

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University • Loyola Heights, Quezon City • 1108 Philippines

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Philippine Studies vol. 37, no. 2 (1989) 192–214

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Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

Texts and Documents

The Fall of Manila: Excerpts from a Jesuit Diary

JOSE S. ARCILLA, S. J.

In an earlier essay published in this review (35 [1987]:296-315), I mentioned that the Jesuits were a convenient scapegoat for the outbreak of the Bonifacio revolution. It was not a comfortable position to be in, and the Jesuits tried to answer the charges against them, not by open polemic against their accusers, but by performing their duties as best as they could. Realizing they were witness to historical events, the Jesuit superiors decided to put in writing what they perceived were the important events taking place around them.

The following is a translation of an excerpt of a diary kept by a Jesuit scholastic, Miguel Saderra Maso, on orders of his rector at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila, Fr. Miguel Saderra Mata. Maso had just finished his last year of regency, or teaching assignment at the Ateneo, when the Bonifacio uprising occurred in August 1896 and was about to return to Spain for his theological studies preparatory to his priestly ordination. When he left the country, he was a co-passenger of Rizal who was on his way to join the Spanish medical corps in Cuba. Scholastic Saderra Maso was ordained to the priesthood in 1889, and returned to the Philippines in 1901, when he was assigned to work at the Manila Observatory. He died in San Pedro, Makati on 21 March 1939 at the age of seventy-four.

The original diary could not have been written by him for he was out of the country when the events described took place. But he was ordered by his rector to make a clean copy of an original record made, as is usual in Jesuit houses, by the house chronicler. That the Jesuits were in close touch with developments is beyond doubt. They were usually consulted by top government officials and other concerned residents in the Philippines, and on more than one occasion, as the diary clearly shows, they were official emissaries to the revolutionary groups. For example, they had been earlier emissaries to Aguinaldo before Paterno served as the liaison during the negotiations which led to the pact of Biak-na-Bato.

The translation offered here covers only a part of the entire diary which records the events from 21 April 1898 to 7 February 1899, three days after the start of the fighting between the Filipino and American forces in San Juan. It is based on the text preserved in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*, the central Jesuit archives in Rome, manuscript "Phil." 1001-XII, 20 (olim Philipp. [Arag.] 1-IX). As will appear immediately, the incidents mentioned here are important events in the history of both the Philippines and the United States, and there seems no reason to apologize for offering this excerpt to the public.

Editorial work consisted only in translation and annotation.

The text of the diary follows.

APRIL

22, Friday: News of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States is received in Manila.

23, Saturday: His Excellency, the Governor General Basilio Augustin issues an enthusiastic and Christian allocution to the Filipino people, reminding them of the declaration of war and urging them to defend [the country] with valor and patriotism.¹

24, Sunday: A patriotic demonstration by all groups of people against the United States marches around the city and heads towards Malacañang.

26, Tuesday: Word is received in Manila that the American squadron has left HongKong and proceeded to Mirs Bay on the 24th and 25th.² Because of the possibility of a bombardment, the sick soldiers are moved from the hospital in Malate to the first floor of our house in Santa Ana.³

1. The last Spanish Governors General in the Philippines were: Ramon Blanco (1893-96), Camilo Polavieja (1896-97), Jose de Lachambre (interim, 1897), Fernando Primo de Rivera (1897-98), Basilio Augustin (1898), Fermin Jaudenes (interim 1898), Francisco Rizzo (interim, 1898), and Diego de los Rios (1898-99). Governor Rios established his capital in Iloilo, and tried to continue the Spanish government in places where the Spanish flag was still recognized. He went to Manila on 1 January 1899 and, when he sailed for Spain, he left General Jaramillo as president of the commission for the selection and transportation of war materiel. Manuel Sastron headed the commission in charge of Spanish property in Manila.

2. Hongkong was under the jurisdiction of Great Britain which wanted to observe neutrality, but Mirs Bay was under the Chinese who were too weak to protest the American presence.

3. At that time, Santa Ana was at some distance from the city proper, that is, Intramuros, and the Jesuits built there a villa house on the south bank of the Pasig river (at present located on Pedro Gil Street).

27, Wednesday: The American squadron leaves Mirs Bay and is heading towards Manila.⁴ His Grace, the Archbishop publishes an eloquent pastoral letter exhorting the people to take part in this holy war and fight with prayer and material weapons.

MAY

1, Sunday: Today our squadron was burned by the Americans. At 2:30 before dawn, it entered the bay through the Boca Chica.⁵ It is composed of the boats *Boston* and *Baltimore*, first class armed cruisers; *Raleigh* and *Olympia*, second class armed cruisers; the armed gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel*; the cutter *McCullough*; and the transports *Zaphyr* and *Nanshan*.⁶ The artillery recently installed on Corregidor fired some rounds, but the Americans ignored them and sped on to Cavite. At 5:15 A.M. they entered in single file the hook off Bacoor, positioning themselves between Cavite and Malate. Our squadron anchored in the Cavite navy yard consisted of the wooden-and-iron cruisers *Reina Cristina*, *Castilla*, *D. Antonio de Ulloa* and *D. Juan de Austria*; the gunboats *Marques del Duero* and *General Lero*, the third class armed cruisers *Isla de Luzon* and *Isla de Cuba*. Attached to them was the defenseless mail boat *Isla de Mindanao*. A battery installed in Cavite opened fire, and to these shots were added those from the armada and some batteries in Manila. The enemy, haughty in their colossal barks answered with energy, all of their cannons aimed at destroying our vessels, especially the *Reina Cristina* aboard which was Admiral Patricio Montojo. At 6:00, the cannonading was veritably infernal. Between 6:00 and 7:00, the American squadron repulsed by the Spanish retreated for a moment in order to resume the fight with greater fury, resorting to firing on our boats with incendiary bombs. One of them set fire to the *Reina Cristina* whose commanding officer, D. Cadarso, in a fit of valor rammed one of the enemy to board it. But a mortal

4. Before leaving Mirs Bay, Dewey read all he could about Spanish naval policies and capabilities, and he came to know quite a lot about the bays and anchorages in the Philippines. Although on 24 April orders reached him to proceed to Manila, he waited a few days for Consul Oscar F. Williams to arrive from Manila. The latter came on the 27th, when Dewey left for the Philippines.

5. I.e., north of Corregidor Island.

6. Dewey's forces were far superior to the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. His flagship, the *Olympia* had a displacement of 5,870 tons; the *Baltimore*, 4,413 tons; the *Raleigh* 3,213 tons; the *Boston*, 3,000 tons. These were all armed cruisers, while the *Petrel* was a gunboat of only 892 tons. The other ships were smaller. The *McCullough* was recently commissioned for naval service, while the *Zaphyr* and *Nanshan* were purchased in China.

enemy bullet aimed at the commander stopped him short, while our boat *Insignia*, its rudder already damaged, was stowed away near the shore. It would be about 7:00 A.M. when the Americans retreated towards Bataan quite a distance from Manila. Watching from the Ateneo, we thought they would be throwing corpses into the sea. There was no interruption of the masses in our church during the battle and enough people received holy communion. Hardly had the fighting ceased when we saw from Manila a column of black smoke rising above the first burned vessel, the *Castilla*, the *D. Juan de Austria* and perhaps also the *Ulloa*. It was certainly painful watching the flames flashing from the continued explosions of the ammunition loaded in their holds. An enemy boat, at about 12:30 P.M. pounced upon the batteries of Cavite again, destroying them with a few shots. The others were ranged in battle position as in the early morning, securely contemplating what they accomplished in burning our vessels. The boats which had been saved from the bombardment were scuttled by their crews, unwilling to see them fall into the enemy's hands. The *Isla de Mindanao* had been grounded on the shore of Paranaque, and at 1:00 P.M., an American boat approached and put it on fire. Her 125-man crew were saved with not a single scratch. During the battle that morning, only one grenade out of forty hurled at the enemy hit a mast. When the shooting was over, the chaplain, D. Juan Alberti said Mass and harangued the crew, encouraging them to be brave and trust in Saint Joseph whose feast day the whole Church is celebrating today. They had all armed themselves with battle-axes and revolvers to defend the boat to death, rather than see her boarded and taken; but on seeing her burning from a single bomb, they abandoned her, and escaped in boats to the shore, Saint Joseph shielding them from the projectiles of the enemy who, seeing them fleeing from a wrecked ship, continued to fire on them. The casualties suffered by our battle fleet number about 450, due more to the explosion of the ammunition inside our burning boats, the most prominent victim being the chaplain of the *Reina Cristina*, Fr. Novo, whose head was blown to bits while he was hearing the confession of a wounded marine. He had just brought the entire crew to our church a short while before to help them fulfill their Easter duty.⁷ All day long some of our Fathers and

7. Church law obliges all Roman Catholics to go to confession and receive holy communion at least once a year, and this obligation must be fulfilled during the Easter season. A concession extended the deadline on 29 June, the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

Brothers have been going to Santa Ana, and in the evening, the superiors decided that all of Ours should go to that house. They were afraid the Americans would bombard Manila at 5:00 P.M. But at sunset, it was rumored the bombardment was postponed till the next day.

2, Monday: A battery of cannons recently mounted on the cliff of the port being constructed was dismounted last night and brought to Manila, because by its location it was so open and exposed for the enemy to blast it away with a rain of grenades. No bombardment. Half a day after an exchange of telegrams between the military governor of Cavite and the captain general of Manila the plaza of Cavite was abandoned by our troops. Many indios collected the arms at the Arsenal and brought them to the Spanish authorities in Cavite who established themselves in San Francisco de Malabon.⁸ The Americans have taken possession of the plaza and arsenal of Cavite. — Presided over by His Excellency, the captain general, the Board of Authorities met at Malacañang in the afternoon.⁹ Also in attendance were the superiors of the religious orders. His Excellency described the way things stood, explaining the Americans planned to stir up the country and it seems they have brought with them plenty of arms, in view of which it is absolutely necessary to win over the people for Spain. Suggested and approved as means of attraction: (1) recruit native volunteer militia whose members may be promoted to the rank of colonel inclusive, without prejudice to other civilian positions they may be able to exercise in their respective towns: (2) establish a *Philippine Consultative Assembly*, without administrative powers, to which may be admitted certain individuals of doubtful patriotism whom it might be good to attract, without providing them with arms which they can misuse; (3) create for the native-born titles of nobility which they can earn by patriotic deeds and open to them the opportunity for employment in public offices of trust, including that of the provincial governors, when there is someone who deserves it through his capability and moral integrity. Liberally inspired modern reforms suggested by one of the board members were rejected as counterproductive and unworthy. When asked their opinion and the rest of the superiors of the religious orders declined to say something, our

8. Today, General Trias.

9. A special advisory group, but with no voting power, composed of the various department heads of the government, including the superiors of the religious orders in the Philippines.

Reverend Father Superior spoke, saying he believed it convenient the religious orders and the native clergy help to raise the morale of the country.¹⁰ His words were received with signs of approval by everyone, especially by His Excellency, the captain general.

3, Tuesday: The American squadron, mistress of the bay, entertains herself by burning merchant boats. Presided over by His Grace, the archbishop,¹¹ the superiors of the five religious orders¹² and some civil authorities hold a meeting to decide how to implement the resolutions approved at the session of the Board of Authorities held yesterday and proceed with the formulation of the necessary decrees.

4, Wednesday: People say it is true the commodore of the American squadron has communicated with the captain general (we do not know what precise day) he would raze Manila unless it accepts these three conditions: (1) surrender of all warships remaining in the archipelago; (2) surrender of all the marines as prisoners of war; (3) official recognition of the blockade of the Islands. His Excellency has refused with valor and dignity to accept such insolent presumptions. The general has ordered all the troops to remain at their posts under arms ready for action. The rumor is Manila will be bombarded tomorrow. Frs. Simo and Martinez return to Fort Santiago.¹³ At night, some of Ours who came back to the Ateneo return to Santa Ana. These days books and other properties have been transferred from the Ateneo to Santa Ana and the Normal School, which, by its location is considered safer from enemy fire than the Ateneo.¹⁴ The Americans bring aboard a boat they have commandeered the sick from the hospitals in Cavite to Manila.

10. Fr. Pio Pi, S.J. (1843-1922), named Superior of the entire Jesuit Mission in the Philippines. It might be good to add it was during his term as Superior that Rizal was executed. Fr. Pi published a treatise to defend the national hero who had died reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church after he had renounced masonry.

11. Bernardino Nozaleda, O.P., Archbishop of Manila in 1889-1904.

12. I.e., the Augustinians, the Augustinian Recollects, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits.

13. Fr. Francisco X. Simo, S. J. (1815-1926) was teaching English, the mathematical sciences, and business management at the Ateneo when the revolution occurred. When the American Jesuits took over the Philippines from the Spaniards in 1921, he volunteered to work in the Argentine Mission where he died. — Fr. Joaquin M. Martinez, S.J. (1852-1905) was the Procurator of the Philippine Jesuit Mission. He went back to Spain after the revolution and died there.

14. The Normal School compound was in the district of Manila, considered "safer" than the Ateneo located in Intramuros.

5, Thursday: Frs. Algue and Rossell call on the archbishop to offer their personal mediation to rally the Filipino people around the Spanish flag.¹⁵ They suggest, and the archbishop accepts enthusiastically, the idea of consecrating the archipelago to the Sacred Heart. A British man-of-war has entered Manila bay. A Spanish pilot was provided on request to guide it to the anchoring ground. And after this service was performed, the Yankee Admiral was pleased to fire on the tiny pilot boat, but sparing the life of the pilot and his crew.¹⁶

6, Friday: A German battleship and a French have entered Manila bay. The first sailed in flying the Spanish flag and playing the royal march.

7, Saturday: The probability of a bombardment has lessened.

8, Sunday: A British warship enters Manila bay.

9, Monday: Frs. Rossell and Algue leave for Imus. The first of the boats that arrived leaves Manila Bay, one of their crew having just died, it is believed of bubonic plague. Another German warship enters the bay.

10, Tuesday: A Japanese warship anchors in the bay. Frs. Rossell and Algue write from Imus the people are in excellent disposition and that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities admirably support their plans; that they observe the people feel for Spain; that some insurgents remain in the mountains. . . . that they do not think the Yankees have reached there. . . . That afternoon, the two fathers telegraphed almost the same message from Bacoar. There is greater hope Manila will not be bombarded and so, Ours continue to return from Santa Ana to Ateneo.

15. Fr. Jose Algue, S.J. (1856-1930) succeeded as Director of the Manila Observatory Fr. Federico Faura, S.J. its first director and founder. See John N. Schumacher, S.J., "One Hundred Years of Jesuit Scientists, The Manila Observatory, 1865-1965," *Philippine Studies* 13 (1965): 258-86. Fr. Antonio Rossell (1856-1930) was a member of the Jesuit community at the Ateneo de Manila. He was well known all for his priestly work, and, with Fr. Fidel Mir, S.J. who was later Superior of all the Jesuits in the Philippines, was assigned by the archbishop to go to minister to the Catholics in Central Luzon where there was an almost total lack of priests because they had either died or had left after the first part of the revolution prior to the Pact of Biak-na-bato. But by mid-May, they were "prisoners of war" detained by the Filipino revolutionary leaders there and released only in late November. See Jose S. Arcilla, S.J., "The Jesuits During the Revolution," *Philippine Studies* 35 (1987): 311-15.

16. It is interesting that throughout this diary, the Americans were referred to as "Yanquis." Even today the Spaniards and the South Americans refer to the South Americans as "Americanos" while those in the United States they call "Norteamericanos."

11, Wednesday: Frs. Rossell and Algue telegram from San Francisco de Malabon to announce they have been in Cavite Viejo¹⁷ where there are many good people enthused for the cause of Spain. They hope to win over the insurgents.

12, Thursday: The Spanish gunboat *Callao* coming from Paragua¹⁸ to obtain information has entered the bay and innocently sailed among the North American boats which impounded her. From Noveleta, Frs. Algue and Rossell telegram the same message as the two previous days. The steamship *Esmeralda* departs and through her we are able to send our correspondence to the peninsula and a cablegram to the Provincial assuring him "all are safe."

13, Friday: In a telegram from Frs. Algue and Rossell, they say they have spoken with the leaders of the Cavite insurgents with very good results. They are now on their way back from Cavite.

14, Saturday: Frs. Rossell and Algue report on their mission to the captain general. They relay to him some of the grievances presented in Cavite and describe the anarchical state which reigns in the southern Cavite peninsula, where the *tulisanes* lord it over since the Spanish troops have abandoned it.

19, Thursday: The cutter *McCollouch* arrives in Manila from Hong-Kong, bringing aboard Emilio Aguinaldo with other [revolutionary] heads who sailed for that place last December. Aguinaldo's story, as reported in the *Daily Press* of Hongkong is as follows. Hoping to take advantage of the Spanish-American war, Aguinaldo went to Saigon to confer with some of his associates, and on 21 April he proceeded to Singapore to seek the counsel of an Englishman named Avvard [*sic* for Howard] W. Bray who had been in the Philippines for fifteen years, Aguinaldo revealed his plan for an independent Philippines, offering to rally his countrymen against Spain if the United States promised to recognize her independence. His justification was Spain's failure to carry out the conditions under which the peace treaty between the Spanish government and the revolutionary leaders had been signed last 14 December. According to Aguinaldo, these conditions were: (1) expulsion or secularization of the friars or religious orders and their inhibition in matters of civil administration, (2) general amnesty for all the rebels with guarantees for their personal safety against the vengeance of the Spaniards on returning to their towns, (3) radical

17. Today, Kawit.

18. Today, Palawan.

reforms to extirpate abuses in the civil and military administration, (4) freedom of the press to be able to denounce corruption among the officials, (5) representation in the Cortes, and (6) abolition of the iniquitous system of secret judgments of exile for suspected political crimes. These conditions, according to Aguinaldo, formed the base of the peace treaty of last 14 December. But someone who saw and copied the treaty certified there were no such conditions, except a note which read: The government shall attend to the just grievances of the natives without prejudice to the country's progress.¹⁹ Bray and Mr. Pratt, the American consul in Singapore received with joy Aguinaldo's suggestions, and on 24 April the three had a meeting, in the presence of Leyva, Aguinaldo's secretary, Gregorio Hilario del Pilar, and Marcelino Santos. Various telegrams were exchanged between Mr. Pratt, Commodore Dewey who then was in Hongkong, and the Washington government. When that government accepted Aguinaldo's proposition, the latter with his companions left for Hongkong on 26 April. When he arrived in Hongkong, the American squadron was already in the waters of Manila. Aguinaldo regrouped all his companions, except two, and in the first trip there of the cutter *McCollough*, he boarded it with them and today he arrived in Cavite. Some Hongkong dailies of the 13th of this month carry a proclamation by Aguinaldo whose principal points are the following: (1) the interior affairs of the independent Philippines have to be settled at a conference of Europeans and Americans; (2) this foreign intervention in the Philippine government must not be confused with the protectorate under the United States exercised temporarily on the same bases as those intended for Cuba; (3) the judiciary shall be composed of Europeans; and (4) complete freedom of worship.

19. In his introduction to the English edition of the collection of documents known as the *Philippine Insurgent Records*, Taylor writes reforms were not included in the Pact of Biak-na-bato, despite Aguinaldo's claims. These claims were made by the "later writings of Aguinaldo and his press bureau . . . born after the controversy had assumed such general proportions that an unanswerable demand had been made on the insurgent leaders for the production of a copy of the signed treaty containing promises of reforms." The assertion, according to the American writer, was made for the first time by the Hongkong junta on the outbreak of the Spanish-American war and was met by the Spanish press with "surprise and derision as the birth of a new and startling attempt of the insurgent junta to appear favorably in the American eyes." Primo de Rivera, the Governor who had co-signed the treaty, claimed the agreement was merely a promise to pay a "money bribe" to end hostilities. He was speaking truthfully for a Spanish governor general could not have made such promises, because policy decisions were exclusive to the Madrid government. He was merely "an executive with large power, [but] he had no right to promise the far-reaching changes which Aguinaldo says were promised him," See John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the*

21, Saturday: Against the results of the machinations of Aguinaldo and his companions, trenches around Manila and the suburbs are being rushed.

24, Tuesday: On this date, Aguinaldo issues a proclamation and two dictatorial decrees from Cavite. In the proclamation, he declares that with the failure to fulfill the conditions under which he accepted the peace the captain general offered him last December, and seeing the government is powerless to battle against certain elements which therefore continually hold back the country's progress, he is taking advantage of the altruistic protection of the great American nation to bring together [in his hand] the leadership of all the hosts for the accomplishment of their lofty aspirations. He establishes a dictatorial government which will exercise power through secret decrees for which he alone is responsible until, gaining control of the islands, they form a constituent republican assembly and name a president into whose hands he will resign the command. In one of his decrees, he forbids his men for the duration of the campaign and under pain of death from pillaging, robbing, and all kinds of crimes against all classes of people who have not contributed directly or indirectly in the taking up of arms against the insurrection.²⁰ In another decree he threatens with execution before a firing squad any individual soldier or enemy who might present himself for a parley without the flag as provided for such cases by international law, and without the credentials and documents accrediting his role and person. If he who undertakes such a mission were an indio, he will be hung by the neck in the plaza for the duration of two hours with a placard saying "Traitor to the Fatherland." Lieutenant Colonel Buencamino has gone to Cavite

United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), I: 79-80. — The diarist adds a note on this matter: "This observation [about the unfulfilled conditions allegedly promised] is not mentioned in the *Daily Press*, a publication unambiguously devoted to the Yankee cause. Nonetheless, with great probability, this is not to deny that in another reserved protocol, or at least, verbally, other conditions were accepted by the Governor General at the time. If so, Aguinaldo could rightly claim they were not carried out. Paterno, who would be an excellent witness, keeps absolute silence on the matter. Evidently neither were all the deadlines met nor the reforms introduced which were promised within a half year by 5 May." See Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus (Loyola House of Studies, Quezon City) III-6-057, note to the entry for 19 May, pp. 2-3.

20. If the diarist's perception is correct, these decrees indicate the care with which Aguinaldo tried not to antagonize further the people who did not side with him. At this time apparently, he was not yet accepted as the common leader against either the Spaniards or the Americans.

Port to confer with Aguinaldo and they say he has been kept as a prisoner.²¹

25, Wednesday: Frs. Clos and Algue receive an answer from Daniel Tirona written in pencil and, according to him, furtively, describing in pitiful terms how last Saturday at 11:00 he was kidnapped by two men armed with boloes and revolvers as, summoned by the governor, he was on his way from Cavite Viejo to San Francisco de Malabon.²² The men took him to the beach, placed him on a boat for Cavite and brought him before Aguinaldo who took down his statements about his conduct in these actual circumstances, and kept him under watch. During a visit to us by the archbishop, the Fathers suggested to His Grace good results could follow a protest by the insurgent leaders against Aguinaldo's machinations.

26, Thursday: The respective commanders of Imus, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco de Malabon, Ricarte, Riego de Dios, and Mariano Trias, continue firm in their defense of Spain. Only in Bacoar are there sufficient men ready to swear for Aguinaldo.²³ Frs. Clos and Algue have spoken to two of them, urging them to desist from their evil intention, and to surrender to the government 200 or 300 rifles they took from the arsenal when our troops abandoned it and which they keep hiding. In the end they promised to do so.

28, Saturday: They say that the Yankees have tried to land under the protection of the *Callao*, but were valiantly repulsed by the volunteers of Imus who have caused them seventeen deaths. This is a rumor and there is no way of checking its truth. For the first time the Philippine Constitutive Assembly held a meeting at the Ayuntamiento, presided over by His Excellency, the captain general. He spoke briefly about his strong confidence in the country and says it is the start of an era of far-ranging liberal reforms which can be good for the country. D. [Pedro] Alejandro Paterno thanks him, assuring him at the same time that from the moment such great trust in the will and morale of the

21. Buencamino's biography still needs to be written. The entry of 1 July in this same diary mentions that a letter from him went around Manila announcing he had become a *filibustero* and an enemy of Spain.

22. Fr. Jose Clos, S.J. (1859-1931) was Minister, that is, over-all supervisor at the Ateneo, when the revolution occurred. He was later named Rector of San Jose Seminary before being consecrated Bishop of Zamboanga in 1920. He died suddenly while on his episcopal visitation of Bohol in 1931.

23. This shows at this time there was no unity among the Filipinos, and Aguinaldo had not yet been accepted as their sole leader.

Filipino people was shown by raising them to the high dignities of the honor and the military leadership of their forces, and from the moment those of the country entered the Assembly, the speaker has seen the realization of the three ideals of his life: sovereignty of Spain, local representation, and the start of colonial government.²⁴

29, Sunday: These days, the cutter *McCollough* has been ferrying men from Bulacan to Cavite at night. Those who want to join the insurrection present themselves in Cavite where their names are taken down in the house of Maximo Vincencio who has been executed by firing squad, Aguinaldo's residence, and are sent to the arsenal where they are incorporated to the enemy ranks, receive a rifle and ₱4. From the dailies of Hongkong, we know: (1) at the end of this month a Spanish squadron, composed of a battleship, seven cruisers, and three torpedo boats, should leave Cadiz for the Philippines; (2) our squadrons in Cuba have forced the Yankees to lift at least for a moment the blockade around the island; and (3) Aguinaldo received from Commodore Dewey 500 rifles and 20,000 rounds of ammunition. There are rumors in Cavite two native companies of Regiment No. 74 have gone over to the enemy and have almost exterminated a Marine Infantry Company with them. There is serious danger of an insurrection in Bulacan. Many men there are armed with guns from the enemy squadron. Aguinaldo has sent emissaries to many provinces to prepare for a national uprising.

30, Monday: Between 5:00 and 6:00 in the morning rifle fire was heard apparently in Bacoor. Investigation shows our troops in Bacoor have engaged the enemy composed of Yankees and insurgents. The fight lasted till 3:00 in the afternoon when our troops retired to break their fast. We suffered six deaths and several wounded. The enemy casualties were more. There is news that many insurgents around Laguna de Bay have risen and blocked the landing of our troops in Calamba.

31, Tuesday: Artillery troops and scout rangers (*cazadores*) leave Manila for Zapote. The Spanish boats *Salvadora* and *Elcano* flying the German flag, and *P. de Sotolengo* the French, sail out of the river. They have been leased by their respective colonists here to board their own battleships [awaiting in the bay]. A strong typhoon is blowing, impeding the military operations in Cavite. They say there has also been in Bulacan an uprising, instigated by Aguinaldo synchronized

24. Paterno's biography still needs to be written, but see the pertinent sections in John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Propaganda Movement: 1880-1895* (Manila, 1973).

with that in Cavite. There is great disquiet. They have broken the railroad line between Manila and Dagupan, the telegraph lines between Cavite and Bulacan. All the while, there is much antipathy by the people against the English colony here, especially against the English consul. They accuse them publicly of partiality to the Yankees, and the consul himself seems not to have any inhibitions against prophesying at all hours a quick end to all these incidents in favor of the Yankees, and to show he is their friend. As an interim consul of the United States he daily visits Dewey but, questioned by the Spaniards, not a word ever comes out about what is happening in the enemy squadron.

JUNE

1, Wednesday: The wind and the rain have ceased, but the sky remains cloudy. From noon till night, one hears the loud roar of cannons and rapid firing in Zapote. They are from our troops reinforcing the line while fighting is going on in the interior of the province. Here it is said, but God knows if it is true, Mariano Trias, Ricarte, and Riego de Dios behave honorably in their respective zones of San Francisco del Monte, Imus, and Santa Cruz. The commander of Santa Ana, Pio del Pilar has also gone to Zapote. Our artillery composed of 372 soldiers, has not suffered all afternoon a single casualty, thank God. Those of the insurgents and troops in the interior are unaccounted for. Last night, there have been cannon and rifle shots in Cavite, and this morning fire from rifles and cannon blasts. Finally, the general in Cavite, Garcia Peña, with 900 infantry and 80 artillery troops, with their weapons and ammunition, has surrendered to the enemy. The insurrection is spreading to more and more Tagalog provinces. People, then, who had fled outside of Manila for fear of bombardment, are now fleeing back to the city from the insurgents.

4, Saturday: Alarming but confusing news about Laguna and Bulacan. They say the railroad from Manila to Dagupan has been destroyed for a distance of fourteen kilometers. The commander of Santa Ana, Pio del Pilar, with five companies, has allowed himself to be fraudulently captured near Parañaque. Some of his men, observing the strategy, have come fleeing to our camp.

5, Sunday: Last night there has been much gun fire. The insurgents have passed Zapote through a point left undefended by our troops. Other insurgents have effected a landing beyond Malate. There is great fear and much movement of troops and cannons. A white and red flag

which has been waving for eight days from the tower of Imus is no longer seen. In wartime this means, "nothing unusual." In Las Piñas a black and white flag is waving, which they say may be of the insurgents. One can see this from the Ateneo by a telescope. Orders have been issued for the troops defending certain points a little apart from the capital to come to Manila. The advance posts defending the plaza form a semicircular line of trenches four or five kilometers before the walled city, cut off with fifteen blockhouses, that is, of sentry posts of wood and clay fortified with trenches. This line of trenches starts from the Caloocan plaza and ends with the powder magazine of Fort San Antonio Abad. There is a well-founded fear lest the Yankee flag wave over Manila within eight days. The widespread panic reigning over all social groups leaves no room for another solution. There is sufficient antipathy between the chiefs and army officers among the volunteers and nonvolunteers (since all the Spaniard civilians have been obliged to take up arms).

7, Tuesday: The insurgents seek tenaciously to cross the defense line. Last night there was sustained firing from both sides. Capt. Sendras of the artillery not only has held his ground with valor, but has even taken the offensive. Two hundred men besieged for several days by the insurgents in Cavite Viejo have surrendered to the enemy. For some days now nothing is known about the interior of the province. On the other hand, it is known from a Spanish marine who with great risk to himself succeeded in approaching Corregidor that the Yankees are feverishly setting up, with the help of the Chinese, fortifications on the island.

9, Thursday: The revolution is spreading to Batangas and the other southern provinces. The Spaniards who are in the provinces occupied by the insurgents are taken as prisoners to Cavite.

10, Friday: The insurgents persist in breaking the defenses, but uselessly. Everyday, the lines receive a reinforcement of cannons which are being taken from the shipyard and used for defense. For the past few days, secret negotiations with some insurgent leaders are being held to settle peacefully the disagreements between Spain and the natives. The principal liaison is the Belgian consul.

13, Monday: Invited by D. [Pedro] Alejandro Paterno, about forty Philippine-born Spaniards, mestizos, and indios come together at the house of Eite.²⁵ All are persons of high social standing, with no political

25. There is no information to identify this person.

leanings, but patriotically volunteering themselves to serve the government to bring about the pacification of the country. These gestures are based on letters Paterno received from some revolutionary leaders who offer to surrender if they are granted autonomy. At the end of the meeting, the general of the Marines (who has received them very cordially) came up to apologize he cannot join them since he belongs to an armed entity. They then proceeded to visit His Excellency, the captain general, before whom they suggested as the only way rainbow of peace was for Spain to grant autonomy in the form the government thought convenient. His Excellency answered solemnly and energetically he is ready to grant the country as many concessions as he can, but before discussing this, the insurgents must first lay down their arms. [He added] he is disgusted with the manner the country has responded to the first concessions he made, for, although a constitutive assembly and the native militia have been formed, thereby giving the country a place in the armed forces and in the government [a share] in planning, the insurgent ranks have grown, seriously endangering the sovereignty of Spain in these islands. In the afternoon, a group of carabineers escaped after attempting to wound a peninsular sergeant and corporal, but almost all of them have been either killed or apprehended before escaping from the zone of Manila.²⁶

20, Monday: Aguinaldo published two days ago a dictatorial decree, in which, after a pompous salute to the Filipino people, he issues appropriate orders for the establishment of a Philippine Republic. On this date, he has published instructions on the government of the provinces and towns. The different chapters of these instructions deal with the holding of meetings, the formation of police forces and their duties, the formation of judicial courts, civil registers and census, the titling and taxing of property. It closes with the legalization, with savage cruelty, of *civil marriage contracts* which it does not even call "marriage."²⁷

JULY

3, Sunday: To avoid as much as possible abuses in the sale of comestibles, a decree has come out fixing the price of the stored articles of food, drink, and fuel. The railroad line to Dagupan has been repaired. Some sort of a program of autonomous government has been published for possible implementation here, in the form of a lengthy edict,

26. The modern equivalent in the Philippines today is the Constabulary.

27. There was a bitter debate on this point at the Malolos Congress. For initial information, see John N. Schumacher, S.J., *Revolutionary Clergy* (Quezon City, 1981).

with keys, signed by D. Alejandro Paterno, although this and other autonomist moves are attributed by the people to a Spanish individual. Colonel Eugenio Blanco who was taken prisoner by the Yankees aboard the gunboat *Leyte*, has arrived from Cavite to see the governor general for important matters.

6, Wednesday: It seems Aguinaldo has received from the revolutionary junta in Hongkong presided over by Agoncillo (the elder) orders to rescind the contract made with the Yankees, since that junta has known that the United States are preparing for the Philippines a huge expedition of colonists who have already established a sugar and abaca syndicate to exploit by themselves that commerce here.

11, Monday: Paterno's long edict on autonomy (published on 4 July) has been forwarded to Cavite with a correction on a capital point by some revolutionary leaders. Paterno was saying one of the matters for discussion by the Assembly would be freedom of worship. It seems they have answered no change is to be effected on this matter, for Catholic unity is strong in the Philippines. This confirms that other news about the bad effect on some leaders of the civil matrimony instituted by Aguinaldo in his decrees of 20 July.

14, Thursday: Of Aguinaldo we know from credible sources that he has left Cavite and installed himself in Bacoar, to avoid the constant vigilance by the Yankees who, pretending to visit him, has surrounded him all day. Add to this that he knew they wanted to do away with him and had already singled out the man to assassinate him.²⁸

AUGUST

1, Monday: From 11:30 last night until 1:00 this dawn, firing along the defense line from San Antonio Abad to Mandaluyong was the heaviest so far heard since there have been Yankees in these islands. Cannons, machine guns, rifles exploded without let-up on both sides. Many people from Ermita escaped their houses, seeking refuge in the Normal School²⁹ where more than 2,000 refugees spent the night. We had one

28. Two days after Aguinaldo's proclamation of Philippine independence in Kawit, people in Manila in general had not yet heard of it. Much less was the incident known elsewhere in the Philippines. The Americans had been invited, but no official representative attended the ceremonies. The later efforts for recognition of the status of the Philippines as an independent and sovereign nation failed, which means that as far as the existing powers were concerned, an independent Philippine nation did not exist. The Treaty of Paris then was, as far as the signatories were concerned, a transfer of sovereignty over a colony from one power to another.

29. This time, the Normal School in Ermita was in the direct line of firing.

26.
blancas.

Los S^{rs}. Clotet y Martinez que han ido a Sta. Ana, han sido testigos del amigable consorcio en que viven leales e insurrectos por aquel lado. Esta misma mañana ha estado en nuestra casa de campo el cabecilla Lio del Pilar visitando al Sr. Acvedo Comandante Miliciano de los voluntarios de Bayambang. Este Sr. Acvedo al paso que da muestras de hostilidad a prueba, recibe grandes muestras de simpatía de Aquinaldo y los suyos y aún se dice que lo tienen nombrado Comiente Gral.

Un sacerdote católico yanqui capellán del Regimiento de Pensilvania, ha venido a hallar al Sr. Arzobispo y al Capitán Gral. Con el Sr. Arzobispo ha sido su intérprete el P. Simó. Ha mostrado alguna pena de que la actitud resuelta de las Autoridades de Manila obligue a los yanquis a hacer una mortandad en la población. Nos ha dicho que algunos Jefes del ejército yanqui son católicos entre ellos Bervey el Comodoro, Anderson y otros; que en su regimiento tiene 700 soldados católicos que hace pocos días confesaron y comulgaron.

Jueves 11 de Agosto.

A los yanquis parece que les han pasado las ganas de cumplir sus amenazas, pues en todo el día no se han movido de sus puestos. Un Vaporcito ha hecho viajes de Cavite al campamento de Paranaque trasladando gente.

Ócese que el entorpecimiento en las operaciones se debe a las lluvias torrenciales que han inundado los campos por donde han de atacar los yanquis.

Reina mucha paz en las líneas de defensa de noche y de día.

El Vapor mercante "Lafiro" ha hecho esta tarde varios movimientos, entrando y saliendo de espacio del fondeadero yanqui. Ócese que está recomponiendo el cable que este mismo barco rompió por orden de Bervey a primeros de Mayo.

Por una carta del Sr. D. Juan Macleat al P. Simó, sabemos que los S^{rs}. Rossell y Atir están buenos y salvos en Victoria, provincia de Carhae.

Viernes 12 de Agosto.

Ha entrado en bahía un barco japonés que ha hecho el saludo de ordenanza.

Todo sigue con gran tranquilidad y aún hay quien dice que es imposible un bombardeo desde el momento que las potencias Europeas reunidas en Berlín, han declarado que se opondrían a la anexión de Filipinas a los Estados Unidos.

Sábado 13 de Agosto.

Hoy la plaza de Manila se ha rendido a los yanquis.

Las primeras horas del día no anunciaban novedad alguna. El "Boston" estaba de guardia frente a Paranaque, y el "Sebel" y el "Mc.ullo" frente a la boca del río. El resto de la escuadra se hallaba en Cavite. Serían como las nueve cuando hemos visto entrar un Vapor mercante con bandera alemana. Alguien ha dicho que así había de ser el barco que nos trajere la paz y con esta seguridad nos fuimos a mirar el barco que entraba, el cual rechazado de Cavite a donde se le suponía se

nales que le han hecho con banderas, ha ido a juntarse con la escuadra alemana cerca de San Francisco.

De repente se ha puesto en movimiento toda la escuadra yanqui. Los vapores que estaban de guardia han ido a reunirse con los demás y se han dirigido hacia el fortín de S. Antonio. Cuatro barcos grandes que debían de ser el "Olympia", el "Boston", el "Poleis", y el "Baltimore" han cañoneado aquel fortín. Luego la han emprendido contra las trincheras perpendiculares a la línea de la playa, jugando el principal papel en este ataque un cañonero que debía de ser el "Leyte" o el "Callao". En medio del cañoneo ha sobrevenido un fuerte subarso que nada ha estorbado el ataque. A los cinco cuartos de hora de fuego han juzgado los yanquis que el campo estaría completamente despejado, por lo cual han suspendido el fuego de los barcos empezando a marchar el ejército de tierra en formación hacia Manila. Nuestras tropas agazapadas en las trincheras que aún quedaban, han sorprendido con dos rociadas de balas a los yanquis que entraban con toda seguridad y que se han quedado parados. En esto el "Olympia" y el Monitor "Monterey" se habían colocado frente a Manila, y este último tenía sus cañones de 30⁵ continuos apuntados a la batería de dos cañones de la luneta. Ha disparado el "Olympia" un cañonazo sobre nuestras trincheras cuyos soldados han recibido luego orden de retirarse mientras sobre las murallas de la Ciudad se levantaba una gran bandera blanca. La plaza, llena como estaba de gente indefensa, no ha hecho fuego sobre los barcos por no atraer sobre si las balas enemigas. Ha habido parlamento en el cual parece que los yanquis se han mostrado generosos en todas las condiciones, con tal que se les entregue la plaza.

Los insurrectos han estado a la mira con ánimo de sacar todo el partido posible de nuestra desgracia. La amistad que mostraban estos últimos días, era la simpatía que por el rico moribundo sienten sus domésticos quienes procuran apoderarse de sus riquezas, antes que de fuera vengan otros a tomárselas. Un poco antes que los yanquis han atacado ellos las trincheras y luego han entrado por la brecha que han dejado abierta nuestras tropas al retirarse. La Vanguardia yanqui que iba a preparar sitio a los demás se ha dirigido al Observatorio preguntando al P. Algué si podrían ellos alojarse allí. El Padre les ha contestado con buen modo que no lo creía conveniente, ya por estar los bajos llenos de gente, ya principalmente porque, si la Ciudad murada ofreciese nueva resistencia (pues no se sabía aún el resultado del parlamento) el Observatorio, que era edificio de carácter internacional, vendría a ser el blanco de los cañones de la plaza. Pareciéndoles buenas las razones del Padre lo han preguntado si había por allí algún edificio donde pudiesen colocarse, y el Padre les ha guiado al velódromo.

Al poco rato han llegado al Observatorio algunos insurrectos, y han mostrado a los P. gran respeto pidiéndoles permiso para poner en la verja la bandera insurrecta, para que no se apoderasen los yanquis de aquel edificio. Mientras el P. Algué procuraba disuadir a unos, otros la han puesto. Doscientos han dado orden a un soldado para que la quitase, y al llegar este a cumplir la orden, otros lo han echado a bójica, con que la bandera ha quedado en su puesto.

dead and several wounded in the trenches. Recovered grenade shells in the Observatory bear the trade mark of an arsenal in the United States.

2, Tuesday: It seems Dewey has said that until the 13th of this month, he will not have enough troops at his command to take Manila. The English consul died this morning of serious dysentery. . . .

3, Wednesday: There seems to be in the insurgent camp, sympathy for Spain. Pio del Pilar has volunteered to bring in food stuffs, selling us cows and carabaos. News is received in Manila of the fall of Dagupan into the insurgents' hands last 30 July. Seven hundred men who had for a long time defended that town surrendered to the enemy with their arms and equipment. Scarcity of supplies in Manila is daily becoming worse. Every day horses are slaughtered and sold at the price of carabao meat.

4, Thursday: This evening and the following electric lighting will be switched off in all the surrounding areas of the town.

5, Friday: All night long, not a single shot was fired, thanks to the storm and the winds which the typhoon is donating to us. At 7:00 this morning, there was an exchange of fire for a half-hour. To everyone's surprise, the Captain General, D. Basilio Augustin, has been demoted from office. It seems the reason for this government decision was his telegram declaring that, since the squadron commanded by Camara was not coming, he refused all responsibility for whatever would happen regarding the success of the war. The general convened the Board of Authorities and in their presence announced the government order, afterwards handing over the command to the General of the division, D. Fermin Jaudenes. In the latter's place, General Rizzo was named *Segundo Cabo*. Letters and newspapers have been spread in which the following are said to be certainly the conditions for peace: (1) Independence of Cuba and (2) Annexation of Puerto Rico and the Marianas Islands. Besides, Spain is ready to sign the peace provided the United States or independent Cuba acknowledge the public debt of the island. This the Yankees refuse to do.

6, Saturday: Pio del Pilar has allowed to pass into the city some cattle at ₱200 each. In peace time, cattle cost between ₱20 and ₱30 each.

7, Sunday: This morning, a merchant vessel with the English flag seems to have brought to the Yankees official letters from the Washington government. At noon, the English vice-consul and the Belgian consul visited the captain general. They were bringing an official dispatch

signed by Dewey and Merritt,³⁰ whose message was more or less as follows. It is possible within forty-eight hours we would attack the plaza on land and by water. We forewarn Your Excellency that you may have time to evacuate to safety the civilian population. The captain general answered the Yankees knew fully well they could not evacuate the civilians because the insurgents are almost at the very doors of Manila. The Belgian consul who brought in his pocket the peace conditions in case the captain general would want to know them kept quiet on hearing the latter's answer. News of this next bombardment spread like lightning through the city and all the people prepared for the defense. The military do not stop for one moment bringing in chariots of gunpowder and cannon shot, and other war materiel. It seems Commodore Dewey was surprised at the unexpected destitution of Gen. Augustin who, five times, had refused his attempts for a parley, telling Dewey to do what he intended as he himself knew what to do.

8, Monday: The general issues specific ordinances for the defense of the plaza and assigning places of refuge during the bombardment for the people of the four zones into which, according to today's ordinance, the walled city is divided. Carriages are forbidden except to the doctors, the priests who are bringing the Blessed Sacrament, or some of the first authorities. It seems the general has requested for six days delay to consult the [home] government about the present situation, but the Yankees have refused. They are surprised the general does not enjoy sufficient powers to decide by himself without the need to consult his government.

9, Tuesday: Now we were cannonaded as we feared. Today and yesterday, the Board of Authorities has met under the presidency of the general. The trenches at San Juan del Monte have been abandoned, the troops retiring to the advanced position at Santa Mesa. The Manila streets are deserted, only soldiers, Chinese, and children appear.

10, Wednesday: In all the notes passed on by the Yankees to the captain general these past days, the dominant theme was a request to capitulate.

30. Major General Wesley E. Merritt was designated commander of the new "Department of the Pacific." He left the United States in June 1898 and arrived in Manila a month later. He and Dewey never saw eye to eye. According to Fr. William McKinnon, Catholic chaplain of the California Volunteers, Merritt was especially irritated by Dewey who had given enough funds to Aguinaldo, and to settle the disagreements between the two officers, one of the Army, the other of the Navy, Dewey was summoned to form part of the delegation at the subsequent Paris peace conference. See the entry for 28 August of this diary which we did not include in this translation.

late in order to avoid the disastrous effects of a bombardment. The Yankees have strongly insisted they do not want to shed blood, that in any case they would do so against their will, that the extremely high sense of military honor of our armed forces was such that it cannot be stained by an honorable surrender after three-and-a-half months' siege. News of these Yankee requests seems to have eased a bit the demoralization of the people. There are some who two days previously opted for surrender to those they perceived to be stronger. Thank God, there has been no bombardment. The two Yankee ships which have been detailed to guard the mouth of the river from afar have changed anchorage and approached the plaza. The insurgent trenches around Manila are crowned with white flags. Frs. Clotet and Martinez who have gone to Santa Ana have been witnesses to the friendly relations among the loyal Filipinos and the insurgents there.³¹ This very morning, the leader Pio del Pilar was in our villa house, visiting Sr. Acevedo, the commander of the militia volunteers from Bayambang. The latter, at the same time that he shows his loyalty, is the object of Aguinaldo's and his men's sympathies, and he is even rumored to have been named lieutenant general. A Yankee Catholic priest, chaplain of the Pennsylvania Regiment,³² came to speak with the archbishop and the captain general. Fr. Simo was his interpreter before the archbishop. He regretted that the intransigence of the Manila authorities may force the Yankees to inflict a mortal blow to the population. He told us some of the chief officers of the Yankee army are Catholics, among them Commodore Dewey, Anderson, and others; that in his regiment there are 700 Catholic soldiers who made their confession and received holy communion a few days ago.

11, Thursday: Apparently, the Yankees' desire to carry out their threat has passed, for they have not budged from their position all day long. They say their operations are being disturbed by the torrential rains which have flooded the fields where the Yankees were going to advance.

31. Fr. Jose Ma. Clotet, S.J. (1864-1924) was for many years assistant director of the Manila Observatory, besides being an author of many scientific studies on meteorology. He also wrote brief biographies of several Jesuits which were published in the prewar Jesuit monthly, *Cultura Social*.

32. Fr. William McKinnon was the Catholic chaplain of the California, not the Philadelphia volunteers. He was very briefly the superintendent of schools in Manila as soon as conditions allowed the resumption of classes. He fell sick and died not long after in Manila.

12, Friday: Everything is quiet and there is even someone who says a bombardment is impossible from the time the European powers sitting together in Berlin have declared they would oppose annexation of the Philippines by the United States.

13, Saturday: Today the plaza of Manila surrendered to the Yankees. The early hours of the day gave no new signs at all. The *Boston* was guarding off Parañaque, the *Petrel* and *McCollough* off the mouth of the river. The rest of the squadron was idling off Cavite. It must have been about 9:00 when we saw sailing into the bay a merchant vessel flying the German flag. Someone said it must have been the boat bringing peace, and secure in this, we positioned ourselves to watch it as she entered the bay. She was signalled off Cavite where she was heading, and turned back to join the rest of the German squadron near Pampanga. All of a sudden the entire Yankee fleet was in motion. The boats keeping guard sailed away to join the rest and headed towards Fort San Antonio Abad. Four big boats, which must have been the *Olympia*, *Boston*, *Raleigh*, and *Baltimore*, cannonaded that fort. Then they aimed at the trenches perpendicular to the beach . . . During the attack, a heavy squall fell, but without disturbing the bombardment in any way. After five quarters of an hour firing, the Yankees thinking the field was already fully cleared, ceased firing their guns, while the land forces began their march towards Manila. Our troops crouched in the trenches still remaining intact surprised with a shower of bullets the Yankees who confidently came and were stopped in their tracks. At this moment, the *Olympia* and the monitor *Monterey* had moved themselves in front of Manila, the latter with her 30.5 cm. cannons pointing at the battery of two cannons on the Luneta. The *Olympia* fired a cannon shot over our trenches, where the troops subsequently received the command to retreat, while over the walls of the city a huge white flag was being hoisted. The plaza, filled as it was with noncombatants, had not fired at the ships lest it draw enemy fire. A parley followed during which apparently the Yankees have shown generosity in all the conditions, provided the plaza be surrendered. The insurgents have watched from the sidelines, intending to take all possible advantage of our disgrace. The friendship shown these past few days was that which his domestics feel for a dying rich man, and who seek to take possession of his riches before others come to claim them. Ahead of the Yankees, they had attacked the trenches, and later entered through the breach left open by our retreating troops. The Yankee vanguard which came to prepare the ground for the rest went to the Observatory, asking Fr. Algue if they could lodge there. Father answered politely he did not think so since the ground floor

was filled with refugees, and mainly because if the city resisted anew (for the result of the parley was not yet known) the Observatory despite being a building of an international character would be a target of the cannons of the plaza. Accepting the explanation, they asked Father if there was a place where they could shelter themselves, and he indicated the volodrome. Within a few minutes, some insurgents came to the Observatory, and very politely asked the Father's permission to put by the window grating the insurgent flag, lest the Yankees claim the building. While Father was trying to dissuade them from it, others proceeded to place it nonetheless. Two lieutenants ordered a soldier to remove it, and on obeying, he was rattan-whipped and the flag remained where it was. [From the time of the noon meal] until 6:00 in the evening, one could see various units of the Spanish army passing through the Manila streets going to deposit their arms in Fort Santiago. At 6:00 the Spanish flag which used to crown this fort was furled, in its place the Yankee flag was hoisted. The Yankees who were present in the fort saluted their flag with shouts of "Hurrah!" and a music band positioned at the time of the solitary passage of Maria Cristina played their national anthem before the flag. — Since the Yankees have taken possession of all the barracks, the Spanish authorities cannot find sufficient place to lodge the troops who are retreating to Manila. The former have filled some churches, and our church, too, if we had not offered them a place in the Ateneo, where the native Regiment No.73 and two artillery companies have stayed. The trenches along Binondo and Santa Mesa are still being defended by our troops under the command of General Monet and Colonel Carbo. There is plenty of shooting in that part and tomorrow ours will abandon those positions that the Yankees may occupy them if they wish. Today's casualties are calculated to total 400 on our side, and 2,000 on the Yankee side. Probably these numbers are exaggerated from first impressions. The family of Gen. Augustin boarded the ship for Hongkong at sunset.³³

33. One can sympathize with the feelings of the rector of the Ateneo de Manila when the Spanish flag was hauled down for the last time, and in its place the American Stars and Stripes went up. Here is, partly, what he wrote to his provincial superior in Spain the day after Manila fell: "But, why not say so, Reverend Father? All around us, since yesterday, everything fills the heart with bitterness. I have never realized as now what a flag symbolizes. I could not see how the Spanish flag at Fort Santiago was furled because, I admit I did not have the strength to do so. The scenes that my imagination brings up before me! How my mind is battered by the saddest memories!" — Miguel Saderra Mata to the provincial, Ateneo Municipal de Manila, 14 August 1898 in *Cartas Edificantes de los Misioneros de la Compañía de Jesus en Filipinas, 1898-1902* (Barcelona, 1903): 324-25.