

COMPLETE STORY OF PHILIPPINO REVOLT

NARRATIVE THAT READS LIKE PAGE OF FICTION. Events Following Dewey's Victory. Aguinaldo Becomes an Enemy—Begins War and Sets Up a Government—Worse Tyranny Than That of Spain—The Commission's Efforts to Conciliate Insurgents—Municipal Governments Formed in Several Towns, but the People Showed Lack of Experience in Self-Government—Anarchy Would Follow Our Withdrawal from the Islands. Their Value to Us.

The summary in yesterday's Tribune of the preliminary report of the Philippine commission, interesting as it was, is inadequate to convey the dramatic interest of the complete document. We therefore give, below, the full report of the commission's report, beginning at the point where it discusses the first arrival of American troops at Manila.

On the arrival of the troops commanded by Gen. Anderson at Cavite, Aguinaldo was requested by Admiral Dewey to accompany him to Manila. He moved his headquarters to the neighboring town of Bacoor. Now for the first time arose the idea of national independence. The revolutionary movement in which he took the responsibility of promising it to his people on behalf of the American government, although he freely admitted that he was not himself an American, had made him any other American had made him any such promise. He was surrounded by himself a cabinet. The landing of American troops at Paranaque in July 18 was accompanied by the revolutionary leader that he wished to attack at once, but was deterred by lack of arms and ammunition. He finally decided to wait until the American troops, securing the arms of the Spanish soldiers, if possible, and then make his attack. Meanwhile he sent orders to the neighboring towns for a passive resistance and for the planting of all possible obstacles in the way of the American troops.

The second expedition went into camp, the front toward Manila and about 100 yards from the coast, near the landing place of the troops. The landing place was called "Camp Dewey." At the time of landing the Filipinos maintained a line from a point on the coast about five miles south of Manila and three miles north of Camp Dewey. The line extending to the north with headquarters at Paranaque, three miles in the rear of Camp Dewey. The troops immediately threw out a line of posts, extending from the coast around the camp and eastward to Pasay and beyond. Upon landing and joining the troops at Camp Dewey, Brigadier-General Anderson, the ranking brigadier-general, assumed command of the division. Shortly afterwards, on the arrival of Gen. Merritt, the insurgents were notified that our troops intended to commence operations against Manila, and would establish a line of works, commencing at the base and extending east in front of the outposts then maintained by them. This movement was not received kindly by the Filipinos, but on the establishment of our line in front they gradually receded. There were no conferences between the officers of the Filipinos and our officers with a view of operating against the Spaniards, nor was there any co-operation of any kind between the respective forces, and the relations between the two sides were entirely hostile from the beginning. Upon our landing they furnished our forces no protection nor support. The natives objected to our establishing camps in the vicinity, and they were assured that the United States would pay for all the damage done and for all wood and other articles consumed. There was any preconcerted operation or any combined movement by the United States and the Filipinos against the Spaniards.

AGUINALDO'S DEMANDS. When the city of Manila was taken, on Aug. 13, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view of looting the city, and were only prevented from entering our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city. He demanded of Gen. Merritt that the insurgents opened their arms to the palace of Malacañan for himself, and thecession of all the churches of Manila, Pasig and Ermita, and also that a part of the American troops be taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. This contains the statement already made that he intended to get possession of these arms with the hope of attacking us. All these demands were refused.

After the taking of Manila the feeling between the Americans and the insurgents grew worse day by day. All manner of abuses were indulged in by the insurgent troops, who committed assaults and robberies, and under the order of Gen. Pio del Pilar even kidnapped natives who were friendly toward the Americans and carried them off into the mountains or killed them. In the interest of law and order it became necessary to order the Filipino forces back, and this order met with angry. Aguinaldo removed his seat of government to Malolos, in which the so-called Filipino congress assembled. The anti-American feeling was steadily nourished by the Filipino newspapers, which were directed to foster it. At this time Sanlito began to establish what were called "municipal clubs" in Manila and the neighboring villages and towns. Ostensibly they were intended to promote social intercourse and the education of the people, their actual object was to provoke bitterness toward the Americans. Their influence was far reaching, and from their membership was recruited later on the local militia, which was to attack us from within Manila, while the regular insurgent troops attacked us from without. On Sept. 21 significant decree passed the Filipino congress, increasing military service on every male over eighteen years of age, exacting from these men a contribution of money, every carriage factory and blacksmith shop in Manila closes (knives were being made).

INSURGENTS ABUSE AND INSULT OUR TROOPS. It is in proof before us that Aguinaldo was urged to call this meeting, and the immediate determination in regard to settlement of affairs with the Americans. At this time we were about to discuss the future of the Philippines in Paris, and many of the leading Filipinos believed that America would abandon this country. It was made known to the Filipinos that it was not enough for the Filipinos to desire America to stay in the islands, but that it would be desirable for them to show America that it would be to her interest to keep the country. Aguinaldo was advised to write President McKinley and ask what desires he had about the country and what form of government he wished to establish and ask him not to abandon the Filipinos. This view was accepted, not only by the government but by many members of the Filipino congress. There was,

however, considerable opposition, especially from Paterno, Mabini and Sandico. While it seemed to appear that the American government was acceptable to Aguinaldo, still he was always urging the military men to prepare for war. The cabinet at Malolos decided to send to the President of the United States the propositions above mentioned, but Aguinaldo did not wish to do so. He first stated that he would translate them into Tagalog, and afterward that he wished to put them into either, and so delayed the sending.

PLLOT TO ATTACK OUR FORCES IN OUTSIDE OF MANILA. Danger signals now multiplied. Aguinaldo endeavored to get the war-making power transferred from congress to himself. He also urged a bond issue of \$1,000,000 for the purchase of arms and ammunition. It is now known that elaborate plans had been perfected for a simultaneous attack by the insurgents within and without Manila. The militia within the city numbered approximately 10,000. They were armed for the most part with bolos. Gen. Pio del Pilar slept in the city every night. No definite date had been set for the attack, but a signal by means of rockets had been agreed upon. The attack was generally understood that it would come upon the occurrence of the first act on the part of the American soldiers which would offer a pretext, and in case of the lack of such act, in the near future, at all events.

Persistent attempts were made to provoke our soldiers to attack the insurgents. The insurgents were insolent to our guards and made persistent and continuous efforts to push them back and advance the insurgent lines further into the city of Manila. It was a long and trying period of insult and abuse heaped upon our soldiers, with constant suggestions that the only means of avoiding an open rupture, the Filipinos had concluded that our soldiers were cowards and boasted openly that we were afraid of the Filipinos. We were always present that our army would be attacked at once. With great tact and patience, the Commanding General had to check and check, and he now made a final effort to preserve the peace by appointing a commission to meet a similar body appointed by the insurgents. The commission was to be a mutual understanding of the intent, purpose, aims and desires of the insurgent forces, and to be a permanent body that our army would be attacked at once. With great tact and patience, the Commanding General had to check and check, and he now made a final effort to preserve the peace by appointing a commission to meet a similar body appointed by the insurgents. The commission was to be a mutual understanding of the intent, purpose, aims and desires of the insurgent forces, and to be a permanent body that our army would be attacked at once.

THE REBELLION NOT A NATIONAL MOVEMENT. In the remaining provinces of Luzon, the Tagalog rebellion was viewed at first with indifference, and with fear. Throughout the Philippines, large there was trouble only at those points to which armed Tagalogs had been sent in great numbers. In general, such machinery of "government" as existed, served only for plundering the people under the pretext of levying "tax" contributions, while many of the insurgent officials were rapidly accumulating wealth. The administration of justice was paralyzed and crime of all sorts was rampant. Might was the only law, and the worst days of Spanish misrule had the people been so overtaxed or so badly governed, a man's province there was absolute anarchy. On the sides came petitions for protection and help, which we were unable to give, as troops could not be spared. The feeling between the opposing armies was at this time very bitter.

When Gen. MacArthur began the movement which ended in the taking of Malolos, the forces of Gen. Luna, fired their towns before his advancing columns. Those who were unwilling to leave their homes were driven to the mountains, and those who burned their houses. The object of this inhuman procedure was to compel the inhabitants to flee before us, and to deprive the insurgents of their own government previously unknown in the history of the Philippines. Attempts of the insurgents to raise revenues and maintain a government were being proved abortive, except when backed by bayonets and bullets, and even in such cases the natives were unwilling to contribute. ESTABLISHMENT OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS. It was not, however, in the province of Bulacan that the first municipal governments were established. During May and the early part of June there was a general strike in the province, but later in the month the insurgents became aggressive at this point and Gen. Lawton took the field against them. The insurgents were driven from Las Pinas and utterly routing them at the Saopote river. Bacoor also was occupied, and the presidents of Imus came out to meet Gen. Lawton, offering to surrender his town and asking for a garrison, which was furnished.

A visit to these towns at this time revealed a most curious and sad condition. The inhabitants had neither burned their houses, nor, as a rule, abandoned them, but had quietly awaited the arrival of the American troops. Those who remained so long learned that their confidence had not been misplaced, and those who had fled speedily returned. We found their confidence to be true, and they were not plundered by the insurgent troops, who had robbed them of jewels, money, clothing and even food, so that they were literally starving. Many of the citizens had been fired on, women had been maltreated, and there was general satisfaction that the Americans had come to the rescue. Quantities of food were promptly distributed among the hungry, a measure which resulted in great good.

Conditions were so favorable for an American propaganda. The towns of Bacoor and Imus were selected for purposes of experiment, as they were not only the two most rebellious towns of the most rebellious province in the islands. In such places the "headmen" were called together and a frank talk was had with them, our purposes were fully explained, and they were urged to state their own wishes. We found them thankful for the cessation of the present rebellion, and willing to aid us against the insurgents, at whose hands they had suffered so severely. They seemed, however, to be greatly handicapped by lack of organization, and there was a universal desire for the establishment of some form of municipal government.

Encouraged by what we saw in Bacoor and Imus we continued our work in Paranaque and Las Pinas, with similar results. On reporting our facts to Gen. Otis he ordered Gen. Lawton to organize these towns. At the request of the latter, and with the assistance of two able Filipino lawyers, the Commission prepared a simple scheme of municipal government, similar enough to the old system to be readily comprehensible to the natives, but giving them liberties which they had never before enjoyed. The scheme was adopted in its entirety by Gen. Lawton, and a representative member of the Commission accompanied him to ELECTIONS HELD IN EACH TOWN. In each town the people were called together and an election was held. The officials chosen were not only obedient to their duties, and were advised that

of rifle fire was frequently audible at our house. A reign of terror prevailed. Filipinos who had favored Americans frequently assumed that America was forced to come out openly for us. Fortunately, there were among this number some of the best men of the city.

As one result of the feeling of the proclamation of the commission, which is more particularly described herein, the situation was mainly the insurgents that the Spaniards were promised that and more than we did and had done nothing. They asked for arms. The commission was anxious to meet this very justifiable demand, and as a first step strongly urged the re-establishment of the law courts, which had been in suspension since the surrender of Manila. On June 10 the Supreme court was reopened with five Filipino and three American Justices. Courts of first instance and justice courts were also reopened, when the difficult problem of securing suitable Filipino officials had been satisfactorily solved. This action greatly aided in the restoration of public confidence.

The flow of population soon began to set toward the city. Natives who had fled from the mountains and from many of those outside our lines began to clamor for admission regarding Manila as a place of refuge to be sought by those who could not bear our arrival, a danger which was avoided. The native population nearly doubled in two weeks, and it was necessary to make severe restrictions on immigration in order to avoid a dangerous overcrowding. Among the refugees came men of intelligence from all over Luzon, and we soon gained, from conversations with them, the idea of conditions throughout the island. We learned that the strong anti-American feeling was confined to the Tagalog coast, and that the provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Moron, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Principe, Infanta and Zambales. It was strongest in the latter four. The population of these provinces is estimated to be about 1,500,000, but it should not be forgotten that the provinces of Cavite and immediately adjacent to Manila, the people were united in their opposition to us. Even here there was a strong conservative element, consisting of people of wealth and intelligence, opposed to the war.

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They must expend every cent raised by taxation in defraying local expenses. In those towns where the military government was left, cheers were raised for Gen. Lawton and for the country which he represented. With single exception, the officials elected proved worthy of the trust imposed in them and conditions very satisfactory. The military government organized towns, each of which soon became a centre of attraction for the insurgent soldiers whose families resided within the towns. The military government in some of them bringing their arms. Opposition to the insurgent forces grew rapidly among the peaceable natives and the military government was secretly from many important towns, begging us to advance our lines and do for them what we had done for Bacoor and Imus. This was impossible, but governments were organized with most satisfactory results in LasPinas, Paranaque, Pandacan, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Negros, and San system was put into effect in Malabon, Malo, Ojando, Misicayan, and Palawan. The results obtained in those latter towns have already been mentioned. Large amount of supervision over the affairs of our new municipalities proved necessary, as the officials were unable to assume responsibility and slow to comprehend their new duties. At many of the elections voters went in succession to the polls, the military representative and the native priest asking when they were expected to vote for, and it was only with great difficulty and by dint of much argument that they were persuaded to exercise the right of free suffrage.

CONDITIONS IN OTHER ISLANDS. Should it be thought that too much attention has been paid in this preliminary report to the island of Luzon, it may be replied that the rebellion is essentially Tagalog, and that without Luzon it must end throughout the archipelago. It should, however, be mentioned that a member of the Commission visited the southern islands of the archipelago and held conferences with their principal officials. The only island, apart from Luzon, where serious trouble threatens is Panay, which a considerable force of Tagalog soldiers was sent before the outbreak of hostilities. Many of the officials of this island are opposed to the Tagalogs, however, and it is believed that the latter can make a formidable resistance. In Samar, Leyte and Masbate, the Tagalog invaders are numerically few and are disliked by the natives of these islands whom they have oppressed. We were assured that the men would not be restored to order in Mindoro, Bohol was asking for troops. The Calamianes Islanders had sent word that they would welcome us. There can be no resistance in Palawan, satisfactory relations had already been established with the warlike Moros, whose Sultan had previously been consulted by a member of the Commission, and in Mindanao this tribe had even taken up our cause and attacked the insurgents, of whom there are very few in the island. In Cebu we have only to reckon with the lawless element, which has never been very formidable there.

The island of Negros is deserving of special mention. Its civilized inhabitants are exceptionally prosperous and enlightened. They had the good sense to keep out Tagalog adventurers and retain control of their own affairs, adopting for themselves a somewhat complicated form of government, and electing officials and a congress. Before our arrival at Manila they had raised the American flag, sent a delegation to Gen. Otis, and placed their island unconditionally in our hands, asking for American aid and protection. They believed themselves capable of managing their own affairs, but asked for a battalion of troops to hold in check the Babaylans, a half-savage, half-anarchistic sect, inhabiting the central mountain range, who for a number of years have plundered and burned the plantations of the Spaniards and civilized natives. The battalion of troops was furnished. The people of Negros were authorized to proceed with their experiment in government, and were promised all possible aid and assistance, but they proved unable to carry out their programme, although aided by our soldiers and the friendly advice of their commander, Gen. Smith. They were obliged to ask for a second, and finally a third battalion of troops. After the lapse of a few months they began to accuse their own officials of dishonesty and to complain that the commander of the native forces dominated the government. Dissatisfaction became general. Fortunately Americans remained popular, and the better element began to ask why we did not take control and help them out of their difficulties. The people de-

manded a new election, believing the trouble lay with their officials, but as the best people of the island were already in office, it was evident that relief could not be had by this means. At the request of Gen. Otis, the commission prepared a new and simplified scheme of government for the island, giving the people a large voice in their affairs, but placing an American in full control. The main feature of this plan had already been explained to leading people of the island by a member of the commission in person and their approval was secured. The system has just been put into operation. The people are satisfied and public order is better in the island today than at any time during the last twenty years. The flat failure of this attempt to establish an independent native government in Negros, connected as it was, under the most favorable circumstances, makes it appear that here, as well as in the less favored provinces, a large amount of American control is at present absolutely essential to a successful administration of public affairs.

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EFFORTS AT CONCILIATION. The efforts of the military authorities, acting under the instructions of the president, to prevent an outbreak of hostilities with the Filipinos have already been described. The fighting began while the civil members of the