cried! — and he was sorry too and did not want to let me go. . . . The days there were delightful, because Sixto was very kind and good to me. Almost every day after dinner Sixto took me to walk to places which I had not yet seen, at the same time making me tell him about things that happened ten years ago.

We also went to the house of Agoncillo and Marti, who were most kind to me, especially Doña Marcela [wife of Agoncillo], who was very anxious that I should stay at her house. Of the Basa family I have nothing but praise, for they have been very good to me, especially Inez, who was like a sister to me. She helped me to

get ready, and the family accompanied me to the steamer with our Philippine friends and acquaintances. We arrived here in the "Rosetta" on the 7th, after a very bad voyage, much worse than we had going, and so ill that I could hardly stand. But we were fortunate in having as fellow-voyagers two Spaniards, who were very good and looked after us in every way. One of them is named Ramon Lopez. He says he was the Government physician in Batangas and knows our family, as he has been in Balayan and has stopped at our house.

The ship's doctor, who is a Japanese, also looked after us, and was very thoughtful, continually asking us what we wished to eat. I believe he was sorry for us, seeing us travel alone, or perhaps Sixto recommended us to his care. Many friends came out to the boat to meet us, almost all of those who came to see us off.

We all continue well, including mother, although she is very unhappy, even in spite of the fact that we do not tell her more than half of what happens to us, and try to console her. Give our regards to Mr. Warren and his wife, and kisses to the children; and receive a warm embrace from your sister.

QUITA.



[From Maria to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, February 12, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: We received your letters of the 26th of last month and the 7th of this with the inclosed copy. Ninay has not yet written to the superintendent of telegraphs, as he is sick with measles; but as soon as he recovers she will do so. As to the telegram stating that one of our brothers was executed, which you say alarmed Clemen so much when she read it in the papers, one of our friends also told us that the American newspapers referred to it. We have learned that the authorities here have received a letter from a personage in America, and this letter only asked the motive for the imprison-

ment of our brothers. We do not know the name of the writer. We all believe that Bell's visit to our brothers was due to your letter to Chaffee, for now, according to letters which we receive from Manuel, they are much more considerately treated, particularly Lorenzo, in whose condition they took a great deal of interest, sending two American physicians, who pay more attention to him than to any one else.

Are you really persistent in coming? Don't do it if you do not wish to make our situation worse. Besides, mother sends you word that if you still wish to see her you are not to come on this occasion, and that she has decided to live anywhere except here in the Philippines, for it is now evident that we shall not be safe while there is one Filipino still struggling for independence. Therefore we are only waiting until they set our brothers free in order that we may go to Hong-Kong or some other place where nobody will interfere with us and abuse our confidence. We attribute the imprisonment of our brothers to the fact that you will not come and take the oath of allegiance; and so they are imprisoned to make you come.

When the authorities speak to us about this, although they do not do so directly, we close their mouths by telling them that Cipriano laid down his arms, trusting in the promise of the Government that they would never trouble nor molest him so long as no clear proof against him existed, and also that our family should enjoy the same just immunity because we had worked so hard for his surrender; for they declared that the American people do not intend to oppress us as the Spaniards did, but that rather we, as well as all others who did not fight against them treacherously, should have their protection. Therefore we hope that in view of the way they have treated Cipriano you will, less than ever, consider taking the oath of allegiance. Ninay sends word for you to tell her the date of your departure a week before you leave for America, so that she can send you the native clothes

which you are to take to Clemen to use this summer. I have received the book which Mr. Patterson sent me and am a thousand times obliged to him. We have not received the photographs and the ornament. Good-bye, many regards, and be sure that you are not forgotten by
 MARIA.

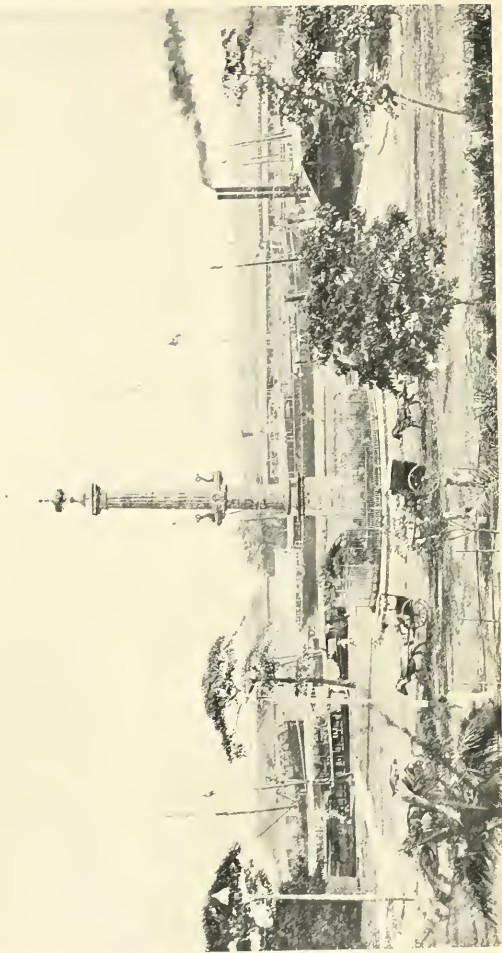
[“Or, is it that the naked eye of youth
 Sees all through glamour; while, to see the truth
 Needs convex lenses?”]

Certainly, it needed calamity and the convex lenses of age to teach King Lear that protestations of loyalty and love are frequently vain and worthless. Similarly, to compare great things with smaller, it required calamity in order to dissolve Juliana's illusion as to those officers who had professed friendship when all the world was smiling, but who forsook her and her family in the hour of peril. And the dissolving of her illusion,—what a change it wrought in Juliana herself! Compare her first letters with the following one; passionate, yet reasonable; fearless, yet prudent; withering in its scorn of false friend, yet mindful of those who had proved true.

“Before all this happened,” writes Juliana, “who could have believed that they could be so vile as to revenge themselves on us who had done nothing against them, and were living in confidence, sure of the friendship which all the officers professed?” Who, indeed? But friends differ, as do the stars in magnitude; even Lear's daughters were not all the same. “I always believed the American officers to be very just and reasonable, but now I am convinced that there is a snake in every bush, as the proverb says. They are reasonable when it suits them.” Or, was it when the policy *permitted* them? Doubtless the officers would have been just

and reasonable at all times if the policy behind them had been just and reasonable. "Oh, what outrage!" continues Juliana. "If all the Americans are like those we have here, who heartlessly punish the innocent and make many families suffer, preserve me from them and from America, with all its wealth and education and desire to be our protector in civilization, and —. But no, I want also to be just; I do not want you to say that I have forgotten those who are still our friends in spite of everything, and who are doing everything in their power for us." How these words bring the hot blood to one's cheek! How the very soul rises against the policy that made it possible for such words to be uttered! But there is more, and worse: "When [Lieutenant] Raymond was here he came to our house two or three times and denied that any officer in Balayan [i. e., any officer who formerly professed friendship for the family] had anything to do with the imprisonment of our brothers. I answered him that it might be so, but that no officer had taken the least trouble to defend them." A just reply, for friendship does not stop at refraining from doing or participating in a wrong; it must also put forth its hand in defense. But Juliana's final reflection gives the climax to it all: "This the officers should have done, not only as good friends, but still more because military honor required them to defend the right." Humiliating, is it not, that a young Filipina should have to give the Anglo-Saxon a lesson in the claims of friendship and honor? Compare all this with those older conceptions of honor as expressed by Roderick Dhu: —

"It rests with me to wind my horn, —
 Thou art with numbers overborne;
 It rests with me, here, brand to brand,
 Worn as thou art, to bid thee stand:
 But, not for clan, nor kindred's cause,
 Will I depart from honor's laws."']



VIEW OF THE MAGELLAN STATUE, MANILA

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, February 14, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: I am very sorry to tell you that our brothers are still prisoners, and deported to the little island of Malagi [Talim], and we have no hope of seeing them soon free because of the heavy conditions laid upon them in exchange for their liberty. By letters which we have received from Manuel we know that they are not well treated, and that they are made to work in the strong sun, being set as foremen over the other prisoners, who work like animals. They do not complain so much of the work as of the food and lodgings, the latter being, as you know, nothing but field-tents. The poorest Filipino has his own little house, and never sleeps on the ground, as the rich men of the capital of Batangas are doing there. I am thankful that I did not give any credit to what the officers told me, that our brothers would have everything, for by way of precaution I sent them immediately cot-beds, mosquito-nets, and everything they would really need. I took pains also to send them food. I got myself introduced to the man who has charge of all the launches running to that island, so that he might notify me of their departure, and in that way my letters and goods might arrive safely. This American official, who seems to be a good sort of a man, and who knew me by reputation, received me very well and offered to do everything he could on his part. But on the other hand, our brothers, in their letters, beg me to spare no efforts or money to obtain their freedom, for they will die if they remain there much longer. All these letters have made us perfectly despairing, seeing the impossibility of doing anything for them. All the valuable information and services which our brothers have given the Government avail nothing. What the Americans want at any cost is that Sixto shall come and take the oath of allegiance, or that fifty guns shall be presented. The matter of the fifty

guns is simply an excuse, so that they may appear to have a just reason for the imprisonment of our brothers ; what they really want and desire is the person of Sixto, and they believe that, compassionating the situation of our family, he will sacrifice his ideals to save us.

They have made a great mistake, for, according to what we hear, he is very much grieved by it, but not as much as the authorities believe, — and certain Filipinos as well, — who think that the only way to force Sixto to come unconditionally is by the imprisonment of our brothers and the confiscation of our goods. But what I cannot understand is why even our poor dependents should suffer for the fault of our brothers. Being required to surrender guns which the poor things did not possess, they also have been imprisoned and are still so. Isabelo, of Calan, has died. After they had beaten him and could get no confession from him they took him to the river Matauanak (Tuy), and there they left him, drowned in the river. Ramirez told of this here in Manila. Cheever has fulfilled to the letter all his vows of vengeance on our family made when his candidate failed to be elected last September. You do not forget the details. As little does Bell forget the time when we won in the matter of the cows last year, when, although pledged to the friars, he could do no less than recognize that the cows were ours. With so many great and powerful enemies, and the situation in Batangas what it is, you can imagine how the opportunity will be improved to do us harm.

But before all this happened who could have believed that they could be so vile as to revenge themselves on us who had done nothing against them, and who were living in confidence, sure of the friendship which all the officers professed? It is this confidence that has ruined us. If we had been distrustful, they would not have caught us so unprepared, for not only should we have warned our brothers not to stay in Balayan, but we should have advised them to leave the country, and

then we should be in peace and should not be spending such bitter days as we are now. Choleng arrived a week ago . . . and told me many very sad things about our province which remind me of the Spanish rule. Martyrdoms and torture are being renewed in the provinces where the insurrection still prevails. The father of L. Luna, after incredible torture, was thrown still alive on a fire, simply because his son was an insurgent and he had not been able to bring about his surrender.

All the wealthy men in Lipa have been made to work in the streets, and if at the present time they are better treated, it is only because their sons, boys under eighteen years of age, have volunteered, and go out always as guides when the American forces reconnoiter; and they go in the vanguard! In this way they have bargained so that their fathers shall not again be obliged to work in the streets, carrying water, etc. Not even in the time of the Spaniards were the people of Batangas so badly treated as they are now; and indeed it sounds strange to me to hear such horrible news, for even women are deported simply for being wives or daughters of insurgents. This is one of the reasons why I decided not to go to Balayan to visit poor Andrea, who is all alone with Emilio, for I did not wish to be within reach of Bell, of whom I have a horror, believing him capable of anything. Before these sad events happened, I always believed the American officers to be very just and reasonable, but now I am convinced that there is a snake in every bush, as the proverb says. They are reasonable when it suits them; but when it is otherwise, even if you shriek and cry to heaven, they pay no attention, merely saying by way of consolation that when peace is established in our province everything will be arranged and we shall be content with their government; and saying other things as well, all, in short, having little to do with what you ask. Oh, what outrage! If all the Americans are like those we have here, who heartlessly punish the innocent and make

many families suffer, preserve me from them and from America, with all its wealth and education and desire to be our protector in civilization, and ——. But no, I want also to be just; I do not want you to say that I have forgotten those who are still our friends in spite of everything, and who are doing everything in their power for us. As for the others, I no longer believe in them; they are such false friends. We have treated them so well ever since they took Balayan up to the present time that they can have nothing against us except the fact that Sixto is our brother, and in respect to him they assured us that we had nothing to fear. Then, why are our brothers now prisoners?

Two months have passed and God only knows what we have suffered and what remains for us to suffer in future, from the terrible and lasting effects. When Raymond was here he came to the house two or three times and denied that any officer in Balayan had anything to do with the imprisonment of our brothers. I answered him that it might be so, but that no officer had taken the least trouble to defend them. This the officers should have done, not only as good friends, but still more because military honor required them to defend the right; and they did not do it, but kept silent like cowards lest what happened in Balangiga should happen in Balayan, for they say that Balayan is no more peaceful than was Balangiga before the attack. . . .

I finish this, Clemen, by begging you once more to do everything you can, for our family has been very much wronged. My head is good for nothing, and so I beg you to show no one this letter and to pardon me because it is so full of erasures. You are, I repeat, our only hope in remedying our dreadful situation.

Tell our friend to forgive me for not writing more often, but I always have much to do and much to think about. Good-bye. Give our regards to everybody, and kiss the children, and remember that you are loved and not forgotten by your sister,

NINAY.

[Yes, there were some true friends among the Americans. Some? There are many, if all were only known. Indeed, there are few enemies, and if the policy were different there would be none. In the following letter to one of these friends Juliana shows that ingratitude is not a characteristic of her race.]

[From Juliana Lopez to Fiske Warren.]

MANILA, P. I., February 15, 1902.

DISTINGUISHED AND DEAR FRIEND: First of all I hope that you will forgive me for not writing to you with greater frequency, as is my wish; but the situation in which my poor brothers find themselves prevents me from doing anything for good friends like yourself, since I give all my attention to their affairs, discussing methods and presenting reasons so that justice may soon be done them, if indeed there is such a thing. I doubt very much whether there *is here*, for it is now two months since my brothers have been prisoners and deported, and we do not yet know certainly the motive for it, nor have they been asked to make any kind of a declaration. You know very well that my brothers did not contribute to the insurrection in Batangas, being convinced that such an unequal war could bring us only ruin and desolation, as it is actually doing now; for God only knows how terrible the consequences will be if the few who remain in the field still persist in the struggle.

You know also that my brother Cipriano surrendered with all his guns, convinced of and trusting in the magnanimity of the Government of the United States, and that this surrender was due to the favorable representations we made to him about the American people, when all our family were trying to persuade him to follow the paths of peace. We lay all this before the authorities, but they will not hear us. They content themselves with saying that when the war shall have ended and our prov-

ince shall have been completely pacified they will give our brothers their freedom and we shall all be contented with the Civil Government. As you will understand, we could wait as long as they pleased if it were only a question of confiscated property ; but it concerns the wretched life which our poor brothers are leading, who, as is natural, are suffering from the hard prison labor and are failing in health day by day because they are not accustomed to such a life — especially my brother Lorenzo. We fear that if his imprisonment lasts many weeks longer his eyes will trouble him again and his cough become worse, and the result may be serious.

On the other hand, reading your letter to me of the 4th of January has relieved and consoled me very much in these days, when my spirit is so depressed ; and I thank you for your letter with all my heart, and also for the many other favors which you are doing and have done for my unfortunate family. I can find no words to express to you our deep gratitude, and all that I can say to you, of what our hearts feel toward you and your family, is pale.

As to affairs in Batangas, I will only allow myself to say that they remind me of the Spanish domination in the year of '96, the memory of which fills me with horror.

I should like to tell you about many things which I know of, but I will leave them all until I have the good fortune to fulfill my promise to you to visit you in that city where the sedition law is unknown.

Good-bye for a time. Give my regards to your dear family, to whom I wish all sorts of happiness, and dispose of the services of your friend, who does not forget you.

JULIANA LOPEZ



[“I waited for him. And he came not.”]

The following letter is full of high hope, due to a report that the brothers had been released. “All day to-morrow we shall expect Manuel, and he will dine with us, as we are assured.” But the report, though supported by much circumstantial evidence, was untrue. The brothers were not released, and had to remain in prison for almost three more months, or, until the 10th of May.

It has been said that a lady never writes a letter without adding a postscript, and that the chief item is generally contained in the “P. S.” It may have been noted that Juliana is singularly free from this delightful habit, and although she is the writer of the following letter the postscript is not hers. The ever quaint Maria is its author, and whether it be held to contain the chief item will depend chiefly on the point of view! Of course Maria did not want the “big doll” for herself. She has any number of little nieces and God-children, and the doll was for one of these — at least so we will assume!]

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, February 19, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: Now that I have completely recovered from the indisposition which for some days has deprived me of the desire to do anything, I set myself to answer your letters of the 31st, 7th, and 13th. I will tell you first of all that the last two were received on time, but the first, which was brought me by some one, I do not know by whom, we only received a week ago, and I was very sorry for the delay. I believe Mariquita told you what happened as regards the bearer of the letter.

Two men from Lipa, who arrived to-day from that town, have just brought us the great news that they have

seen Lorenzo and Cipriano, who were coming from Calamba, in the Red Cross ambulance, and going toward Batangas. One of them came on purpose, at Cipriano's request, to tell us that our brothers are now at liberty and that they will go to Balayan. Manuel still remains at Malagi; he will come to Manila in a few days. Imagine how delighted we must be since we have known this, and even more on poor mother's account, for whom life is again brightening. Poor darling! All this news must be true, for some days ago General Chaffee's private secretary, who for some time has taken Mariano's part, assured him that very soon our brothers would be set free, for the authorities were convinced of their innocence. Accordingly, all day to-morrow we shall expect Manuel, and he will dine with us, as we are assured.

In regard to the questions which you have asked me about the reconcentration which is taking place in all the towns, I do not know what to say to you. I only know that in Balayan they keep rice for the reconcentrados and poor people, and the "Purissima," which does nothing else but this, brings rice from other towns where it is plentiful, to the towns whose ports are closed, and also nipa, so that the country people can make themselves houses in town. In one way, what the Government is doing — in sending nipa to some of the towns of Batangas, getting it at Balayan — is a benefit to our people who are devoting themselves to this industry, for, according to what I am told, they are well and promptly paid. According to Andrea's last letter, the volunteers no longer occupy our house, and will not return. As to the superintendents, they still remain prisoners. Their names are Gregorio de Guzman (of Dao), Ramon Alimanzor (Matauanak), Hilario Panaligan (of Toong), and Isabelo Capacia (of Calan). This last, according to details which we have received, was denounced in Tuy, to the company of Macabebes which is stationed in that town, by some one who, not being able to endure the blows which the

Macabebes gave him, said anything so that they might leave him in peace.

After having maltreated poor Isabelo, who confessed nothing, in spite of the many blows which they gave him, they took him to the river Matauanak and there drowned him, leaving his body to the mercy of the current without giving him any burial. The others were arrested in Balayan, and there they are to remain until they present the imaginary fifty guns. . . .

Quita has already written you as to from whom mother wants you to get the money for your passage and other expenses, for if you ask a loan from the friend of whom you speak we all know that he will not refuse you, but mother prefers that you should obtain it from some business house, paying interest, and so we should owe no one a favor.

I send you a box of clothing for Clemen, and six boxes of cigars; the other three boxes are for our valued friend Tom, which you will give him in mother's name.

Tell that person who rejoiced so much at our misfortunes, both openly and secretly, that all the Lipa people are now free, and our brothers as well; so that now he ought to weep. We think we know who this good fellow-countryman and self-styled patriot is. As regards Señor Afable, we all think here that he is conducting himself well in the town, and even that it is due to him that there have not been so many arrests in Balayan as in other towns. In Lipa the number of prisoners went as high as 700; but now there are not more than eighty. As for Dr. Lozada, I believe that he appreciates very much, as does also his wife, the care you took of him during his sickness, and they are accordingly grateful. . . .

I should like to send you some of Clemen's jewels; but I do not know to whom to trust them so that they may come safely to your hands. We do not yet know who will take you Clemen's box and the cigars which we are sending you. We cannot obtain the five numbers of

the *Manila Times*. They say that there are no more copies.

Good-bye, and a pleasant voyage.
Thine to dispose of, NINAY.

Postscript: I have received your letter dated the 14th, but have not the time to write you. When you come back from America bring me a big doll.*

Thine, MARIA.

[The above account of the manner in which poor Isabelo Capacia was put to death was from current report and is not correct. A full statement of his tragic death will be found on a subsequent page.



The splendid letter which follows is, in part, as despondent as the previous one had been hopeful. Instead of the release of the brothers, report said that Lorenzo and Cipriano had been taken to Batangas to be tried by court-martial. This report also was untrue, at least as far as Lorenzo was concerned.

The interview with Captain Taggart, briefly referred to in a previous letter, is here described more fully. In Captain Taggart's opinion Mr. Warren is "the worst man in America." The ill opinion of some men is in itself a certificate of moral worth and excellence, but this cannot be said of Captain Taggart, and, furthermore, it is doubtful whether he really means what he says. It is probably his way of expressing disagreement with one whom he regards as an opponent. The soldier is almost always in extremes; it is his nature, his business, to be so. Any one who agrees with him he will defend; any one who criticises him he will kill. His liberality is no

* A doll of satisfactory dimensions is now on its way to Maria—(November, 1903).

broader than the edge of his sword. "Badness," from the soldier's point of view, amounts simply to the holding of an opposite opinion. It is because of this that the soldier is usually not a conspicuous success when he attempts to govern a province that he has conquered. Of course there are exceptions; there have been great soldiers, but they were also great men—too great to remain soldiers to the end of their activity. Such were Washington and Grant, who were even greater men than they were soldiers. But Washingtons and Grants are few; it is to the average soldier that these opinions refer. And so, the Filipinos have to suffer, and those who are old-fashioned enough to believe still in the principles for which Washington fought must submit to being regarded as bad men from the soldier's point of view. However, Mr. Warren may comfort himself with the thought that, if he is "the worst man in America," he could not always have claimed the distinction; *he* simply upholds the principles, — Washington enunciated and *fought* for them!

The spirit of Juliana remains unconquered and unconquerable, in spite of this attempt to crush her independence of mind and that of her brother Sixto: "Let me tell you," she writes to Clemencia, "that we — at least I, for my part — will sacrifice my share of the estate for you and *the others* who are there." The "others" refers to Sixto. Can such a one, who is ready to sacrifice her share of the remnant of a shattered estate, be conquered or bought by a promise of "greater prosperity"?

Contrary to her usual custom, Juliana adds a postscript to this letter, and, when one stops to think, it does indeed contain the chief item. Notwithstanding Captain Taggart's opinion of Mr. Warren, Juliana says: "Give my regards to all of the good family which is protecting you, and tell Mr. Warren that we think of him a great deal." In all the circumstances there is a whole volume in these words.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, February 25, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN : At the moment that I am writing you we are more afflicted, if such a thing is possible, than we have been since the arrest of our three brothers, for we have learned that they took Lorenzo and Cipriano to Batangas to try them by court-martial. We do not know whether this information is correct, but it is certain that they were taken to Batangas, for Pepe Katigbak assured us that he had seen them pass through Lipa, although he does not know the reason why they were called there. We hear various things about them, but nothing directly from them, which we attribute to the fact that they are not even allowed to write. Three days ago we were told that they were being taken to Batangas to be released, and that Manuel would be brought here to Manila for the same purpose, for the latter, as you know, was arrested in Boac, which is under Civil Government, and accordingly we thought it natural that he should be brought here.

But yesterday, and again to-day, we were assured that nothing of the sort was true, and we believe it, for they have not brought Manuel, as Chaffee's private secretary, who is doing what he can for our brothers, promised us. We cannot imagine what the reason is that they are holding our brothers so closely when all the Lipa people are now set free, so that, out of 700 prisoners from that town, there are at present only seventy. You cannot imagine in what despair we are, and even more when we see our poor mother weep and do not know how to console her, but can only begin to weep, too, out of sheer desperation. But we do not tell her the whole truth about our situation, for if she knew it all I do not know what would be the effect. Poor little mother ! We take care not to tell her anything which might make her more unhappy, and, moreover, we hide ourselves when we cry, and conceal all that we feel, so that

she may not see us afflicted. I have never missed you as I do now in these circumstances, for I do not know whom to consult about what happens and about what I ought to do. Just think!—as you know, I have never in my life decided to do anything without consulting you, and now I am obliged to do what seems to me best, and I do not yet know what the results will be. I refer only to the question of our brothers.

I felt very badly when you left us in this situation, but now I believe that even you could do nothing for them, for what is demanded is impossible; that is, that we should persuade our brother to come and take the oath. Believe me, Clemen, with all these things which are happening to us, if I had not been brought up in religion and believed in it from childhood I should become a heretic from all the sorrow that has come to us. I am sure that it is the wicked who are protected here in the Philippines, and it is to them that the authorities give credit, for they believe them friendly to the Government; but these gentlemen do not know that this is only a cover so that these wicked men may revenge themselves on their enemies, and gain money by making false denunciations. The authorities do not understand that in this way they will gain nothing but hatred, instead of being regarded and trusted as the representatives of a liberating nation, as I believed them to be. It was our confidence in them that ruined us.

Every time that I write to you I forget to tell you the details about the arrest of our brothers. On the 13th of December, in the afternoon, Cipriano went out on horseback with Raymond to mark out the limits of the reconcentration, which had not then been determined in our town. They went over the ground in a few hours and came back together to the town, and when they arrived in front of the commander's office, an officer—I do not know who—made them come in, and there showed them a telegram from Bell which ordered that immediately upon receipt of the said tele-

gram the two Lopez brothers and Felix Unson should be arrested, the house seized, and all the papers, documents, and letters found therein taken. Raymond, who was then acting as commanding officer, as Cole was in Batangas, in spite of the fact that this order was given to him, did not wish to enforce it in person, perhaps because he remembered the claims of friendship. At any rate he sent another officer to do it, everything being carried out as the telegram directed.

I was mistaken in telling you that they also carried off money, for only the things I have just mentioned were taken. You will remember that there was in the box a collection of letters in English from many of the officers who were in Balayan. They have taken those, too, and I have since learned that they ascertained that I could speak and write English fairly well. This was told me by ——, who was rather anxious about his letters, but I told him that those which were not torn up I had brought with me here.

The "Purissima" was in Balayan that same night with Manuel, who had been arrested in Boac through the deceit of Lieutenant Allen, formerly of the Twenty-eighth Volunteers under Taggart, but now a regular. He told Manuel that he was obliged to hire the boat, as he had received an order from Bell to go immediately to Batangas with his soldiers. Manuel answered that he could not take them, as he had an agreement to fulfill, and, besides, the unloading was not finished; but the lieutenant insisted so strongly that there was nothing else to do but yield, and they accordingly went on board the steamer together. Once on board, nobody was allowed to stir, the soldiers were drawn up in file, and Allen ordered Numeriano [the captain of the "Purissima"] to give orders to go to Batangas. They arrived at Batangas, and only remained long enough for Cole, who immediately ordered the boat to proceed to Balayan, to come aboard; and at Balayan he had our brothers, together with Unson, brought on board in order to take

them to Batangas, telling them that Bell wished to confer with all three on a very important matter. Everything that Cole said was untrue, for they did not even see Bell's face during the three weeks that they were imprisoned there. After that time they brought them here to the harbor in the hold of the "Legaspi," with other companions, of which I think I have told you in my previous letters; and they were in the hold for two days. They told me afterwards, when I went to visit them, that if they had not been transferred to another steamer they would have been asphyxiated by the heat and lack of air, if the confinement had lasted any longer. They say that our poor Lorenzo had to take off all his clothes, his condition was so wretched.

On the "Liscum" they were well-treated, better than anywhere else, and, besides, we could take them anything they needed. But, unfortunately, after they had been on board two weeks they took them to Malagi, and there they still are suffering beyond what you can imagine; without a house, with poor food, obliged to be in the sun acting as overseers; and at night, so cold that they cannot sleep. Poor brothers! I believe that what they have told is nothing in comparison with what they actually suffer. What makes me more despairing than ever is that none of our American friends will show their faces for them; they do not dare to speak for fear of the military, and even the military do not dare.

I will tell you about Taggart, whom I went to see a few days ago, to inquire about the imprisonment of our brothers. He told me that the only charge against them is that of being brothers of the enemy of America, — you know who, but I am afraid to put his name in black and white [Sixto Lopez]. Besides, he added, why had we sheltered Fiske, who is the worst man in America, and who is surely the one who set going again the almost finished insurrection in Batangas?

You can imagine what I answered him. As to the seizure of our property, he says he supposes that the

Government did this because we maintained our brother, who [it is claimed] does nothing but say bad things of the Americans; that accordingly, they do not wish to protect interests which are being used against them; and that the best thing we can do is to divide the property so that ours will be separate from our brother's. Finally he consoled me, telling me to have patience; that they would soon be set at liberty (this was on the 3d of January), and that as far as he was concerned he believed he could not help us or do anything for our brothers, while the insurrection in Batangas continued, on account of the strong feeling which the military had against us. He received me well, as usual, but these words distressed me very much, for I saw that the military had decided to injure our family under any pretext. Captain Curry, who is very sorry for us, can do absolutely nothing for our brothers. He comes to the house quite often to see us, for which I am grateful to him. I have the consolation of knowing that out of so many Americans who have received favors from us there is one who still remembers to visit us.

I received your letters from Penang, Colombo, Aden, Suez, and Naples, which have made us more easy about your voyage. God grant that you continue well and have a pleasant voyage to your destination. I cannot now appreciate nor realize — forgive me for saying so — all that you tell us in your letters, for my imagination is wholly taken up by all these unexpected events, and the only thing that I cannot forget, day and night, is the imprisonment of our brothers and the fact that we can do nothing for them. . . .

Let me tell you that we — at least I, for my part — will sacrifice my share of the estate for you and the others who are there [in America].

Your sister,

NINAY.

Give my regards to all of the good family which is protecting you, and tell Mr. Warren that we think of

him a great deal, and that I will write him whenever I can.

Good-bye.



[The following letter gives some explanation of the reason of the false report in reference to the release of the brothers. It also contains two references which require explanation.

“Your departure,” writes Juliana to Sixto, “from the neighboring colony was a sensational piece of news for those here, especially for the whites.” No doubt! The opinion was general in Manila that Sixto Lopez would come and take the oath of allegiance in order to secure the release of his brothers; and apparently some one was determined that, when he came, as effective a seal should be placed upon his lips as had been upon Mabini’s. Captain Tait, of the “Rosetta Maru,” on which Sixto was to have gone to Manila, tells that when he reached Manila Bay, an officer and six detectives came out to the boat to identify and apprehend Sixto Lopez, and that the officer “swore horrible”—to use a Shakespearcan phrase—when he found that Sixto Lopez was not on board. It must indeed have been a “sensational piece of news” that, in spite of the pressure brought to bear upon Sixto Lopez, he was about to depart for America!

“The best laid schemes o’ mice and men
Gang aft agley.”

Señor Arturo Dancel, to whom Juliana refers, came to Hong-Kong ostensibly to induce the Committee or Junta to recognize American sovereignty and order the surrender of Malvar and Lukban. He professed to be authorized by the Manila authorities to treat with the Committee, but when he was asked to produce his credentials he made the lame excuse that he had

inadvertently left them at home! The Committee thereupon refused to treat with him, and so, he turned to Sixto Lopez, whom he—like Judge Ladd and Dwyer and Tirrell—found to be a reasonable human being, in favor of a policy of peace, and in no sense the “red raw revolutionist” that he had been described.

Señor Dancel is credited with being a secret agent of the Manila Government; at any rate, he is one of the leaders of the Federal party and is *persona grata* with Governor Taft and others. Yet when he returned to Manila he was compelled, probably on account of his having had intercourse with Sixto Lopez, to take another oath of allegiance to America. Still, though Sixto Lopez was thus the probable cause of this implied aspersion on Dancel’s faith and allegiance, Dancel could not but speak well of the man who had received him kindly and treated him with frankness. Thus, Juliana writes to Sixto: “Dancel speaks very highly of you, praising you to the skies.”]

[From Juliana to Sixto Lopez.]

MANILA, P. I., March 3, 1902.

DEAR BROTHER: First of all I beg you to pardon me for having given you mistaken information about the liberation of our brothers; but everybody in the house was sure of its reasonableness, as I was myself; and all the more because Charing and Quita talked with Señor Lantin, a doctor, who came from Cipriano to tell us what I wrote you in my last letter. This news was confirmed by one of the Katigbak family, who also has just arrived from Lipa, and who said that he had really seen Cipriano; but, as he could not speak with him, he did not know the reason for Cipriano’s going to Batangas. But as Señor Lantin assured them, according to Quita, that Cipriano told him that it was in order to liberate them, I was convinced also, only I was surprised that they were not freed here in Manila. Believe me, we held this belief for two days, until Mariano went to

talk with Lantin, who denied everything that he was understood to have said to the two girls. You can imagine how surprised they were at not having correctly understood what Lantin told them about Cipriano.

Since this is explained, then, I will go on and tell you that your departure from the neighboring colony was a sensational piece of news for those here, especially for the whites, who believed that you were almost decided to come and save us, as that is the only reason why Lorenzo and Manuel were imprisoned. Captain Cole was here at the house to visit us, as friendly as ever, and told us that he is the examining judge of Batangas, and promised us that he would do everything he could for the welfare of Cipriano. Mariano showed him all the documents referring to the guns presented by Cipriano at his surrender, which numbered more than 150. The documents are signed by Captain Gale, according to whom a certain Blas Noble and another, whose name I do not remember, are those who have denounced Cipriano as being still the possessor of fifty guns. . . .

Dancel has brought us everything you sent us, and speaks very highly of you, praising you to the skies. I will close now, only telling you that everybody, even the prisoners, remain in good health, and we wish the same for you.

Your sister,

NINAY.



[In order to appreciate the nature of the "peace" brought about by methods which produce hatred, it is only necessary to read the following letter from Juliana. The peace which rests upon the point of a sword, and not upon the recognized rights of a people, is unstable enough, without question. But what shall be said of that "peace" which has come about by methods differing only in circumstance from those which send an endless

human procession across Siberian snows? "If you could see our family," writes Juliana, "and hear us talk about these invaders of our land, it would astonish you; for our attitude has *radically changed*, seeing so much injustice and outrage. . . . We are undeceived, and filled with resentment toward this Government, which will go to any length to bring about peace, sacrificing many innocent people and committing abuses. It will not, however, be possible for them to bring about moral peace, only physical; and I for my part will never forget these offenses."

But Nature sometimes produces strange anomalies: "There was," says Juliana, "even one, Dr. Vadua, who spoke of these events with loud congratulations [literally, "wagging his jawbones in the air"], praising these measures." These letters will become historical. And it will be amusing as well as instructive to the future historian to find how Juliana has sent this Dr. Vadua down through history "wagging his jawbones in the air"! He will take his place with Samson, for apparently he has been wielding a similar weapon, and future generations of Filipinos, reading their Bible and their history, will marvel at the uses to which the jawbones of this homely creature have been put. To slay five thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass was, in itself, a questionable achievement; but to wag the jawbones of an ass as an encouragement to those who were slaying one's own countrymen is a display of perverted enthusiasm upon which Dr. Vadua cannot be congratulated. Or — do we wrong Dr. Vadua, and are his real opinions different from those which he expresses?

The historian may also note another item of a very different and delightful character: "Give many kisses to cunning little Marjorie, who, you tell me, is very sweet and not at all shy." When Marjorie, Mr. Warren's younger daughter, grows to womanhood, or perhaps, when the snows of years to come change her golden glory into gray, she may perchance come upon this

beautiful reference to her childhood's days, and will know that her infant sweetness was a cordial to those in deep distress. It was ever thus : a star shines through the darkest night ; a ray of hope pierces down into the depths of despair ; and *sweetness* often mingles with the tragedy of man's inhumanity to man.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, March 7, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN : I received your letters from Paris, and we were delighted that you arrived safely and found all the family of our good friend well and happy. Truly, they are very fortunate people. We, on the other hand, continue in the same situation, our brothers deported, and, in spite of the promises made us by influential persons, we have no hope of seeing them free. I say this to you, for it is almost a month now since their liberation was promised, — the day being even set for them to start home, but they have not yet started. We are more convinced than ever that the imprisonment of the three was really due to Sixto's tenacious attitude. That about the guns is only an excuse, so that they may have some good reason for acting in this manner, and so that it may not be believed that it is really on Sixto's account, for I do not believe that they could legally punish the three for another's fault, but only on some charge made against them directly, as was done.

All those who are prisoners (I refer only to the influential men) are accused of nothing against the Government, only of being friendly to some insurgent — although it is perfectly well known that they do not share the ideas of the insurgents ; but the Americans suppose that the prisoners will do a great deal for the pacification of the country when they find themselves treated like criminals and oppressed by injustice ! M. Cabrera made great sacrifices to secure the surrender of his fel-

low citizens of Taal, and now there is not one of the leading men of that town in the field. But as he did not succeed in bringing about the surrender of Malvar, all these services have availed him nothing; on the contrary, he was taken to Malagi. M. Marasigan, a lawyer, because he had a nephew, B. Laki, in the field, was sent there also. P. Hilario, who is sixty years old, was kept two weeks in the stocks in the prison of Batangas, because they supposed him to be a sympathizer with the insurgents and to have some influence over an insurgent officer of Batangas; and he, too, is now among the prisoners in Malagi because he could not bring about the surrender of this man.

All the Lipa men are free because they presented many guns which they bought from those in the field; and they had no trouble in finding men who would sell. I said to the authorities that, since they require fifty guns of our brothers, they ought to authorize Mariano to buy abroad the guns which they wish, as it will be impossible to get them in Balayan; and that we would go to this expense simply that our brothers might be set free. Some of them looked very serious when I told them that, but as it is the truth I don't care what they think.

We finally went to call on Captain Cole and his wife; mother insisted that we should pay him this attention because he is to be the presiding judge at Cipriano's trial. As you will understand, it was an effort for me, and it made me very sad that we should go to renew our Balayan acquaintance, after Cipriano had assured me that this man had contributed much to our difficulties through his cowardice; for he was afraid that if the American force in Balayan was attacked, our brothers would be the first to join the revolutionary forces.

When I went to visit the Coles I had no intention of asking any favor, but simply wished to show them the documents concerning the guns surrendered by Cipriano, which numbered 192, the papers being signed by Captain Gale. I also went to find out the real reason

for the imprisonment of Lorenzo and Manuel, and he told me that he believed it was a general measure, and above all to oblige our brother Sixto to come. And when I told him that, according to the newspapers, Sixto had already gone away, he seemed startled and told me that it was a mistake on the part of his countrymen to proceed against our brothers in this way; that they ought to have realized that Sixto has his own ideas, and thinks as a man who has lived many years abroad, and would on no account sacrifice his ideals for the good of his family, since he had no more to do with our actions than we had with his. Elias Agoncillo is also imprisoned on account of his brother [Felipe, — Aguinaldo's former representative at Washington], and it is said that he will remain a prisoner as long as his brother does not surrender. All these deeds and many others which horrify me are daily food in our poor province. If you could see our family and hear us talk about these invaders of our land it would astonish you, for our attitude has radically changed, seeing so much injustice and outrage. We do not now believe in any of them; they are all false; friendship means nothing to them; all they care for is to win glory and laurels in the end. According to their nature they have treated us. It has been hardly four months since your departure, and we are undeceived and filled with resentment toward this Government, which will go to any length to bring about peace, sacrificing many innocent people and committing abuses. It will not, however, be possible for them to bring about moral peace, only physical; and I for my part will never forget these offenses. Nevertheless, many Manila Filipinos approve this course of action, for otherwise these donkeys think there would never be an end; and there was even one, Dr. Vadua, who spoke of these events with loud congratulations [literally, "wagging his jawbones in the air"], praising these measures, and declaring that this is what ought to have been done from the beginning. . . .

Say for us to that very kind family that we are most grateful for all that they are doing for you, and give many kisses to cunning little Marjorie, who, you tell me, is very sweet and not at all shy. I do not always have time to write you, and you will pardon me and be satisfied with once a week. This morning I received a letter from the captain at Malagi, who tells me that Lorenzo and Manuel are well. For a week now we have heard nothing of Andrea and Cipriano.

Mother sends you word to study French, too, so that when you come back you will know both French and English.

Good-bye. With love,

NINAY.



[The following letter tells of the interview with General Bell, to which reference has already been made, and of its most discouraging outcome—to put it thus mildly. Here were two young girls in circumstances of peculiar helplessness: without a father's protection, their brothers in prison, their property seized, and themselves at the mercy of a powerful military authority. Under such circumstances, honor and gallantry would at least have dictated the extension of common courtesy, to say nothing of kindness or sympathy. But what has been said of Captain Taggart applies with even greater force to General Bell; though perhaps enough has already been said of this incident, especially since General Bell has made the *amende honorable*.

The description of the despondent condition of Lorenzo, whose life had theretofore been made up of labor and sacrifice for the younger members of the family, is pathetic; and what is to be said of Juliana's closing words? "I am now very sleepy. I am writing you at night, because the only time when we leave mother is when she goes to sleep. We are always at her side, entertaining her with stories." Imperialism, these are your "savages"!]]



MARIA LOPEZ

The youngest of the Lopez sisters.

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, March 14, 1902.

DEAR SISTER CLEMEN: MORE and more every day I lose hope of obtaining, at present, the liberation of our poor prisoners; at least until our province is pacified, for Bell told us so when at last we had an opportunity to talk with him here in Manila, imploring him to liberate our brothers. He refused us roundly, saying that these imprisonments are the only efficacious method of promptly pacifying the country, and that the Government, which has given him full power to do whatever seems to him best, is now tired of treating us kindly and of giving us good reasons, to which we pay no attention. Therefore, without investigation or consideration, he will treat every one alike until Malvar surrenders. When I told him that it would be an act of justice if he were first to ascertain the facts concerning the previous conduct of the three prisoners, from the Americans who are and have been stationed at Balayan, — and I assured him they could give no information concerning any act worthy of the punishment which our brothers have been suffering for three months, — do you know what he answered me? Well, in the first place, that he does not require information from anybody, and that he knows what he is doing, and, moreover, that those to whom I referred as our friends are candid and good like all Americans, and believe us to be the same, never dreaming that we are Filipinos who, educated by the Spaniards, are deceiving them by our false protestations of friendship; in a word, he said a number of things which showed his hatred of the Filipinos. Believe me, Clemen, in different circumstances I should not have kept silent under such insults as he offered us, no matter who he was; but I was prudent because I remembered the three who are in his power.

What a cruel disillusion we are suffering through these people! Quita says that I went too far in giving him

the reasons that I did, which, she thinks, hardened him against granting what we asked, and she even believes that he may revenge himself more than ever on our prisoners, maltreating them. I do not yet know the reason why Bell has shown himself so harsh toward us, and I believe if God does not come to our aid our situation may become worse yet, for poor mother now does not pass a single minute without thinking of our brothers, and we no longer know how to console her, so that she may not be so unhappy. . . .

The greater part of the prisoners from Lipa are now free, but our brothers not yet. Lorenzo is the one who is the most depressed by it, according to one of his fellow-sufferers, who yesterday was set at liberty. He says that during the whole time that they were together he never saw Lorenzo even smile, except when, hearing of his liberation, Lorenzo congratulated him. You can imagine, then, what it must have been for him all these three months, separated from us, and in such a way.

Sometimes I imagine that all the authorities here refuse us on account of your departure for America. If this is not so, why should Bell tell me that he would humiliate all those of our class who had such pride? This is a poor supposition, and so I hope you will not tell anybody of it. We are all in good health, and hope the same for them.

Good-bye. I am now very sleepy. I am writing you at night, because the only time when we leave mother is when she goes to sleep. We are always at her side, entertaining her with stories.

Good-bye. Your sister who loves you,

NINAY.

[In the following letter will be found an exceedingly frank admission by General Bell himself of the spirit in which he undertook the conquest of Batangas prov-

ince. "All consideration and regard," he says, "for the inhabitants of this place cease from the day that I become commander. . . . I have the force and the authority to do whatever seems to me good, and especially to humiliate all those in this province who have any pride. . . . I will see to it that their mocking laughter, when they hear of the death of any of our men, shall be quickly turned into tears of blood, which the measures I shall enforce will make them shed." This is the spirit of vengeance. Was General Bell forgetful of the truth that the man who assumes the prerogative of a higher Power may have a heavy account to meet when the eternal books are opened? *

But the most remarkable part of General Bell's admission is that, unlike his predecessors, he is not going to be "deceived" by the Filipinos when they say that "they are satisfied with the Government." If this means anything it means that when the Filipinos declare their satisfaction with American rule they are deceiving the authorities. What, then, is the value of the oft-repeated assertion, made by Governor Taft and others, that the Filipinos are satisfied with American rule? Does Governor Taft know more of the mind of the Filipinos than they themselves? Here is clearly a dilemma from which there is no apparent escape. Either General Bell has inflicted a great and cruel injustice upon the Filipinos, or Governor Taft and others are being "deceived." Governor Taft accepts these assurances of being "satisfied with the Government" as a tribute to his methods of civil rule; General Bell declares these assurances to be a deceit, for which he will make the deceivers shed "tears of blood"! Both conclusions may be false, but both cannot be true.

There is another dilemma in this connection. Two reasons have been given for the "marked severity" of

* Since the above was written, a letter has come from Juliana which states that General Bell is reported to be "suffering from remorse."

the war in the Philippines : one is that the methods pursued were simply methods of war, common to all civilized conflicts, including the civil war in America ; the other is that the methods were a response — not exactly in the form of vengeance or reprisal, but as a necessity — to the treachery and cruelty of the Filipinos. Now, if both these statements are true, — and they are supported by equal authority, — how is one to avoid the conclusion, either that the soldiers of the Confederate army were as treacherous and cruel as the Filipinos are alleged to be, or that unnecessary severity and cruelty were practised by the soldiers of the Union ?

But why force the argument ? Is it not the soldier's business to kill, to be victorious ? Does any one fondly imagine that the soldier — carrying his life in his hand, daily acquainted with death and destruction, suffering hardship and privation, and far from all gentle and restraining influences — will always abide by the carpet niceties of the Geneva Convention ? Men are men, not angels. The responsibility for it all rests upon him who lets loose the dogs of war.

Does this mean that war ought never to be undertaken ? No, but it means that wherever there is war there will be its attendant horrors, and that therefore war ought only to be engaged in under righteous necessity, such as national self-defense or the giving of assistance to a weaker people against cruel despotism.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, P. I., March 23, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN : I have nothing new to tell you about our wretched situation here in Manila, for we do not go anywhere unless we have some hope of obtaining a grain of justice for our brothers, who are still deported. We are convinced that, alone, I can do nothing to better our situation, and on this account, although they tell me that it makes no difference, I regret your absence under these conditions much more than I otherwise should, for

I keep thinking that if you had been here they would have paid more attention to you than they have paid to me. I can hardly believe, in short, that our brothers, innocent as they are of what they have been accused of, should actually have been so long imprisoned and should have been made to suffer such punishment, — all this under a Government whose representatives boast of being just and liberal, especially toward those who are upright and of good position. And for this reason, if the people in America do not quickly remedy this evil, we shall become more and more convinced that all foreign governments, civilized or barbarous, are alike so far as we are concerned. We now see that always, when it is a question of winning glory, and it suits their convenience, there is no justice which can restrain them, but that they will go to any length, even though many lives be sacrificed. General Bell, when he trampled Batangas under foot, said: "All consideration and regard for the inhabitants of this place cease from the day that I become commander. It has been said that my predecessors were too weak when they treated these people differently from the manner in which I now propose to treat them. Even though they call me a brute, as I know they do, it does not disturb me; I shall follow out the course I have planned, for I am not weak; I have the force and the authority to do whatever seems to me good, and especially to humiliate all those in this province who have any pride. They have deceived my predecessors too much, with their false friendship for them, to go on and deceive me also by saying that they are satisfied with the Government. Therefore I will see to it that their mocking laughter, when they hear of the death of any of our men, shall be quickly turned into tears of blood, which the measures I shall enforce will make them shed." As you will see, all that he has promised he has carried out, and he will keep on until he succeeds in pacifying the province, which they say he will do with the capture or surrender of General Malvar. But meanwhile they

will keep imprisoned all those whom they believe to have influence over the minds of Malvar or Sixto.

As I told you in my previous letter, they took Cipriano to Batangas. We have just heard, from a reliable source, that they have taken his declaration concerning the guns, and that he, as is natural, has denied the existence of the guns, and said that, if there were still any guns in Balayan which have not been surrendered, they must be those of some of his soldiers who had deserted during his illness while he held command in Balayan, and that accordingly he had nothing to do with them. Since that day Bell, as well as the provost, who are worthy one of the other, have treated him well, allowing him to go about the town without a guard and to sleep in a private house. They are employing him and E. Marasigan, who was also imprisoned and treated worse than our brothers, as interpreters for the prisoners who do not speak Spanish and for the paymasters who receive surrendered guns. Accordingly we are not so much troubled about Cipriano, who can adapt himself to any situation, and even if conditions were worse it would be nothing new to him. The one we think of most is poor Lorenzo, who is still in Malagi with Manuel and Felix, and none of them knows yet of what he is accused. Nevertheless it is easier for us to communicate with them than with those who are in Batangas, as we can send them everything we wish and write to them without fear that the letters will not all be given to them, for they have had the good fortune to fall into the hands of very good men; from the captain in command to the last soldier, they are all generous. Those who come from there say that Lorenzo is in good health, as well as Manuel; that they are well, and that the latter has become Spanish teacher to the two ladies who are there. One of the ladies is the wife of the first lieutenant, and the other of the doctor. Everybody is kind to them and pities them, hoping that they will soon be set at liberty.

Last night Charles came and told me, among other things, that Captain Langhorne is here; he has just arrived, and it is supposed that he is going to Batangas. I leave comment to you!

One of the things that is troubling Quita and me is the existence of cholera, for since the day before yesterday, according to the newspapers, several have died of this disease, which is attacking chiefly the Chinese and the soldiers. We ought not to have allowed ourselves to be caught here in Manila, where we are shut up without being allowed to leave the city unless we submit to the precautions which the board of health is taking. You know that every steamer or boat that leaves here for any other province will be quarantined four days before the passengers are allowed to disembark at any port. It is now a month since we have been trying to persuade mother to go to Balayan, because we saw that here she was always grieving, and had nothing to do to occupy her; but after a while I was convinced that she would be worse off there, where she could not communicate so easily with you and Sixto, and that she had better stay here until our brothers are liberated, or until news comes that you have arrived at your destination. When she sees us so troubled about the cholera she scolds us; and, believe me, we really are troubled; but, according to Charles, they are taking so many precautions that it will not increase. We often ask ourselves which is preferable, the persecution of Bell or the cholera! We are afraid of going where we shall be under his power, and we do not know what we shall decide to do.

Tell our friend that I do not forget him and his favorite phrase, which I imagine I can still hear him saying; and give him and his dear family our most affectionate regards. . . .

Your sister who loves you,

NINAY.



["I went to talk with General Bell," writes Juliana in the following letter, "and implored from him the liberation of our brothers, showing him that all the denunciations against them were false; and he refused me, saying that he had positive proof."

A palpable error of judgment on the part of those in authority is destructive of the confidence and respect of the people. So too, if a person, conscious of his own innocence, is told that there is "positive proof" of his guilt, his faith in the judge is liable to be impaired! Cipriano was innocent of the charge informally made against him; General Bell has admitted as much, not only by abandoning the charge, but by a series of acts of courtesy inconsistent with a belief in Cipriano's guilt. What, then, has become of the "positive proof"?)

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, March 27, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: We have received all your letters from Paris, and last of all your letter of the 14th from London, and we are very happy to learn from them that you remain in good health and have pleasant impressions of the places where you have been. We were also very much pleased that you found Pepe in good health, well advanced in his studies, and so transformed in his ways of acting and thinking. He has not written to us for some time, so that we know nothing of him directly.

I understand your impatience and uncertainty when you get no letter from us, knowing in what situation you left us, but I hope now that you will receive our news regularly, for I have not failed to write you since your departure, addressing you in America, and I have always written you at least twice a week, giving you all the details.

As you will understand, our situation has changed in

nothing ; days and days go by and still they do not grant the liberty of our brothers. Since I went to talk with General Bell, and implored from him the liberation of our brothers, showing him that all the denunciations against them were false, and he refused me, saying that he had positive proof, — since then, I have decided not to speak to any authority here concerning the matter, for it is only too evident that they all agree to these measures and have no desire to protect anybody, least of all our family.

The one thing I do, and never fail to do, is always to send our brothers everything they need, and to console our mother when she is unhappy ; the rest I leave in God's hands, for he alone can help us. To-day is Holy Thursday, and for us it is like any other day ! How different from other years, when our brothers came home for their vacations and the whole family was united ! On the other hand, the change in our family is not so notable as the change in the customs which our countrymen are acquiring in regard to days like these, which formerly have always been respected by everybody, so that nobody went out during these two days except on foot ; but now many go out in their carriages as they would at any other time, and there are not so many who visit the churches as there were in other years. Indeed, it appears very strange to me ; I do not mean to criticize, but it seems to me they should not have done this, being Filipinos.

This morning, and indeed all day, Quita and I were very sad, for we missed you all, and were homesick for Balayan. As for our imprisoned brothers, I hope that it has not been the same with them, and that they have not noticed that this is Holy Week ; it would be better so, and they would not despair so much. This week I have not been able to send them anything, as it is forbidden for persons or goods to leave the capital since cholera morbus has been declared to exist here in Manila and they do not wish it to spread to the provinces. Up to

the present, only twenty cases have been heard of, and some six of these have died. You must not trouble yourself about this, although, indeed, I am myself rather anxious; for they are taking every precaution and it will soon disappear like the bubonic plague. The authorities here are doing everything possible to effect this.

I have learned from Balayan that they are crushing [the sugar-cane] now; that the country people can work as they used to do; and that they allow those, who so desire, to go from one town to another, — except the people in Tuy, where, up to the time that Andrea wrote me, the people still remained reconcentrated in the town, not even being allowed to go out for necessities. As for our superintendents of Dao, Toong, and Matauanak, they have been liberated. They are now in Tuy, and are not allowed to go to Balayan or to order the crushing in Dao. They say that the corn and rice from our fields near that town have been taken to feed the horses. I cannot tell you what troops are there now, but formerly there was a company of Macabebes.

As I told you in my previous letter, Cipriano is employed as interpreter for cases in the provost's office in Batangas, and is almost as though free. I am more troubled about the two who are in Malagi, especially Lorenzo. I do not know what Lorenzo will say about us; I think he believes that we are doing nothing for his liberation. I want to tell you that one of Bell's orders was to make all the prisoners work, including the political prisoners; but he excluded our brothers from this order, I do not know why. Nevertheless, they say that by mistake Cipriano was made to work in the streets of Batangas for three days.

I will end now because I am sleepy. Do not forget to send pictures of Mrs. Warren, Miss Osgood, the two children, and yourself. The box of clothes which we sent to Hong-Kong for Sixto to take to you we know now, through Inez, did not reach him. Aticlaiz, who was too slow, is to blame for this. We wrote to Don

Pepe to send it back, and when it comes we will try to send it by some friend. I also sent our brother some boxes of cigars, as well as some to Tom from our mother, and I am more sorry than ever when I think that these did not go.

Good-bye. Do not forget about the pictures.

Your sister,

NINAY.

[There is food for thought in what Juliana says about the growing indifference of the people to the strict observance of holy days. The danger to the Catholic Church in the Philippines does not rest in the retention or the expulsion of the friars; it lies in the natural tendency of a conquered people gradually to adopt the religion of their rulers. The example of the conqueror has much to do with it; as also the desire of the people to please and be like those in authority. Failure to observe the outward forms of religion is the first evidence of the change,—the thin end of an insidious wedge. Protestants may derive satisfaction from all this; and the Catholics in America who have supported the policy of material conquest ought not to complain if there is a religious conquest as well. The chief hope of the Church in the Philippines lies in the strength and maintenance of the aspiration for independence; for as long as this aspiration remains, the American rulers will not be looked upon as examples for the people to follow, and their religion will not find special favor with those who are opposed to them politically.



The following letter to Mr. Warren is, among other things, a complete antithesis to Captain Taggart's opinion, formerly referred to. "Perhaps," writes Juliana, "this is because you are, in truth, one of the few Ameri-

cans who, coming to our unfortunate country, have, on their departure, left an imperishable and pleasant memory with those who had the honor of knowing them well." Attention is drawn to this, not with the petty idea of making personal comparisons, but in order to show what might have been, had a policy of kindness and good will been adopted from the first. There would then have been no necessity for war or for "tears of blood." Yet America would have been able to accomplish everything that she has accomplished, nay, much more than she will ever accomplish by means of war, — in civilization, in education, in philanthropy, in liberty, and in commerce and natural expansion. Her civilization would have been an acknowledged fact, not a boast; her educators would have been welcomed with open gratitude, not simply suffered in sullen ill will; her philanthropy would have been free from the suspicion of self-seeking or personal gain; her work for the liberation of the world would have been projected into another hemisphere; and her commercial enterprise would have been welcomed by all the nations of the East without that justifiable suspicion which attaches to the land-thieves of the Old World, — and all this without the loss of a life or the wasting of a dollar! The truth of this has been proved in the case of Cuba, where, after the summary defeat of Spain, neither life nor treasure was sacrificed. But then — Cuba was promised independence from the first. If George III. and the British parliament had declared that the American colonists "are and of a right ought to be free and independent," there would have been no bloodshed nor revolution in 1776. But history repeats itself!]

[From Juliana Lopez to Fiske Warren.]

MANILA, P. I., March 27, 1902.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND, MR. WARREN: How are you, and how have you been during the journey which you have made? As for us, we are all the same as regards

health, and as for our situation, it has not changed in any way, — my brothers are prisoners and the ports of Batangas are still closed. Since you left here, where so much that was unfortunate has occurred, not a single day passes that we do not think of you. Perhaps this is because you are, in truth, one of the few Americans who, coming to our unfortunate country, have, on their departure, left an imperishable and pleasant memory with those who had the honor of knowing them well. For this reason you are not forgotten.

I have not yet any positive knowledge as to when that great day for all my family will come when we shall see our brothers free and with us once more. It appears to me that, up to the present time, General Bell still maintains the idea, in spite of the time that has passed, that by the imprisonment of my brothers he will bring about the surrender of Malvar. It lies in his hands, then, whether we shall once more be fortunate and happy. He may give our brothers their freedom, convinced that they can do nothing toward the presentation of Malvar, and thus we should escape passing more wretched days and shedding more tears. What we have already suffered ought to be more than enough to convince him and soften his hard heart.

When Mariquita and I had an opportunity to speak with him here in Manila, interceding for the liberty of my brothers, he showed himself very hard toward us, manifesting, by his words and bearing, the hatred which he feels toward the Filipinos and toward our family in particular; and all because we have as one member of the family my brother Sixto, for whom, no matter what he may think and do, my other brothers are not responsible. Allow me to say that, since I reached the age of reason, I do not remember ever having dealt with so rude a man as General Bell; for, not content with refusing us what we desired, he had the ill breeding to take advantage of the circumstances to tell us that all Filipinos are false, and many other things little favor-

able to the Filipinos, which we should have felt very deeply if they had been said by any other man than General Bell.

As you see, we can accomplish nothing satisfactory here, so that we are hoping that the liberty of our brothers may come from America.

Clemencia tells me in her letters of your great goodness, and of that of your family toward her, for which we are most grateful.

Receive our affectionate regards, and dispose of your
humble friend,

JULIANA LOPEZ.



[The broadly applicable advice to "say less, — or nothing at all!" should not be disregarded by the present commentator. At any rate, it is as unwise for him to say too much as to say too little. Adopting Huxley's fine simile when commenting on Hume, — it is as well not to have too frequent a display of the thread on which the beads are strung.

Therefore, since the *dramatis personæ* have now all been introduced, it will be well hereafter to let them perform their parts with only such help as may be necessary from the humble though perhaps useful prompter. There is another reason for this: The letters have assumed a more definite character, and form an almost continuous record, owing to there being later and more reliable information at the command of the writers.]



[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, P. I., April 7, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: We received your letters written on board the "Ivernia," and are greatly delighted that at last you have arrived at the end of your trip, and

without any accident to deplore. Since we have known that you are in America, and working for the liberty of our brothers, we have not despaired so much, for we feel almost sure that you will obtain everything from the authorities, and without very much trouble.

It is now evident that we can do nothing here; all our prayers and efforts are in vain. Accordingly, since that day when I had the displeasure of talking with Bell and he received us in such a way, we have decided not to ask anything of anybody, for we should only be indebted for more and more favors, and there would be no result. It has been nearly two weeks since we received a letter from our brothers or from Andrea, but I suppose they are all well. Last night ——— came and showed me a letter which he had just received from one of the prison officials, in which he speaks of the condition of our brothers, saying that they are well and happy. I write to them often, and I am astonished that I do not hear from them.

Thank God, we are all well here in Manila, in spite of the great fear we have of the cholera, and the even greater fear of the board of health, which is overdoing the precautions it is taking to avoid any increase of the epidemic. In a way, what it is doing is good; for if it did not take these precautions there would be many more cases of the disease, and, thank God, there are only four or five cases a day. . . . We are very particular about our food, especially Quita, who deprives herself of everything she is fond of, so you do not need to worry about that! God will not permit us to suffer this, because we have already suffered so much else these last four months. . . .

Good-bye. Many regards to everybody. You are not forgotten by
NINAY.



[From Maria to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, April 11, 1902

DEAREST CLEMEN: I have received all your letters, besides those which you wrote to Ninay, and we are very happy that you continue in good health and that you have passed all your voyages so well. The last letter we received from you was dated February 27th, written on board the steamer for Boston; and therefore we know that you have now been there more than a month. This makes us very miserable, for up to the present time the situation of our brothers has not changed at all. We become more and more discouraged as day after day passes, and we have still no hope of seeing them soon liberated. We feel much worse about Lorenzo, for, as you know, he is never well when he is away from home; much less in a prison as he is now. Moreover, we feel distressed, especially mother, because they say it is on Sixto's account that they are imprisoned. There are some days when I cry with despair, when I think of them and of our helplessness, and of how far away you are from us, because we need you very much indeed. I am sure that if you had been here you would have been able to do something, even if not much, for no one *could* do much. Nevertheless, many people say you have done well to go; that nothing can be done here; but as the days of your stay in America go by, we become very unhappy, fearing that they have paid no attention to you, either. In spite of this, we have great hopes of your success, and God grant that it may be so, for I believe we have suffered enough from this and other misfortunes, so that God might take pity on us now.

I am very grateful for your letters. All that you tell us delights us, and I hope you will always write, for it is our only consolation. We here have nothing to tell you, for we do not go out of the house for anything, and we see no one, so that we may not compromise anybody. We are all well, including mother, who is somewhat

better than for months past, in spite of her troubles ; but she is always sighing for the freedom of our poor brothers.

Good-bye. Give our affectionate regards to Mr. Warren and his family, and receive a big hug from your sister, who does not forget you. QUITA.

Teresa received all your letters, but cannot answer them because she is taking her examinations.



[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, April 13, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN : It is now two weeks since we have received a letter from you, and you can understand that we are impatient to know how you are and what you are doing for our brothers. I was so much pre-occupied by this that I dreamed one night that at last, after hoping so much, I received a letter from you, telling what you had attempted, and saying that you could do absolutely nothing there for the good of the family, because the persons to whom you applied agreed to everything that had been done here ; and finally, that they did not wish to interfere with the measures adopted by Bell. Imagine how miserable I have been since that night. It is true that one ought not to believe in dreams, but, as day after day passes, and it becomes clear that we can do nothing here, it also seems as though you could obtain nothing from the authorities there. Truly, the situation is desperate, and if it lasts longer I pray God to give me some other thing to suffer, for which I shall not have to blame other people.

I am in no mood to do anything, and I only write you this so that you shall see that I do not forget you ; besides, it is eleven o'clock at night, and I am very sleepy.

We are all in good health. Tell us all about Sixto; we have heard nothing from him. Mother tells me to charge you to take note of all you have seen, so that you will not forget it.

With love,

NINAY.

[After the foregoing letter, it is hardly a wonder that some persons *do* believe in dreams. Juliana's dream was true in every detail, yet it needs no ultra- super-preter-natural explanation. Her own waking thoughts had probably divined that relief was to be had neither "here" nor "there," and the dream simply made the thought *real*—in appearance, as it was in fact. But how is it that "The Authorities," at all times and in every nation, are so impervious? Is it that the electric current of justice becomes impeded by the non-conducting nature of red tape? Here was as clear and simple a case as was ever presented to higher authority, — a charge unfounded and unsupported by evidence; an injustice not even dictated by policy, as far as the Lopez family were concerned; nothing gained, and nothing served, by the detention in prison of the brothers Lopez. A gentle reminder that the President *was* President would have acted as a mild yet wholesome restraint upon conscientious but perhaps over-zealous officers in the field. Indeed, the President was "almost persuaded," not to become a Christian, but to do an act of Christian justice, when he saw Captain Curry's letter; yet when the case was surrendered to official circumlocution, — well, Juliana might indeed be troubled with dreams of ill omen!



The four following letters contain the long delayed but joyful news of the release of the brothers, which was supposed to have taken place on the 20th of April.

In reality, Lorenzo and Manuel were not released until the 10th of May. The letters tell also of the departure of the family for their home in Balayan.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, P. I., April 21, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: Since we received your letters written on board the "Ivernia," we have received no others, and you cannot imagine how impatient we are when we do not hear from you. I was even more astonished when we were in the house of the Losada family three days ago, and they showed us your letter to Doña Germana, dated the 4th of March. I do not believe that you would stop writing to us and write to others instead. Therefore I prefer to impute this lack to those *good people* who wish to trouble us by detaining our letters, although we do not know for what purpose they do this.

You will already know, by the time this reaches you, that, according to the newspapers here, Malvar has surrendered unconditionally, and therefore it may be said that peace in the Philippines is a fact. Last night I learned from our very good friend, Captain Curry, that our brothers are now liberated; Bell sent him a telegram to this effect. It was about time, wasn't it? But better late than never. The poor prisoners, in their last letters, did not complain; indeed, they told me that the climate and the life agreed with them, and that they were in good health, including Lorenzo. You will not believe this, any more than I did at first, but it is true, for they assure us it is so. Now at last we shall see them soon, and then I shall assure myself of the truth. But for this we have still to wait nine or ten days. At the end of that time the ports of Batangas will be opened, and we shall immediately go to join them at Balayan. I do not know how our brothers will take it that you have gone alone, for they believed that you had gone with our brother Sixto.

Nevertheless, do not let this trouble you, for when mother consents to anything it is because it is all right.

You ask me in your letters what they say in Manila of your going. I can only tell you a few stupid comments made by envious people. Among those who criticize you are the ——— family, — as usual, for they are very prudish girls in every way. As you can imagine, we know them too well to pay any attention to what they say. It is also said that, at a ball given at the International Club, you were the one topic of conversation, because you had gone alone. I will not give names, for I suppose you know better than I who frequent those Federalist salons. On the other hand, the Americans who come here and ask for you look upon it as a very natural thing. Besides, I tell everybody that it is probable that very soon Mariquita or I shall also go alone to join you or Pepe, without being accompanied by one of our brothers; and you cannot imagine how some people look when they hear this! But they will get accustomed to it.

Mr. Trace arrived this morning, with his wife, and this afternoon came to call on us. I was very much pleased by the return of such a good friend as he has always been to us. In a few days they will go to Balayan to continue teaching in the school. Although I have not yet had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Trace, I suppose that in time she will be my good friend, as her husband is, and in this way I shall have much practice in English. I do not progress at all in my studies, but, on the contrary, like the crab, I go backward. I am not in the mood for doing anything, and the only thing I do is to write to you; for, as you know, I do write often. I imagine you have no complaint of me, for not a week passes that I do not write.

Mother wants you to stay there a year at least, and not to return until you know French and English. Have your picture taken in European costume; we want to see you in those clothes. I cannot imagine why you and

Pepe did not have your pictures taken in a group. We should have been very glad if you had thought of it, especially on mother's account. She scolded Quita because she was not photographed with Sixto in Hong-Kong. . . .

Tell me everything that happens, for now I shall be interested in how you amuse yourself, admiring the grandeur and beauty of those cities. Since we received the news yesterday, my mind is more free.

Good-bye until another day, and remember that you are loved by your sister,

NINAY.



[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, P. I., April 24, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: I am improving this opportunity to write to you, because at this moment I have nothing else to do nor any one to gossip with, since mother and Quita have gone to visit the Solis family and to say good-bye to them. As I told you in my previous letter, according to Captain Curry, our brothers have been free since the 21st of this month. We should have liked it if they had been set free here, so that we could have seen them as soon as possible; but we suppose they were taken to Batangas so that our confiscated property could be returned to them. We have not yet received any letter from them, but this afternoon Luis Luna was here, — he is the one who has been working for the surrender of General Malvar, — and he assured us that they were really free. I do not believe this information can be false, as the first was, considering that the surrender of Malvar was the object of imprisoning the people of Batangas; and besides, we have more right to believe it on account of the telegram from General Bell to Captain Curry, telling him the details of how Cipriano, less than two weeks ago, went to Abra de Ilog to look after our affairs and to take away some of the

cattle to sell. He said, moreover, that Cipriano was liberated on parole, and was allowed certain privileges. Believe me, I cannot understand this general's methods, because, while Cipriano has enjoyed this freedom for more than a month, Lorenzo and Manuel, who were imprisoned on his account, remained on the island of Malagi until the 21st of this month, as I explained to you above.

You ought to know that in the month of February I wrote a letter to General Wheaton, asking him for a pass to take cattle from Abra de Ilog, so that we might sell them here, explaining our situation to him, for we were in such need that we hardly knew what to do; and besides, we wanted to send our brothers some things. But this general, instead of deciding the matter, sent the letter to General Bell, to ask his advice. We received, however, no answer from the latter either, and we only knew that the letter had been sent to him because he spoke of it when we went to see him about the liberation of our brothers. He (Bell) told us then that he had received my letter, and that he was inclined to do us this favor if we were actually in need. I told him that we were; that otherwise I should not have written to Wheaton. "But it seems to me you are well off," he said to us, because he saw that we wore jewels and were well dressed, and he concluded that we did not really need the money. Finally, he said so much, and was so suspicious of us, that, to close the subject, I told him that when I wrote General Wheaton I did not suppose it would cause him much trouble to give us a pass, for I only asked permission to take from Mindoro what belonged to us; and then I got up to go. I did not say a word more. What I thought and felt I will leave to your imagination, for you know me very well!

April 27th.

I could not finish this until now, because visitors came, and afterward I was no longer in the mood for writing.

I cannot tell you certainly what day we go to Balayan, because, as you will understand, we are not very desirous of undergoing the five days' quarantine required of all the boats which leave for the provinces. It is indeed one of the ways of preventing the spread of the cholera, but it is very vexatious, especially for people like us, who wish to arrive as soon as possible at our destination. Up to the present, thank God, the number of deaths has not exceeded twenty-five a day, and that number is rare, it being ordinarily only ten or fifteen. And you must bear in mind that Manila is overcrowded with people; the doctors say that if there were fifty cases it would not be surprising, considering the crowding there is here at present. In Pampanga, Bataan, Camarines, and Bulacan there are also cases of cholera daily, according to the official records, so that all the precautions of the health departments are not too much.

Mother says to tell you to see if you can secure compensation from the authorities there for the use of our boat and our house.

Good-bye. Keep well. Give our affectionate regards to Mr. Warren and all the family, and remember that you are loved by your sister,

NINAY.



[From Juliana and Maria to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, P. I., May 1, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: We are just preparing to start for Balayan, and are more happy than you can think, that at last we are going without owing any favors to anybody. Do not direct any more letters to us here. I will write you more another day.

Our best wishes to Mr. and Miss Warren; give them our most affectionate regards; and remember that you are loved by

NINAY.

DEAR CLEMEN: At last all our pains and troubles will end. To-morrow afternoon, at four o'clock, we start for Balayan, for the ports are now open. You can imagine how happy we shall be, in spite of the fact that we shall have to spend five days' quarantine in the Bay on account of the epidemic which prevails here; for we do not mind anything, now that we shall meet our brothers in Balayan. I am so sorry that you cannot share our joy with us.

Your sister,

QUITA.



[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA BAY, P. I., May 6, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: To-day is the fifth day that we have been quarantined on board the steamer "Germana," and it is probable that early to-morrow, if no case of cholera occurs, we shall start for Balayan. Friday, some hours before leaving the house, we received two letters from you at the same time, one dated in Washington and the other in Boston. I was very glad to receive them so promptly, for now I can give a good account to our brothers of what you have done for them, and I am very sure that they will be pleased. We are not yet sure whether we shall meet them in Balayan, for although we are told positively that they are really free I cannot feel sure until I see them. And besides, why has not the "Purissima" come yet? It is now more than two weeks since the newspapers told of the freedom of the political prisoners, and, if our brothers are free, why has not the boat been returned? We shall be like the owner of the "Taaleño," who, instead of being paid for the use of his boat, was the one who had to pay the supposed expenses which they said were spent on repairs! . . .



SOME MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S RED CROSS SOCIETY OF LIPA, BATANGAS
(Rehearsal for a concert in aid of its funds)

Alberto read your letters, and he said it looked as if the authorities there had fulfilled their promise, because, besides investigating the case of our brothers, they are also investigating others. What I do not understand yet is why those here have been so slow in carrying out the orders; they even waited for the surrender of Malvar. If the orders came by cable, as they promised you, what you accomplished there ought to have taken effect a month ago; so that, if it were not for your letters, I should believe that the liberation of our brothers was entirely due to the surrender of Malvar, and that we owed the kindness shown our brothers toward the last entirely to General Bell's generous heart. But now we are convinced that we have nothing to be grateful for to him.

When we arrive in Balayan I will write you again, and I will also write for the first time to Miss Warren. Tell our brother that I wrote him two letters, which I directed there, and which I suppose he has received by this time.

We are all perfectly well, including mother, and God grant that you also continue the same. . . .

I will close now. I am perspiring atrociously in this little stateroom, and I cannot remember the things I wanted to tell you.

Good-bye; regards to everybody, and remember that I really love you.

NINAY.

Didn't you write us after your arrival in Boston, besides your letters on board the "Ivernia"? We only received the two "Ivernia" letters dated 17th and 22nd.



[The following letter marks a considerable change in the condition and surroundings of the family, and a corresponding change in the tone and character of the letters. The mother and sisters are again in the natural

and pleasant surroundings of home and native town ; the brothers are on their way from captivity ; and the long strain and suspense are at an end. The sigh of relief perpetuates itself even in the translated, printed copy, in which there is happiness and hope expressed in almost every line. "To-night, we expect the three." There is a little world of meaning in these simple words. And there is time, too, to think of other things, — of little Emilio, a child of the revolution, who appears to have characteristics in common with childhood the world over : "Much fatter, and an atrocious chatterbox"! That is a description which is widely applicable.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, May 11, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: At last we find ourselves in this dear town, for we arrived at dawn on the 8th, without any accident to deplore, thank God, and we met Andrea and Emiling [one of Mariano's children, José Emilio — named after Rizal and Aguinaldo during the insurrection against Spain], who are enjoying perfect health.

As you will see by the telegram which I inclose, it was only yesterday that our brothers were liberated, and this morning we sent the launch to meet them in Taal, where they have arrived on their way here. I do not understand yet why the authorities waited so long before definitely giving them their liberty, for, whereas the other prisoners were immediately liberated on the surrender of Malvar, our brothers were given only provisional liberty from that time to the present — more than a month. This is attributed to the fact that Bell is not in Batangas, and that he gave orders that our brothers should wait until he returned from Manila, where he now is, on account of the court-martial of General Smith. Felix Unzon, who has been here fifteen days, tells me the same. He says also that when they were first taken prisoners they were not well treated, but that since Feb-

ruary they had been better looked after, especially our brothers.

I must tell you about an officer whose name is Samuel H. Fisher, second lieutenant of the Twenty-eighth Infantry, who, according to Felix, was the one most considerate to our brothers. Several times when he visited Manila while we were there he came to see us on behalf of our brothers, and gave us news of their health. I believe that his kindness was due to his friendship for ——, who strongly recommended our brothers to him.

We find that Emiling has progressed in everything more than you can imagine, for, besides having grown and being much fatter, he is an atrocious chatterbox, and carries on conversations so serious as to be almost unsuitable to his age. You would devour him with kisses if you could see him just now, he is so cunning; much more so than he used to be.

It is more than a week since the Sixth Cavalry left here for Los Baños, and the First is here now, commanded by the well-known Captain Brown, who was in Lipa. The officer whom we have here at present, until Captain Brown arrives, came to visit us on Friday evening, and, believe me, we received him very coldly, for I cannot help the resentment which only time will efface from our hearts.

I will close, for visitors are coming; to-morrow, I will write you further, if I have time. To-night, we expect the three.

Keep well, and I hope that Miss Cornelia* and her brother also are well.

Good-bye, with a warm embrace from

NINAY.

* Miss Cornelia Warren, whose kindness to Miss Lopez will do more for the real peace of the Philippines than "Cæsar's legions," and more to heal the wound than the combined wisdom of statesmen.

[Copy of the telegram :]

BATANGAS [City], P. I., May 10, 1902.

Miss JULIANA LOPEZ, Balayan, P. I.

We are liberated to-day ; so do not come to this town.

Lorenzo.



[The two following letters are of special interest. The first, written by Manuel, gives an account of the treatment of the three brothers during their imprisonment ; the second, from Mariano, tells what he and others endeavored to do for their release. Both letters are full of information and throw much light on the whole situation. They also contain some rather curious items. For example, Manuel tells how the members of the band of Tiaong were arrested and deported to Malagi in order that the soldiers might have music on the island ! Who shall say that the American soldier does not know how to do things ? And yet, what is to be said of the item in Mariano's letter which tells how "our superintendent is now the local presidente, appointed by the Americans." This superintendent, or encargado, of the Lopez cattle-ranch at Abra de Ilog, Mindoro, was imprisoned by Major Pitcher, without known cause or justification, and in spite of the urgent representations of Captain Shaw, the local commander. He is now presidente of Abra de Ilog ! Such acts as these, which have the appearance of being dictated solely by caprice, are not calculated to inspire the Filipinos with confidence in their rulers.]

[From Manuel to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, May 20, 1902.

MY DEAR SISTER : I suppose all of you in America already know the details of our arrest, which was due solely to our being brothers of Sixto Lopez !

In reference to the way in which we were treated during our imprisonment of five months I shall speak very briefly.

In Batangas we did not expect that an officer of the Twenty-first Regiment of Infantry, called Conlay, first lieutenant and provost of the prison, would have obliged me to take off my hat to him, or that he would call me "a great insurrecto"! In view of the fact that we were three brothers, it seemed to me better not to take this seriously, for I considered that this affront to me was simply the act of an official who is wholly without breeding. I believe this has happened not only to me but to many others, and that almost all of Bell's officers have behaved in this way. As for us, we are fortunate that nothing worse happened to us during the twenty days of December that we were in Batangas, — such as happened to various friends of ours. For instance, Don Vicente Agregado (the lawyer) and Don Antonio Babasa were, out of spite, forced to carry stones and sand for three days, and were compelled to work in the prison besides. Perhaps they did not treat us as they did the rest, because it may have occurred to them that knowledge of these abuses might reach America.

What I regretted the most, during the twenty days that we were in Batangas, was that they did not take any declaration from us, and that we did not even know the reason of our arrest. Moreover, they did not even allow us to have food brought in to us three brothers, and the first few days we were obliged to eat wretched food; but afterward, thanks to the outside relatives of our good friends, the Batangas prisoners, we were able to eke out our own fare from their provisions, and did not therefore become ill.

From Batangas they took us to [the Bay of Manila, *en route* to] the island of Malagi, Laguna de Bay, as exiles, and you cannot imagine the kind of treatment we were all subjected to. They put us in the bottom of the hold of the steamer "Legaspi," and I doubt if they

would have treated animals so inhumanly. We were kept there four days, and if we had been thus kept much longer half of the hundred men would have died; as it was, many of them became ill. Afterward we were transferred to the steamer "Liscum," where we were somewhat better off as regards space during the following fourteen days. There also we were in the hold, but with the advantage that this boat had port-holes through which the air entered. They gave us the best place, which was the place provided for the transportation of horses!

The 14th of January, two days after Mariquita's arrival from Hong-Kong, they took us off in small boats towed by a little tug, and transported us to Malagi, an island that had never been inhabited, where they kept us for three months and six days. The other prisoners were put to forced labor, and were badly fed, and we all slept on the ground at night, in field-tents, without any other protection. Thanks to the palm mats which we brought from Batangas, and the cot-beds which the family afterward sent us from Manila, we did not fare so badly as the others. In one tent the unsentenced prisoners slept to the number of more than fifteen persons, and those who had received sentences, including the greater part of our companions, were forced to sleep as many as twenty in a tent.

You will be much astonished to hear that there were (political) prisoners *who were also sentenced*; for almost all of them were "sentenced" at the pleasure of any officer. I say "*any officer*," because, without making an investigation, without calling a court-martial, the mere denunciation by some wretch or other was sufficient upon which to have them deported with a sentence of at least two years. And these are the men that are made to work at forced labor like criminals! The greater part of these sentenced men are those who have been either unable or unwilling to suborn a man called Arthur, an English subject, who formerly belonged to the files of Gen-

eral Trias's column. This Arthur is interpreter, and at the same time one of the secret police of the provost of Batangas; and as he was the only *trusted* person he could bargain with the prisoners, many of whom were low enough not to know how to maintain their own dignity.

As for us three brothers, it was only for one week that they made us follow the laborers, acting as overseers. Afterward, General Bell visited the island, and from that time they did not force us to work, and we were given liberty to go about the island.

Company H of the Twenty-eighth Infantry, who were our custodians, especially the officers, behaved themselves divinely toward the three of us. They were very gentlemanly in their bearing, gave us whatever we asked for, and treated us with every consideration.

I believe that if they have lacked somewhat in their treatment of the other prisoners, it was because of orders from Batangas, from the commanders. For example, in the matter of food: at first it was given to the prisoners with much scarcity. We three did not lack, because we received from Manila several boxes of provisions sent by the family, and it is due to this that we were not desperately hungry, for what was given to us did not suit our stomachs.

In Malagi there was one officer, called Kriger, a first lieutenant, who was very bad. He made the prisoners work at least eight hours a day, and also on Sundays. He was very harsh, not only with the prisoners but also with the soldiers, and was the terror of Malagi.

On the twenty-first of April they took us away from the island and carried us to Batangas, with four others; and on the tenth of this month General Bell gave us liberty, owing to the surrender of Malvar. Cipriano they took away as early as February, in order to make an investigation about the guns which he was accused of not having presented when he surrendered. The first few days, they made him work in the public square at

forced labor, by order of the provost, who is called D. N. Boughton, and who is a captain of the Third Cavalry ; but after that they took Cipriano out of the prison and made him a clerk in the office. From that time he ceased to sleep in the prison, and was allowed to sleep in a private house.

In Malagi the number of prisoners went above 760 men, and the greater number did not even know the reason why they had been imprisoned. In one way this was a good thing, because, of those who were questioned by officials and commanders of detachments, many were tortured in the manner of Spanish days. Many who had been tortured arrived at Malagi so sick that they could hardly walk. This was so with the man who was presidente of the town of St. Tomas, whose name I have forgotten at this moment.

Women and children were imprisoned in the provinces of Batangas and Tayabas to such an extent that the churches were utilized as prisons for the women. They also deported to Malagi many boys who were members of the band of the town of Tiaong, and this solely because they desired to have music on the island!

We have had General Lukban as a companion in Malagi ; he was captured with his two adjutants. I believe that he is one of the generals who have conducted themselves creditably in this campaign ; and it is said that if they call him to America he will be very much pleased, because he will then be able to declare certain things which ought to be known for the good of the country. In view of this, when they asked him anything, he remained silent, saying that it was useless to reply, for there was no justice here.

When they gave us our liberty they were going to pass the steamer "Purissima" over to me, but I would not receive it, objecting that it was badly damaged. The quartermaster's department has now undertaken to repair it, and will turn it over to me later when the repairs are finished.

You will remember that since the 12th of December the boat has been in their possession, and is so up to the present time. If you wish to enter a claim for damage and loss, it would be better to do it in America, because nothing can be done here.

Our mother continues in good health, in spite of having suffered much on account of our imprisonment. Give a greeting and remembrances from me to Messrs. Fiske and Thomas; I am very sorry not to have been able to say good-bye to them.

Your brother who loves you, MANUEL LOPEZ.



[From Mariano to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, May 22, 1902.

DEAR CLEMENCIA: Thanks to your two letters, dated the 17th and 23d of last March, the high opinion that I have always held of the free and great Republic of North America, and of its worthy citizens devoted to the cultivation of the fruits of liberty, has been re-born in me. As you well know, it was due to this opinion that I have never been in favor of the war of our country against America, that I have worked for peace, and have induced the whole family to do the same, for I was firmly convinced that the Americans would be just to us in all respects. But I confess to you frankly that since our brothers have been imprisoned, deported without any process of law, and our property has been confiscated as if we were great enemies of the American Government in the Philippines, this high opinion has been gradually dying, owing to the fact that, with the exception of the three men, Curry, Taggart, and Pendleton, all those to whom I have appealed, demanding justice on account of the deportation of our brothers, have deceived me,—as you will see by my experiences which I am going to recount to you.

In the first place, I had recourse to the Federal party, presenting to the President, Dr. José Albert, the notes and vouchers of my services and those of all the family in the establishment of peace, and telling him of all that had occurred in Balayan, — thanks to the infamous intrigues and false accusations of Manuel Ramirez, who was sheltered and protected by Cheever, Captain of the Sixth Cavalry, commanding officer in the town. (This has been true especially since he was defeated in the municipal elections of the 29th of last September.) I gave Dr. Albert these papers, so that he might confer with, and show them to, the Acting Civil Governor, General Wright. Señor Albert afterward gave me an account of this interview, in which General Wright said that, on account of Sixto, and on account of the stay of Mr. Warren and Mr. Patterson in our house, I have lost the good opinion which the authorities had held of me, and that he did not wish a man to serve two masters!

In the second place, accompanied by Captain Curry, I went to see General Wright. As he was not able to receive us, owing to his being very busy, we went to see General Chaffee. We were not able to speak with him either, but, instead, spoke with Colonel Sanger, Inspector General of Arms, who, after listening to us with kindness, answered that he would direct us to Colonel Wagner, Adjutant General of the Department of the North; that he would agree to whatever that gentleman should decide, and would recommend my claim to General Chaffee. In the Department of the North I was not able to speak to Colonel Wagner, because he delegated to receive me Captain Bash, General Wheaton's adjutant, who immediately fired the following question at me: "Why are *you* not a prisoner?" My only answer to such an unexpected sally was to shrug my shoulders and say, "I do not know." In the voice of the Czar of Russia he proceeded to tell me that all the Filipinos are more or less double-faced toward

the Americans. In view of the brutal manner in which he received me, and in order not to make our situation any worse, I confined myself to giving him the notes of my services, and those of the family, to the American Government in the cause of peace, together with the vouchers, and then went away. At the end of two weeks I learned that these notes had been sent to General Bell, for I was so notified by the said Department of the North with General Bell's answer, the original of which I inclose for you. This, as you will see, limits itself entirely to exalting *me*, and does not at all decide the question concerning our brothers, nor does it attempt any investigation as to whether or not they were enemies of America. They all say that the measure was a general one in the province of Batangas. To this I answer, Why have they so singled us out,—not being content with merely arresting and deporting our brothers, but confiscating our property and, owing to Ramirez's accusations, punishing all our people so atrociously that not only did it cost poor Isabelo Capacia his life, but actually caused many of them to deny that they were our people, in order to escape persecution?

Besides this, Ramirez, together with V. Ramos and Hilarion Ramirez, made themselves masters of all Balayan, Tuy, Lian, Calatagan, and Nasugbu, in this manner: They were the only men allowed to trade between these towns, obtaining also a monopoly in gambling, and having a gambling outfit and cockpit in the house and grounds of Ramos. So true is all this that Ramirez & Co. forced the people to sign the petition or paper which was presented by the people of Balayan praying the Military Government to retain Cheever and his company. This petition was signed, in the presence of Cheever, in the aforesaid cockpit, and many of the people could not refuse to sign because of the sure vengeance that would follow.*

* This paragraph has a bearing on the following telegraphic dis-

Since the 13th of March Cipriano has had provisional liberty, being employed as translator and interpreter into Spanish. Lorenzo and Manuel were freed only on the 10th of this month. Manuel is now in Manila, and he tells me that when they were freed on that date General Bell wished to deliver to him the steamer and our papers; but he refused to receive either, because he declares that, as regards the steamer, it was unserviceable, and as to the papers, when they were seized by the Government, they were in a chest with a lock, but at the time of their proffered delivery the chest was unhinged and the papers mixed up and thrown into a corner of the office. General Bell, in regard to the first, ordered an inspection, sending the steamer to Manila to be repaired; and as to the papers, when he knew what had happened, he was furious

patches, which, in 1902, were the subject of a controversy between the *Springfield Republican* and the *New York Tribune*:—

United States Signal Corps, ILOILO, February 11.

COMMANDING OFFICER, Pototan:—

Following telegram has been received and should be circulated among all officers:—

MANILA, February 10.

COMMANDING GENERAL, Fifth Separate Brigade, Iloilo:—

Following cablegram received from Washington: To refute statements of misconduct of troops toward natives in Philippine Islands, Secretary of War Root directs petition of retention of commanders of various organizations and any information within the knowledge of any officer on these islands will be wired here. Any applications that have not been forwarded will be forwarded at once.

By order of Colonel Snyder:

[Signed]

NOBLE,

Adjutant-General's Office.

The question in dispute was as to whether Secretary Root had requested that petitions be *secured*, or had merely directed that petitions already in the possession of certain officers in the Philippines should be sent to Washington.

From the above paragraph in Mariano's letter it would appear that, whether or not the request came from Washington, the petitions—or at least one of them—were obtained in a manner which destroys their value as a refutation of "statements of misconduct of troops toward natives in Philippine Islands."

and hurled curses at his subordinates. According to Manuel, General Bell said he was going to Balayan and the western towns. I suppose he will take our papers there, and will there deliver them to our brothers; and I suppose also that, since the latter have already been advised by Manuel of his attitude, they will receive them only after examining them one by one, so that they may know which are lacking, and protest in the deed of transfer.

The steamer is now in Manila, and has been examined by the Government engineer, by whom it will be repaired. It will very soon be put into the dock, but, according to Manuel, on account of the great amount of damage to the engines and hull, the repairing may take a month.

Here, the Filipinos, and some who are not Filipinos, who have made claims against the Government on account of damages and injury, have obtained nothing up to the present time. For this reason I am of the opinion that you should make a claim in America. You already know that Lualhati rented the steamer from us at the rate of \$150 (Mex.), per day, exclusive of expenses, and the Government itself has offered Manuel this price in order to continue using it.

Our house and storehouses in Balayan have been occupied by the troops, and in Abra de Ilog (Mindoro) our house on the ranch was burned, and some of our best cattle shot, as a result of a combat there. This, in spite of the fact that our superintendent, with all our people, submitted to the American Government, and that it was one of our herdsmen who gave warning of the presence of the insurrectionary force at that place to the commanding officer in Abra de Ilog; where also our superintendent is now the local presidente, appointed by the Americans.

I write you this letter on the steamer, for only at the last moment I knew that the bearer was going to Paris. He is a young man approved by the Lyceum, Miguel Velarde.

Do me the favor to make my excuses to Mr. Warren for not yet having written to him. Place me at the feet of his wife, and give my respects to all his distinguished family and relatives, and to all those good people who have entertained and cared for you.

Your affectionate brother, MARIANO LOPEZ.



[In the following letter Juliana continues the story, and tells how, when Lorenzo and Manuel were being liberated, General Bell asked them "if they had any complaint to make of their treatment by the officers of the detachment *in Malagi*." There may have been a desire to avoid troublesome disclosures in thus confining the inquiry solely to Malagi; or it may have been that General Bell knew and disapproved of the treatment of the brothers during the earlier period, and simply wished to know if they had any complaint as to the later treatment. If the inquiry had extended to Batangas prison, and to the journey *en route* to Manila and Malagi, the brothers' reply, as shown by Manuel's letter, might have been different.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, P. I., May 22d, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: Heaven grant that you continue well, as we all do here.

Our brothers are now free; the "Purísima" brought them here a week ago. We found them in good health, including Lorenzo. The latter, according to his *own* account, has hardly suffered at all in the prison, but on the contrary has learned a great deal and has made many good friends in the provinces of Tayabas and La Laguna, so that now he considers himself influential not only in Batangas but in the former provinces also. They

tell us many things about that little island, and about the life they led there. After all, they were not so badly off, for Lorenzo and Manuel enjoyed certain privileges which were not given to the others, and this was due to the letter of Sixto to General Chaffee.

When they arrived at Batangas they were not given their liberty at once, as were others, because Bell was then in Manila ; and it was he who, later, took their declaration, but in a very friendly tone which cannot be compared with that which he almost always uses. He also asked them if they had any complaint to make of their treatment by the officers of the detachment in Malagi, and they replied, "No," for indeed they had not. The man to whom we are especially indebted is Lieutenant Fisher, because of his humane feelings toward the poor prisoners, and to him our brothers also owe many favors.

I told you in my previous letter that Cipriano was in Abra de Ilog before the ports were opened, through a favor which Bell, without solicitation, chose to confer upon him, in order that he might take food to our poor people, for the Americans had burned all their rice, and, besides, had burned our house in Baluguhan [Abra de Ilog]. Imagine how pleased Cipriano must have been with this offer, which he at once accepted, being sent in a Government launch. This happened on the 12th of April, so that we attribute it to your efforts. Cipriano tells me that it was only last March that the house was burned, together with 500 "cabanes" of rice. When Captain Shaw was there he never thought of doing such a thing ; it was another officer who was in command, and who had it burned immediately because it was outside the zone. Just imagine ! — D. Gabino de Jesus [the family's incargado] is presidente of Abra de Ilog ! — appointed by Captain Shaw. They ought not to have burned our house in Baluguhan, for the American troops had frequently made use of it. They stayed in that house when night overtook them and they could go no farther. Captain

Shaw knew all this; but, as I told you, he was relieved by another officer, who burned it. Our cattle are well looked after, and none have been lost. On Sunday night Cipriano went there again to bring away some of them.

Up to the present time, neither the steamer nor the documents have been returned. Lorenzo tells me that the repairs on the steamer will cost \$9000, so that even if they offer to return it he will not accept it. Moreover, they make no mention of payment for the use of it. We believe it will be better to wait until they offer it, rather than to demand its return. There are many other things that I should like to say to you, but I am very, very tired.

The officer who is now in command here, Mr. Charles J. Thomas, visits us quite often, and seems well bred. The inspector of the constabulary who has been appointed here in Balayan is none other than Mr. Pendleton! — he has just arrived.

The town is very quiet, and the people who used to say that the imprisonment of our brothers was to be more than temporary are not opening their lips now; they are very much ashamed of some rude things they said to us.

I close this letter, without forgetting my affectionate regards to Miss Warren and her brother. Do not forget to give them to Sixto and also to your inseparable companion.

Good-bye, with embraces from all.

NINAY.



[The following letter is from Señor Alberto Barretto, one of the leading lawyers in Manila and the legal adviser of the Lopez family. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities with the Filipinos he held the office of Vice-President of the Assembly at Tarlac, under Aguinaldo's

Government. Since then, for a time, he occupied a neutral position, but has recently accepted some such office as register of deeds under the Civil Government. His letter contains certain items of interest not found elsewhere in this correspondence, hence its inclusion in these pages ; but it is hoped that Señor Barretto will not be made to suffer on account of this evidence of his professional relations with the Lopez family.]

[From Señor Alberto Barretto to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, June 4, 1902.

Señorita CLEMENCIA LOPEZ,
Boston, United States.

FRIEND CLEMENCIA: Through your letters to your brothers and sisters, as well as by the papers, I have learned of the welcome given you in that liberal and democratic America. I congratulate you cordially on that account, and especially on the honor of which you have been the object in being called to testify before the Senate Committee on Philippine affairs; a favor which has only been conferred upon the celebrated Buencamino, who must, at this time, be in America.

By letters from here you will already have learned that Cipriano, Lorenzo, and Manuel are free, and that in a short time the steamer "Purísima" will be transferred to them, repaired and completely cleaned, but without indemnification for use since the seizure, which occurred at the same time as the imprisonment of your brothers. Cipriano, Lorenzo, and Manuel have been set at liberty under an oath of allegiance, on which, at least in Manuel's, could be read on the upper margin of the paper, "*Brother* of Sixto Lopez, member of the Hong-Kong Junta." Apparently this has been the one and only cause of the detention which they have suffered.

You ought to consult there with some lawyer concerning the form in which to petition the army authorities for the payment of damages caused by the taking

of the boat, and for the imprisonment; for, as I understand it, the courts here have no jurisdiction and cannot recognize claims of this sort. . . .

Do me the favor to ask your brother to pardon me that I have not yet answered him, for reasons of which, doubtless, he is not ignorant.

I pray you to present my respects to Mr. Warren, whom I do not forget, and also to your brother Sixto. With affectionate regards from Bonifacia, be assured that you may dispose unconditionally of your friend who esteems you, and who desires your health and happiness.

ALBERTO BARRETTO.



[Perhaps the most beautiful and most interesting of all Juliana's letters are the two which follow. They breathe a spirit alternately of forgiveness and resentment; they suggest many thoughts and lessons from which those in authority might profit; they furnish to the commentator temptations in almost every line. But—that thread on which jewels are strung must not obtrude itself too frequently on mind and eye! Two references in the second letter cannot, however, be passed over in silence.

Juliana herself recognizes the change that has come over her, even though some in her own household still regard her as a child: "To our brothers only am I still a child, for they continue to treat me as such; but outside of the house they say that I have changed much, and they have excellent reason for saying that misfortunes transform one."

The second reference has about it the fragrance of the flowers of which it tells. It will appeal to those who, amid the heat of contention as to the rights or the wrongs of the friars, have harbored an unjust suspicion of the religious sincerity of the Filipinos: "Every afternoon we go out into the garden to see the flowers,

for it is a pleasure to see how many there are. If you saw those that you planted, tears of joy would come to your eyes to see how flourishing they are; and, as you can imagine, the expression that comes oftenest to our tongue is, 'If Clemen could see this, how pleased she would be!' Indeed, all the roses are flourishing. The last day of May, when it was our turn to offer flowers to the Virgin, we did not have to send to other towns for them as in former years, for we had enough, and there were some magnificent branches among those which we selected and used."

Are these people irreligious? Does all the fault implied in the friar question rest with the Filipinos?]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, P. I., June 6, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: I take this opportunity, when the steamer is leaving for Manila, to tell you that we received your letters dated the 11th and 23d of April, with the pictures and letters inclosed for Mr. Curry and Mr. Pendleton, which I shall send to them at once.

Pardon me for telling you how happy we are when we receive letters from those of our family who are abroad, especially from you; and mother weeps and shows very much emotion when we translate your letters to her. You cannot imagine how we feel, for we cannot yet realize that you are so far from us (in that country where you used to dream of going), and surrounded by such good people. It seems as if I could still hear you saying, what you said so often to the officers here: that the day when they did anything to our prejudice, and listened to the denunciations of our enemies, you would not beg for justice in the Philippines, but would go in person and talk to the President himself. Do you remember? And you have done it. I think Captain Cole will often think of that.

A few days ago Lieutenant Jones and Mr. Pendleton,

inspector of the constabulary, came here, according to their account, in order to visit us. They have both been appointed to Batangas. . . . Lieutenant Jones told me that he had received your letter directed to Philadelphia, and that he was very sorry that he had not received it while he was still there, for you must know that since March he has been in Batangas [City]. He said also that Bell had read your letter, which, according to Jones, shows how indignant you are with the military, and that Bell said he was sorry you had such an idea of them. Moreover, this General Bell, of whom three provinces had such a horror, has suddenly assumed very gracious manners and is quite affable toward the Lopez family. I have good reason to say so, for the pass which he gave Cipriano for Abra de Ilog and for the whole island of Mindoro absolutely prohibits all the chiefs of detachments from interfering with Cipriano and our interests there, and orders that they should put no obstacles in the way of his business transactions, unless his own actions should give them good cause; and that even then no one must arrest him without previously obtaining the consent of General Chaffee. You must know that Cipriano is in favor with Bell; the latter can do nothing but praise him, and he treated him well toward the last. What is more, one day when the general was in the office of the provost of Batangas, he ordered Cipriano to be called so that he might apologize to him for the manner in which he had treated Maria and me, for, according to the general's account, he was in a bad temper, and said that we should pardon him, for he was really ashamed. He told Captain Curry the same thing.

Last week, Memong went to Batangas by Lorenzo's orders, to get the confiscated papers, with a letter from Lorenzo to Bell, which certainly was not of a supplicatory nature, and which he promptly delivered. This morning we received a telegram from Bell which said that they would repair the "Purissima" before turning it over to us. Manuel says that if we should send it to

be repaired it would cost at least \$8000 [Mex.], it is so badly damaged.

I am getting together all the details that I can find about the death of poor Isabelo, and as soon as I get them all I shall consider what I ought to do to console his poor widow a little. . . .

I believe I have not yet told you that the grandmother of Pindong died three months ago, and it would not be too much to say that it was through fear lest they should imprison her sons.

Do not be in the least troubled about mother, who, thanks to God, is better, and does not become ill. We are all satisfied with your going to America, and agree that you ought to remain there longer, although in truth I am sorry with all my heart that you are so far away; and besides, I now have to do all the things that you used to do! Our only desire is that when you return we shall see you made into a real Boston American, and a Parisian who can talk French well! . . .

Keep well. I send good wishes to you from all friends here, and from all the family, and to Miss Warren and to her brother. . . .

Your sister who loves you,

NINAY.

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez,]

BALAYAN, P. I., June 13, 1902.

MY DEAREST CLEMEN: I have received your very short letter, with some photographs taken by Mr. Warren in Manila and in Hong-Kong, but I do not know whether the number of pictures is complete, for they came open.

Lorenzo is not in the least resentful toward our brother [Sixto], but, on the contrary, now thinks in the same way that he does, and is proud that he should have been one of those selected by this unhappy country to serve her. As to your journey to America, he is also

satisfied, and, what is more, he has decided to send us there as soon as the division of the property is concluded.

According to Manuel, the "Purísima" is now in the dock for repairs, and will not be able to make trips again for about a month. All the expenses for this will be paid by the Government.

Believe me, Clemen, now more than ever I miss you when I have to do all the things that you used to do; and it is very hard for me, so hard that I begin to cry when I think of you, at the same time calling down anathemas on Bell, who is the cause of your being so far from us. I do not mean by this that you should come back now; no, for now that you are there and have taken the first step and have sacrificed yourself by leaving our mother, I, like all the others in the house, want you to improve the occasion, seeing and studying all the good things of which we are ignorant in this country.

You charge me to be very judicious and prudent; that is the line of conduct I have been observing ever since your departure. And now, believe me, to our brothers only am I still a child, for they continue to treat me as such; but outside of the house they say that I have changed much, and they have excellent reason for saying that misfortunes transform one.

As for our amusements, I can only tell you that every afternoon we go out into the garden to see the flowers, for it is a pleasure to see how many there are. If you saw those that you planted, tears of joy would come to your eyes to see how flourishing they are; and, as you can imagine, the expression that comes oftenest to our tongue is, "If Clemen could see this, how pleased she would be!" Indeed, all the roses are flourishing. The last day of May, when it was our turn to offer flowers to the Virgin, we did not have to send to other towns for them as in former years, for we had enough, and there were some magnificent branches among those which we selected and used.

We told you when we were in Manila that we should have nothing more to do with the American officers when we returned here. But in view of what all those, who call themselves our friends, are doing for us we cannot possibly carry out our resolution. Last Sunday we were obliged to attend a ball, given, according to their account, in honor of the ladies of the Lopez family, which took place in the Commandancia; and this, in spite of the objections we made in order to avoid going. We were there until two o'clock in the morning, when they at last permitted us to leave. It was quite gay, for almost all Balayan was there; and besides, they had made much preparation, so that they had everything. At any other time I should have been somewhat diverted, but at present, far from being so, I was sad; and, the more attention they paid to us, the more I wished to cry.

You cannot imagine, Clemen, how gallant and deferential these egregious officers are toward us. Without going any further for example, every time they receive cablegrams with sensational news, or newspapers, they can hardly take time to get them to us. Last night they brought their large phonograph (I have not seen so large a one even in Manila), so that we might hear it; and other things of the same sort. So that we can do no less than be grateful to them.

I close this, telling you to keep well, as we all do.

Good-bye; you are not forgotten by your sister who loves you.

NINAY.

[The three following letters from Manuel and Juliana tell, among other things, of the wearisome delay in the fulfillment of General Bell's promise to repair and return the "Purísima." Indeed, the promise was never completely fulfilled -- as will be seen later.]

[From Manuel to Clemencia Lopez.]

MANILA, June 14, 1902.

MY DEAR SISTER: We have been expecting letters from you for some days, but have received nothing except the newspapers directed to Juliana. We have not heard from Pepe either, and we are wondering what the reason can be.

Very likely, if you do not receive this letter by post, you will receive it from a friend of mine, Don Vicente Reyes, who is going to America with his wife for the sake of the trip and also to take some students. This friend promised me that if his journey goes well he will arrange to look you up in Boston. You can learn a great many things about the Philippines from him, for, although he has never mixed in politics, he will know about many things that have happened in this country.

Here we all continue in good health, thank God, as does mother also, who has not been ill again since we were liberated. The whole family are still in Balayan.

As for the steamer "Purissima," she still continues in the hands of the military, for up to date they have not repaired the injuries caused during the five months' use. We have not made any claim for indemnity for the use of the boat, as it is not yet in our hands. Moreover, it may be useless to make a claim here, for many have already done so, but without results so far. Therefore, I believe it would be better, if it is possible, to make the claim in America, so that our rights may receive more attention.

It is said that General Bell has been recalled by the Secretary of War, and I have been assured that on his return from Samar he will go to the United States, and there perhaps you will see him. Many have assured me that General Bell has been recalled because of questions about Batangas, and that the Government of the United States has asked of him an account of events in our



SIXTO LOPEZ
At the present time



JOSÉ RIZAL
Shortly before his execution in 1896

province. I have not much faith in this news. You already know that in our country there are now many rumors and few truths!

I have not yet been able to send you any money, as we are only beginning to sell cattle. The money which I brought from Balayan, and which I ought to have sent to you, I spent instead on the "Oretano," for otherwise the boat would have rotted; in this way I spent more than \$5000 [Mex.]. On my return from Balayan, or when the "Oretano" arrives with a cargo of sugar, I will at once send you a draft. I do not dare get credit here in Manila, for the business is still going badly, and you will understand also that the little money that I formerly had is now all spent, and I have no capital with which to start my business once more. On account of my imprisonment I have lost all my customers and commercial connections, but I believe, if the steamers can make frequent trips again without being delayed by the quarantine, I can start my business once more.

As for the cholera, it has made great ravages in our province, especially in the capital. I am told that in Balayan the death-rate went as high as fifteen or twenty per day during the last two weeks. But now that the rain has come it is disappearing here in Manila, as well as in the provinces.

Captain Curry has given up his position as chief of police, and is now in Camarines.

No more at present. Many regards from all; we hope that you are well, and you know that you have a brother who loves you.

MANUEL.

P. S. Greet Messrs. Fiske and Thomas for me, and ask them to pardon me that I could not have the pleasure of offering them my services on the day of their departure for America.

MANUEL.

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, P. I., July 9, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: When you receive this letter, you will already have learned by the papers that the cholera has spread all over the province of Batangas. Twenty deaths a day have been reported here in the town of Balayan; but since Sunday the number of those attacked has diminished very much, and there were only two or three deaths. This is due to the fact that at last it has rained, for during the last two months the heat has been insupportable. We have lost several friends through this disease. I am sorry to tell you that poor Nieves and her two children also are victims. Julita and Miling were buried with her. As for us, thank God, the cholera has been mild among our serving-people, and we are hoping that we may not have any deaths among them to regret, for it is diminishing.

Lorenzo sends word, begging that you will excuse him because he cannot write to you now, as he is very much occupied; and besides, I do not know what the trouble is, but he is in very delicate health. We have advised him a thousand and one times to go abroad for a change of air, which would do him good now that he does not wish to go to Manila, but he always answers "No," making a "sea of objections"; and, after all, perhaps he is right. Cipriano continues in Abra de Ilog, and is looking after the cattle business. Manuel, as I told you in my previous letter, lives in the house of ——— [in Manila].

It is now a month and more since we have received a letter from you, and so, we are troubled; nor have we heard from Pepe either.

Quita and I are sending you our pictures in a group, and I send also mine alone for our friend; I promised when he was here to send it to him. They are not very good, but they seemed to us the best positions among those we had taken. The pictures of our friends, which

you request, I have asked for in Manila, telling how much you want them, and they have promised to send them. The neckties for Mrs. Smith,* which Pazita must have long since finished, I have had no opportunity to send for; since, as you know, Manuel is useless for things of that sort; and besides, now that he is doing everything in Manila he will not have time.

I must tell you that up to the present time the repairs on the "Purísima" have not been begun, as Bell promised our brothers; and recently he even wished to return it to us in its damaged condition. If we send to have it repaired at our own expense it will cost at least \$7000 (Mex.). Lorenzo replied to the communication from Bell that he could not accept the steamer, since it is not repaired; that he wished it in as good condition as it was when they took it from us; and that as for the time required for the repairs, that depended entirely upon Bell. We do not know whether they will pay us for this delay; and believe me, this is one of the reasons for Lorenzo's being so worn and worried. Just imagine!—two months have passed in this very grievous delay, and no interest whatever has been taken in having the steamer quickly done, when it is known only too well how much we need it. But let us have patience with these people, who never weary of grinding us down!

I must stop, for now it is getting very late. Give my remembrances to our brother and friends.

From your sister who loves you,

NINAY.



[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, P. I., August 4, 1902.

DEAREST CLEMEN: . . . It has been an immense delight to us to hear from you after the two months during

* Mrs. Elbert Ellis Smith, of Chicago, in whose care Clemencia came from Hong-Kong, and to whom she is indebted for many kindnesses.

which we have heard nothing of you except by hearsay ; especially as nothing else is talked of in this town but the news that you are to appear before the Senate Committee. This news was known immediately, and I was, perhaps, one of the first to hear it, for one of the officers who was here was kind enough to give me a copy of the cablegram which he had just received, telling me at the same time that it was a sensational piece of news for our country. What, then, is the result of it? Did it actually take place? God grant that it may produce a good effect for the benefit of all, and that in this way we may at last know whether or not there is any justice.

Some rigorous orders from Bell have been circulated here, absolutely prohibiting his officers from interfering in civil matters, or with the civil employees, at least unless the latter call for assistance. Not so bad.

You will already know that for upwards of a month we have had Civil Government ; the governor appointed is Señor Simeon Luz. It is said that Bell will remain a month longer in Batangas to receive claims for damages on account of what the military have done in the towns. Much good it will do to hear these claims for the purpose of doing justice, if he still holds the idea that in order to pacify the people it was necessary to adopt the measures which his policy entailed! Imagine whether any one will approach him to claim damages for the cruelties committed by his own officers! I am very sure that our countrymen, whether through fear or through a lack of confidence as to their obtaining satisfaction, will do nothing of the sort, — especially as it has now become evident that it is useless, and only wastes one's breath.

As to the "Purísima," up to the present time the repairs have not been begun, although Bell promised to send it [to the docks] long ago, in order to return it to us promptly. Manuel went to Batangas a week ago to talk with him, but we have not yet heard what resolution Bell has come to. A month ago . . . we received a dispatch from Bell saying that, in view of the time that

has passed by, during which the work on the "Purísima" had not been begun, did we not now wish that he should immediately transfer it to us? To which we answered that, having once decided to retain the steamer, he could also decide as to the length of time he would retain it; but that he must understand that on no account did we wish to have the steamer in such a damaged condition as the "Purísima" is in at present. As he has offered to send it to be repaired, but offered nothing for the use of it, it is my opinion that we had better claim compensation; that is, assuming that he denies liability, in accordance with the circular which he issued to the effect that all the houses which his troops have occupied, as well as other things which they have used, are not to be paid for if their owners were involved in the insurrection. But as the steamer is in José's name, and as Manuel is the manager, it would be just [for us to make a claim], and I do not believe that it will be useless; but this will be done after the steamer has been returned to us. Let us drop this subject, which puts me in a bad humor.

Manuel has been here to spend a few days with us. He had no alternative but to come by land, *via* Calamba, in order not to be quarantined. He is as well as ever, and told me that he had written to you several times, telling you of his experiences during his imprisonment. . . .

I will end now, for the transport starts soon, and I am afraid this will not be in time. . . .

For the present, receive an embrace from your sister, who loves you.

NINAY



[The history of the "Purísima" extends beyond the limits of this series of letters, and so, a brief account of what has occurred up to date (November, 1903) may not be out of place here.

Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities with America, — that is, when the first shipping regulations were

issued by the American authorities at Manila, — the “Purísima” was entered under these regulations and has ever since carried the American flag. For the two and a half years between that time and the seizure by General Bell, the “Purísima” had been trading between Manila (where Manuel lived and had his shipping office) and the ports of Batangas, Tayabas, and Marinduque. No charge was ever made, nor was any suspicion entertained, that the boat was engaged in trade directly, indirectly, or remotely connected with the “insurgents.” It returned to Manila once or twice a fortnight, — according to the number or distance of the ports visited, — and all its movements were known to the Manila authorities, including Captain Curry, the chief of police, who, in a letter to Mr. Warren, says: “Manuel Lopez, who lives in Manila with Mariano, *I am satisfied has done nothing disloyal.*”

The “Purísima” could therefore have been seized or dealt with at any time by the Manila authorities upon proof, or even suspicion, of its improper use by the owner, or by the manager — Manuel. But instead, Manuel was allowed to go on his usual trip to Boac, Marinduque, which was under Civil Government; and, in order to get him and the “Purísima” under military jurisdiction, General Bell — or an officer under his command and acting under his instructions — had recourse to a distinctly illegal proceeding, involving a petty deception unworthy of a soldier.

In this manner the boat was seized and used by the military authorities for a period of 157 days; after which it was held by them, *awaiting* and undergoing repairs, for a further period of 113 days — making a total of 270 days during which Manuel was deprived of its use. It was then returned in a partly repaired, unsatisfactory condition, necessitating, before it could be used, an expenditure by Manuel of \$450 (gold) for additional repairs.

Manuel therefore sent in a claim for the use of the

boat for 270 days, at the rate of \$50 (gold) per day, plus the \$450 spent on repairs. This rate must be regarded as exceedingly moderate in view of the fact that Manuel had previously received \$150 (Mex.) per day, for the use of the boat, and that General Bell himself had offered the same rate for a continuance of its hire.

In response to Manuel's claim, General Davis offered to recommend the payment of a part of it, as will be seen by his letter which follows.]

[From Major-General Davis to Manuel Lopez.]

Headquarters, Division of the Philippines,

MANILA, P. I., February 25, 1903.

Mr. M. LOPEZ Y CASTELO,

36, Regina Regente St., Manila, P. I.

SIR: Referring to the claim made by you under date of October 14, 1902, as agent for your brother, José Lopez y Castelo, for indemnification on account of the seizure and use of the Steamer "Purísima Concepcion," I have the honor to inform you that under the laws and regulations of the United States I have not the power to liquidate such a claim and it will be necessary to forward the papers to Washington for consideration by higher authority.

Assuming that the owners of the vessel have been guilty of no act of disloyalty to the United States since the ratification of the Treaty of Paris on April 11th, 1899, I am disposed, when forwarding the papers, to make a recommendation as to the settlement, provided I know beforehand that such a settlement would be acceptable to the claimants.

This recommendation would be that the United States pay the owners of the "Purísima Concepcion" \$40, United States currency, per day, from December 12, 1901 to May 17, 1902, inclusive, — 157 days, — plus \$450, United States currency, claimed for completion of repairs by owners, making a total of \$6730, United

States currency ; this sum to be in final settlement in full of all claims growing out of the seizure, use, damage, and detention of this vessel by the United States.

The period of 157 days covers the time the vessel was in actual use by the United States, and does not include the period from May 18 to September 8, 1902, during which time the vessel was undergoing repairs or awaiting repairs. These repairs cost the United States \$1475.58, United States currency, but it will be noted that their cost is not deducted from the amount it is proposed to pay, viz., \$6730.

Please inform me whether such a settlement upon the conditions named will be accepted by the owners of the vessel, in order that I may make my recommendation accordingly.

I desire it to be distinctly understood, however, that I cannot guarantee that this recommendation will be adopted by the authorities in Washington, and to further advise you that, should the terms and conditions of the settlement to be proposed in said recommendation be not acceptable to the owners of the vessel, I will forward the papers without any recommendation.

Very respectfully,

[Signed]

GEORGE W. DAVIS,

*Major-General,
Command., U. S. A.*

[To this offer of General Davis's, Manuel replied in the following terms, which, if not expressed in correct English, are quite clear as to meaning.]

[From Manuel Lopez to Major-General Davis.]

MANILA, P. I., March 8, 1903.

[Major-General DAVIS,

Commander, U. S. A., Manila, P. I.]

GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that your proposal [dated February 25, 1903] for settlement of my

claim for the "Purísima Concepcion," [made] on October 14, 1902, is not acceptable to the owner, as being known [i. e., as it is known] that General Bell offered to lease it for one hundred and fifty (\$150) dollars, local currency, per day. The vessel was necessarily under repairs.

The period from May 18 to September 8, 1902 was occupied in repairing the vessel. This unnecessary long time was wasted. It was not in my power to prevent it, [for] it [the steamer] had not been transferred to me.

Therefore, my claim that the lease should not go below \$50 [per day], United States currency, is just, and should cover the above date of repairing.

Hoping that you, with the higher authorities at Washington, will consider the said above, I am,

Very respectfully,

[Signed]

M. LOPEZ.

[On receipt of this intimation from Manuel, General Davis apparently sent the papers to Washington without making any recommendation — in accordance with the closing paragraph of his letter. And in due course the following extraordinary reply was received through the local commander in Batangas.]

Headquarters Third Brigade,
Adjutant-General's Office,

BATANGAS [City], P. I., August 8th, 1903.

Señor JOSÉ LOPEZ Y CASTELO,

Balayan, Batangas, Philippine Islands.

SIR: I am directed by the Brigade Commander to inform you, with reference to your claim for use of the steamer "Purísima Concepcion" by the United States, from December 13, 1901 to September 8, 1902, that the papers in this case, having been submitted to the Secretary of War, were returned disallowing the claim and with the following remarks:

“The property which is the basis of said claim was the private property of a public enemy of the United States, and was seized in time of war for the benefit of the Army. Such a seizure amounted to a formal military impressment of this property and resulted in no legal obligation to make any compensation whatever to the owner or his agent for any use that was made of it. The owner has already been treated with extreme liberality in the return of this property to him in proper state of repair. It is recommended that the claim be disallowed. It certainly should not be paid unless the War Department is ready to compensate all of its late enemies in the Philippine Islands for property seized during the progress of the Philippine Insurrection.”

The papers in the case have been retained on file in the office of the Quartermaster General, War Department, Washington.

Very respectfully,
GEO. H. SHELTON,
Capt. 11th U. S. Infantry,
Adjutant-General.

[Signed]

[It will be observed that the “remarks” contained in the foregoing letter, which were doubtless contributed by some small red-tape official, and upon which the refusal of the claim is based, describe Manuel — or José, who is legally the owner of the “Purísima” — as “*a public enemy of the United States*”! It would be interesting to learn what was the evidence or the official or other record upon which this extraordinary charge is based. Manuel, as has been shown, had been living quietly in Manila during the previous two and a half years, and there is testimony by an official of the United States Government to the effect that he had “*done*

nothing disloyal." José, a youth of twenty-two years, has spent the last three of them in England! There is not a tittle of evidence to show that either of these men had ever, by act or implication, been "a public enemy of the United States." The same can be said of all the remaining members of the Lopez family, with the exception of Cipriano who, ten months previous to the seizure of the "Purísima," had honorably surrendered, taken oath of allegiance to the United States, and was therefore entitled to immunity and protection. Of Sixto, as has already been shown, it can truthfully be said that, although he is an *opponent* he is no more an *enemy* of the United States than is Senator Hoar, and therefore his property would rightfully be no more liable to seizure than would that of the honored Senator.

Unless, therefore, it can be shown that, since the date of Cipriano's surrender, he or some other member of the Lopez family has been guilty of an act of disloyalty, or that Cipriano had previously been guilty of an act not included in or covered by the terms of his surrender, the statement as to the owner of the "Purísima" being "a public enemy of the United States" is a baseless fiction.

But probably every one has had to suffer at times from the over-officiousness of the small official, whose display of authority, whenever he gets an opportunity, is always imposing and—ridiculous! The Lopez family may in the meantime rest assured of ultimate justice. Their claim, in whole or in part, according as it is valid, will be recognized when the facts of the case are brought under the notice of the proper authorities, for it must be assumed that the American Government is prepared to pay for the use of property, even though it has been obtained by "*formal* military impressment."

The opening sentence of the following letter refers to the receipt by Juliana of the Report of the Senate Committee on the Philippines, which contained a less perfect translation of some of the letters included in this book. Juliana thereupon proceeds to correct the reports previously given of the seizure of the "Oretano" and of the manner of the death of Isabelo Capacia. Comment is unnecessary on what Juliana has to say of the unfounded suspicions of some of the people of Balayan.]

[From Juliana to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, P. I., August 5, 1902.

MY DEAREST CLEMEN: I have read the papers you sent me, as well as our letters translated into English. I am sorry to tell you that some of the news which I have given you was not exact; but no one ought to be surprised at that, for the ports were closed. For example, that about the "Oretano" was not correct. The truth is that it was detained for some days, not as being confiscated, but because Nasugbu, where the boat put in, was then closed. Naturally, they [the boatmen] were detained in order to make a declaration, in which they stated that Nasugbu was the only port wherein they could save themselves from the storm; after which they were allowed to go. In regard to the death of Isabelo I also have some corrections to make, but I have left this to a friend, who will give you all the details.

I have been told that Bell is very well prepared to defend himself against your demands at Washington, and, according to the person who told me, has a history of our family extending over the past ten years. As the information for this must have been given by our enemies, I believe that it can hardly be favorable to us, yet what *can* they say about the conduct of our brothers? In any case they will say that we do not sympathize with the Americans. That is the only thing there is — except

that we have a brother, Sixto Lopez. Therefore you had better prepare yourself, in case General Bell goes to America armed with lies and calumnies.

Every day the feeling of distrust by the Filipinos toward the Americans grows stronger, for, when we had the cholera here, can you credit that the common people thought and believed—and even some of the better educated people as well—that the Americans were paying to have Filipinos poisoned; and that it is due to this that there have been so many deaths? Those were the comments made during that time, especially in Batangas and Taal. I cannot believe such infamy on their part, but I am telling you of it so that you may realize to what a point the distrust among the people has reached. They believe the Americans capable of anything. When the cholera was at the worst in this town, many people did not go to the American doctor to be treated, for it was said that there was information that, as soon as the medicine was taken, the patient died, even although he had not been fatally ill. Very often, when I see the interest of Dr. Chidester in the sick, I am filled with pity on account of the distrust which he inspires. But there is no foundation for such beliefs, either as to poison in the wells or the medicine; they are all lies which are too big to be swallowed.

But after all due allowance, the Americans are themselves to blame for this distrust. The Filipinos have seen things that they were far from believing the Americans capable of doing, which, nevertheless, were being done while the ports were closed.

The town remains peaceful, and they say that another company will be posted here, so that we shall soon have two, as we had formerly. So far, we have not the slightest complaint to make of those who are here, and now they do not mix with the townspeople as they used to. We have no friend among them, and it would have been better if it had always been so.

Good-bye until another time. Do not forget to give

our affectionate regards to our friends. You already know that you are not forgotten by your sister who loves you,

NINAY.

I am writing to Pepe [José, in England] at the same time, congratulating him on the result of his examinations.



[The following is a condensed translation of a letter from Señor Ignacio Laines, a friend of the Lopez family, who, at their request, undertook to inquire into and report upon the death of Isabelo Capacia. Señor Laines has shown himself to be a master of detail, and much of what is contained in his letter, both as to matter and manner, was necessary to a faithful discharge of his duty. But, with a view to economy in space, though his own wording has been retained wherever possible, many of his phrases and repetitions have been condensed or omitted from the following translation, which, nevertheless, is a faithful rendering of his account of a wicked and revolting crime, the perpetrators of which still go unpunished.]

[From Señor Ignacio Laines to Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, Batangas, P. I., August 1st, 1902.

SEÑORITA CLEMENCIA LOPEZ: *Unforgettable and distinguished Friend*:—

After saluting you and your brother Sixto, I pass on to say [in response to your request for information about the death of Isabelo Capacia] that . . . on the 25th of December of last year, as is known, General Bell issued an order commanding the reconcentration in the towns of all the inhabitants of the province of Batangas. Isabelo Capacia,—your superintendent, and assistant consejal of the municipal district of Calan,—

in obedience to the orders of the consejal,* Francisco Macalaguim, urged and encouraged the withdrawal to the town of all the inhabitants in his district. During this reconcentration Isabelo took shelter in your house in Progress Street, opposite mine, and had lived there quietly with his family for a few days, when Señor Manuel Ramirez called, and took him into the hall of the house of Hilarion Ramirez, Manuel's brother. Once there, Ramirez, in the threatening tone characteristic of the present secret service, notified Isabelo that the commanding officer, Captain Cheever, knew that he [Isabelo] still possessed three guns, and was also cognizant of the place in which were buried the fifty guns belonging to Cipriano, and that, if he made any attempt at concealment, he would be subjected to very severe punishment. Isabelo answered that it was indeed true that he had had a gun, but that it had been taken by the American soldiers when they captured him in April of 1900; that since he had taken the oath of allegiance at the time of his liberation he had done nothing disloyal; and that as the guns under the control of Cipriano had been turned over to the American authorities when Cipriano surrendered on the 12th of March, 1901, he consequently knew nothing of the fifty guns in question. Ramirez thereupon took him to the convent where the military prison was located, and left him in charge of the guards. Some hours later Ramirez returned to the prison with Inspector of Insular Police, Agapito Bunzon, who asked Isabelo why, if he were really ignorant of these guns, Ramirez should have inquired of him about them. [!] The prisoner replied, as he had in the first place, that he knew nothing of them. He had not finished speaking when Bunzon began to shower blows upon him, kicking him in the pit of the stomach and throwing him to the ground. Then followed a series of questions, varied by more torture, until finally the two

* Civil head of the barrio or suburb

emissaries of Cheever left Isabelo alone, having, perhaps, become tired of maltreating him.

Isabelo could not tolerate this treatment, and so, begged his consejal to accompany him to the military commander, before whom he declared his innocence, and demanded satisfaction for the cruelty with which he had been treated. Cheever, thereupon addressing the consejal, asked him if he would be responsible for the conduct of Isabelo. Macalaguim replied that he would, adding that he himself, as consejal, would be more likely than any one else to know what happened or was discovered within the limits of his district, since it was his duty to know. Cheever had therefore no alternative but to leave Isabelo in peace, although it was against his will and that of Ramirez.

Now, what would Ramirez be likely to do when he saw that, notwithstanding his denunciation, this servant of the Lopez family was still at liberty? Since his object was to see this family completely ruined, would he not find means to prove, even though falsely, that Lopez and all his superintendents were traitors? There could be no doubt as to the sequel.

A week passed by, during which Isabelo remained with his family, at peace and free. Then Captain Cheever, with some of the cavalry, came and obliged Isabelo to follow him outside the town by the Calaca road. In the afternoon of the same day the party returned, bringing with them a broken and useless Mauser rifle of the Spanish type.

I was for a time unable to find out how this gun had been obtained, until, by chance, I met Vivencio Ramos, who, through fear, allows himself to be influenced by the lies and threats of vengeance of whoever may be in power. Vivencio commented on the finding of the gun in these words :

“ This capture is due wholly to the minute investigation of Captain Manuel [Ramirez], and is almost a providential occurrence.”

Here he stopped speaking a moment, and, touching me on the shoulder as if to rivet my attention, he said: "Look! Yesterday afternoon there presented himself at the house of Captain Manuel a certain Bartolo, a native of Calaca, who had heard there that a company of Filipino scouts was being organized here in Balayan. Wishing to become one he begged Ramirez to aid him, but Ramirez replied that he was sorry he could not do so, since, in order to become a scout, it was necessary that a man should deserve well of the Government by rendering some special service. Bartolo asked what services were necessary, in order that he might perform them. Ramirez then explained that one of the services that would qualify him was the discovery of the fifty guns belonging to Lopez, which had not yet been presented, — or at any rate, one of them. [!] Bartolo answered that at that very moment he knew of one of these guns, stating that it belonged to Isabelo, assistant consejal of Calan, and that he knew the place where it was concealed. Thereupon Captain Manuel took him before Captain Cheever, and caused him to repeat his statement. The result was that the commander immediately went out with some of his soldiers to Calan, taking Isabelo. When they arrived, the commander said that if Isabelo did not point out the place where the gun was concealed he would be shot. Isabelo then confessed, indicating that the gun was in a corner of his house, where it was indeed found."

So much for Vivencio's story. Those who do not know Ramirez would doubtless conclude that the account of the affair as given by Vivencio was a correct statement of the actual facts of the case. But I, who *do* know him, thought it wise to make a personal investigation of the evidence, before accepting his statement.

In the first place, it is to be observed that this Bartolo was an inhabitant of Calaca, and that at that time no one was permitted to pass the reconcentration lines or go from one town to another, under penalty of being shot by the soldiers who daily patrolled outside the zone. It is to be observed also that the informer was Ramirez, a man who cherishes a deadly hatred for your family and for all your dependents and friends. Finally, it should be known that Ramirez had under his command

during those days a small flying column composed of the convicted robbers, Romualdo Tolentino (or Daldoc), Felipe Garcia, and Melecio. These men had been granted especial privileges by the commanding officer, and could pass the lines of reconcentration as secret explorers, in order to search for guns which had not yet been surrendered.

Well, then, how did it happen that this Bartolo had the courage to come to Balayan alone, since he must have known very well that on the way the patrol might meet and kill him? He must have known, too, that if he attempted to enter any town he could not save himself from the local volunteers, whose sole duty it was to prevent the entrance and exit of any one from the zone without a special pass, such as the little "Daldoc" column possessed. No man with a head on his shoulders would believe that Bartolo would dare to do this at his own risk.

In view of all this, would it be too much to deduce that Ramirez had arranged that "Daldoc" should get hold of a gun from his friends and companions in robbery, put it in a corner of Isabelo's house, and then have Isabelo denounced? Those who know Ramirez well will have no doubt of this trick, for he is a man capable of such deception.

Moreover, if Isabelo's guilt had really been clearly proven, or if he had "confessed" as Vivencio Ramos says he did, there would have been no occasion for the torture and death afterward inflicted on him. It would have been more natural to order a court-martial, convict, and legally shoot him as a traitor. In this way Ramirez and Cheever could have attained their object without scandal or responsibility. These are the conclusions to which I have come.

I will now continue the history of poor Isabelo until his unhappy death, which was as follows :

On Monday afternoon, the day after that on which the gun was captured, Isabelo was taken from the prison and

put into a wagon by Inspector Bunzon, with a few soldiers as a guard; they then went to the town of Tuy, where a company of Macabebe "scouts" was stationed, under the command of the American officer, Lieutenant Shawski [?]. The next day, Tuesday, Lieutenant Shawski, Bunzon, and the Macabebe soldiers took Isabelo to the bank of the river Matauanak, where, after having wrapped him in a carabao skin and attached a stone to his belt as a weight, they threw him into the water, allowing him to be entirely submerged. When the executioners of this torture saw through the clear water that the victim no longer moved, and therefore no longer breathed, they took him out on the bank, where they terminated their torture by jumping on his body, until blood burst from his mouth, nose, eyes, and ears; finally breaking some of his ribs, and thus they left him unconscious. Having accomplished this, Bunzon returned to Balayan, with the tortured man, completely mangled, stretched out in the wagon; and in this condition he was returned to the detention room in the convent. When his wife heard what had happened she begged and obtained permission of the commanding officer to see her husband. She could do nothing but weep when she saw the evil plight of Isabelo, who, in the midst of all his suffering, was able to recognize the voice of his wife. Although at first he could not speak, yet, when he realized that she was saying good-bye to him, he with a supreme effort asked her not to go, since he knew by his difficulty in breathing that he would die that night. But his poor wife had no choice, for the soldiers of the guard would not allow her to prolong her stay.

The American physician of this detachment, Mr. Cheedester [?], applied all the convenient remedies to save the tortured man, but it was all useless, for in a little while he died. The body was then transferred to the military hospital, where it was submitted to examination.

On the following morning, as soon as Isabelo's wife

knew that her husband had died, she went to the commanding officer and begged him to allow her to have the body, and, having obtained it, transferred it to her house. Every one who saw the body bore witness to the evidences of torture. One of the witnesses present during the act of torture on the banks of the river Matauanak was the brother of the unfortunate Isabelo. He also was tortured, but not to the same extent.

Whether Isabelo has or has not been proved to be the owner of the captured gun is not clear to me; but it is certainly proved beyond a doubt that he was killed inhumanly and illegally.

One of the proofs of Isabelo's violent death is the record of the formal examination of the body by the American doctor, Mr. Cheedester, who, as Vivencio Ramos himself told me, reported that Isabelo had died a violent death. He made this report in spite of the fact that he was forewarned by Ramirez that, in the time of the Spaniards in the Philippines, matters of this sort could be concealed.


In view of this report, Cheever could do no less than name an examining judge to take the first steps in the case. This duty fell to the American major who had been commanding officer in Bauan last year, and who happened to be here. The judge submitted Ramirez, Inspector Bunzon, Lieutenant Shawski, and all the soldiers under his command, to an interrogation, and afterward took the papers to the military headquarters of the province. This is all that I can say as to the death of poor Isabelo.

Your affectionate servant, IGNACIO LAINES.

P. S. They say that Bell has returned to Batangas solely to hear claims on account of abuses committed by the military. *Apparently*, the general has not yet any knowledge of the death of Isabelo, but in reality this cannot be so, because of the official report. The most probable explanation is that the general is keeping

the report in his archives, to look over when the Philippine Islands are no longer subject territory !

[Señor Laines, doubtless satisfied in his own mind as to how the "broken and useless Mauser rifle" came to be *openly concealed* in Isabelo's house, has not considered it worth while to pursue the inquiry further. But there is one point to which attention may briefly be called. It may be presumed that Isabelo Capacia was a fairly intelligent man — since he had been promoted from the position of a simple farm hand to that of superintendent on one of the Lopez plantations. Would he, then, be likely to have committed the supreme folly of attempting to conceal a rifle in the corner of his own house? He and most of his fellow-townsmen were under suspicion; indeed, he had been openly accused of having three guns in his possession. The Lopez family — to whom he owed fidelity and to whom he proved faithful unto death (for a confession, however false, would have saved him from further torture) — were also charged with the concealment of arms. Yet we are asked to believe that this faithful and intelligent soul was both faithless and foolish enough to leave a rifle — a useless rifle — *concealed* in the corner of his house, while he himself took refuge in that of his employers! Furthermore, why did Ramirez not search Isabelo's house at the time when he charged Isabelo with the possession of three guns — a week previous to the alleged discovery of the rifle in question? Why was it necessary to bring a stranger from another town to make the discovery? The reason is obvious to those who know the Lopez family and the respect in which they are held. It was because no one of the inhabitants of Balayan, however bad his character, could be got to do a wicked thing against the children of the "Defender of the just."



The following letter is from the aged and honored mother of the Lopez family, Señora Maria Castelo, and is written to Sixto and Clemencia. It forms a fitting conclusion to the series, and recalls to one's mind the marriage-feast of Cana, where the best wine was reserved till the last.

Señora Castelo is one of the people, unpretentious, unoffending; firm in her adherence to truth and principle, and full of lovingkindness and sympathy. Her letter, though brief and couched in the language of prudence and self-restraint, has a fullness of meaning to those who have ears to hear. It is an unconscious censure of those who thoughtlessly imagine that the promise of "good government" and "greater prosperity," provided by a foreign hand, will ever satisfy the heart that desires national freedom; it is a dignified rebuke to those who, in ignorance, speak of the Filipinos as "savages" and "Boxers" and "Apaches"; it is an argument unanswerable by those who—perhaps naturally, in the absence of actual knowledge—have assumed that opposition to certain officers of the Catholic Church means opposition to the Church itself; it expresses pride in the self-sacrifice of her children for the welfare of their native land; it breathes a spirit of devotion to duty and to family honor equal to anything expressed in our own civilization; it displays a refreshing simplicity of devotion to religion, and to the forms of religion, which ought to make any church proud of such votaries. Yet this is the splendid mother, these are the people, who have been sorely persecuted and deprived of the "inalienable rights" of man, on the assumption that they are ignorant of man's duties and privileges; these are the people who have been regarded as irreligious, because they reprovved those who had departed from their original mission of love and self-sacrifice and had become seized with an unhallowed spirit of personal gain!

The great value of these letters is that they bring one in touch with the Filipinos themselves. It ceases to be

a question of gauging the reliability of report or opinion ; report is notoriously liable to be false, and opinion to be erroneous and contradictory. But in these letters the Filipinos are brought almost face to face with the reader, who is thereby enabled to judge for himself or herself. The *fact* of Señora Castelo's letter is worth more than volumes of opinion or argument. Read it and judge.]

[From Señora Maria Castelo to Sixto and Clemencia Lopez.]

BALAYAN, P. I., August 27, 1902.

MY BELOVED CHILDREN: Although it is true that up to the present I have not written to you, still not a moment has passed that I have not thought of you who are far from me, in a foreign land, and to whom I have no money to send to enable you to live in reasonable comfort and to continue to the end that work which you have voluntarily taken up. I am rejoiced by all that you do which contributes toward the welfare of our country, and, as a mother, I feel proud to have children who sacrifice themselves for their native land. I should die of shame if I knew that my children, instead of honoring the stainless name which their forefathers have left them, were capable of bringing reproach upon it by not fulfilling the duties which every good Christian and good citizen owes to God and to man. You already know this, but I repeat it to you once more, so that the knowledge of what a blow it would be to your mother to receive bad news of you may be deeply graven on your hearts.

Every day I am recovering the strength which I was losing little by little in Manila ; counting myself happy since the liberation of your brothers, and because I have returned here where I can breathe more freely.

.....

Ninay has translated to me several of your letters in which you speak of a steam plough. From what you say it would certainly seem to be productive, and advantageous

to us, but in these times I do not wish you to raise a loan for such a purpose, especially as the property is not yet divided. In truth, I am afraid of these large loans, especially when I remember several persons who have been ruined by such. We ought to wait and allow one or two of the large capitalists to begin first, for, lacking animals for the cultivation of their lands, they will doubtless avail themselves of this method.

Before closing this letter let me remind you not to forget your daily prayers, — above all, the rosary, — so that you may be protected from all perils.

Give my most affectionate regards to Mr. Patterson and to Mr. Warren and his family, and congratulate them on their happy arrival in America.

May God bless you, as your mother, who loves you so much, blesses you.

MARIA CASTELO.



And thus the sands run out. As the last grain falls it suggests a thought which neither mind nor conscience can avoid. It is not that war is cruel and relentless. No, with all its cruelty, war may be justifiable in national self-defense, as homicide is justifiable in personal self-defense. Neither is it that the American soldier in the Philippines has pursued a course different from that which other soldiers would have pursued in similar circumstances. No, the policy and the methods go hand in hand. Besides, the American soldier, when placed side by side with the soldiers of European nations, as he was placed in China, shines by comparison — a credit to his country, to his flag, and to his uniform.

Yet, can it be denied that a tragedy has occurred in the Philippines? It may be called by some other name; it may be shrouded in the mantle of policy, of necessity, of philanthropy; but still, there are the dead hosts, the charred hamlets, and the graves upon a thousand hills!

Could all this have been avoided?

Yes. Incontestably, Yes. It was avoided in Cuba.

How?

By the substitution of a word.

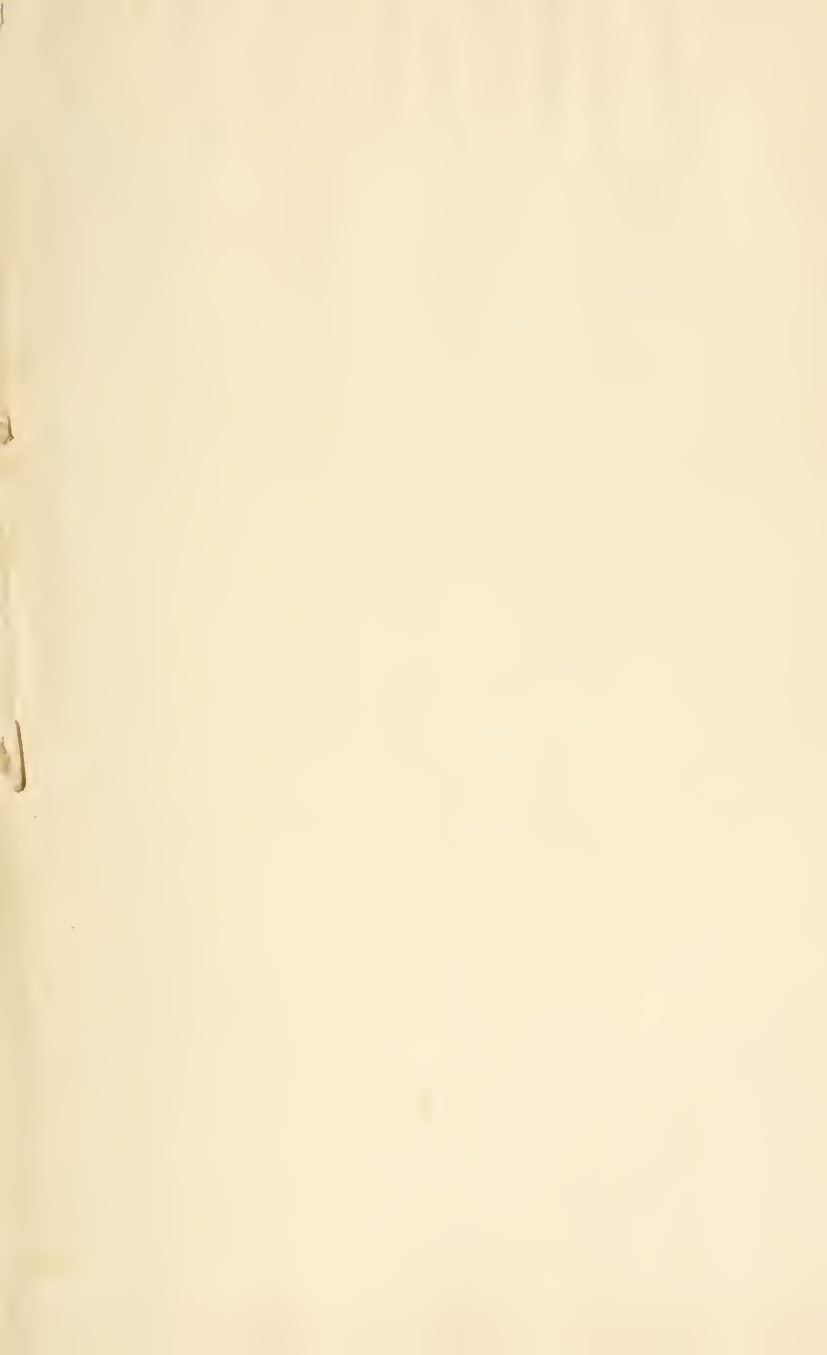
In the Treaty of Paris, a clause relating to Cuba provided that Spain hereby "*relinquishes*" sovereignty over the Island of Cuba; another clause, relating to the Philippines, provided that Spain hereby "*cedes*" sovereignty over the Philippines *to* the United States. When that word "*cedes*" was embodied in the Treaty of Paris, the blood was potentially shed. Around it clustered all the subsequent wrongs and all the violation of rights.

From the thunders of Sinai comes the mandate of Law: "Thou shalt not covet . . . anything that is thy neighbor's"; from gentler Bethlehem the message of Love: "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

Both Law and Love forbade it. And all the excuses that reason can frame and philanthropy offer are naked mockeries in the presence of Sinai and Bethlehem.

"Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the *consent* of the governed."

A truth is never old-fashioned nor a principle out of date. Righteousness is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. No man is wise enough, no nation great enough to be able to ignore a fundamental principle or to escape the consequences of a violation of immutable law.



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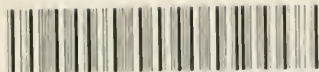
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