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Documents Concerning the Calamba Deportations of 1891

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Texts and Documents

Documents Concerning the Calamba Deportations of 1891

JOSÉ S. ARCILLA

One reason for Rizal's violent antipathy for the Dominicans was the eviction of his family from their Calamba residence and estate in 1891. The Rizals were tenants, but they had lately refused to pay the rent. Unsuccessful in their efforts for an amicable solution, the Dominican land-owners finally filed suit against them. In 1891, Rizal's entire family, together with other families from Calamba, were evicted from their houses and deported to other parts of the Philippines.

In his prize-winning biography of Rizal, Ambassador Guerrero devotes a few pages to the question. He explains that before the Philippine courts the Dominicans had a valid claim through purchase to the Calamba estates and so had the right to demand rent. On the other hand, the Calamba tenants were simple people unlearned in Spanish law, conscious only that they tilled land received from their fathers. Guerrero then leaves the reader with the teaser: "What was the truth of the matter?"¹

It is a pity that in our study of Rizal the extremely rich collection of manuscripts preserved in the Dominican Archives at Santo Domingo, Quezon City, has very rarely been consulted. Fr. Pablo Fernández, O.P., the archivist, has kindly called my attention to a few manuscripts relating to the Calamba affair. These I have translated and briefly annotated.

The most important of these documents is the *Apuntes sobre la hacienda de Calamba*.² Written in 1909, the manuscript consists of

¹ Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino. A Biography of José Rizal* (Manila, 1963), pp. 180-193.

² From the *Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Tomo 608.

several ruled sheets 21 by 31 cms. It may be objected that the document is of a later date than the events themselves. The author was the lay brother administrator of the hacienda, and he seems to have written the *Apuntes* for his religious superiors. It is safe to say he would not have willingly misrepresented the situation, but would have done all he could to write the truth.

The second document³ is an intramural account of the incident intended for Dominican readers. Those who are acquainted with the routine of a religious order know that when a situation arises in which the whole Order is subjected to public scrutiny, as it were, the members of the community are informed of what is happening. This may be in the form of a letter from the Superior or just a simple narration of the events. This is what our second document is: an informative account of the Calamba affair.

The third set of documents⁴ is the exchange of letters between the Governor General and the Dominican Superiors, the latter begging an indult of pardon for the exiles who had been sent to Joló.

Based mainly on the Rizal correspondence, historical tradition has been unkind to the Dominican land-owners of Calamba. The *Apuntes*, however, affords new insight into the question. The author, for example, denies that lands were transferred to new tenants who could pay the higher rent. On the contrary, because of the system, the land-owners had to bend over backwards, as it were, to accomodate the tenants. When the brother administrator learned that several of them used their borrowed capital for gambling, he stopped lending money to them. When, for one reason or another, a request was made to transfer lease-holds, the administrator first looked into the case. There were cases in which the children would have been left landless and so a compromise was reached. The contract was changed in favor of the tenant's wife "with the express condition that, on her death, it would pass on to the name of the son...." It was this system, by which children assumed the lease-hold of their parents, that led to the custom of considering the tenants as the proprietors.

That the Dominicans were not altogether monsters of injustice may easily be seen from the other documents. Thus far, it has not been known that they had pleaded for mercy after the sentence of deportation had been executed. It has also not been known that the people of Calamba themselves had approached the Dominican parish priest "begging with tears in their eyes for consolation in such a painful plight." In other words, there is also another side to the picture

³ *APSR*, *mss.*, seccion de "Crónicas," Tomo 3 (antes 369), folio 178 vuelto.

⁴ *APSR*, Copiador de Comunicaciones oficiales, Tomo 5, ff. 50-53.

and, for the sake of truth, it must also be examined in order to arrive at a fair judgment of the Calamba land question. This is why the following documents are important.

Editorial work has been minimal. The documents are self-explanatory and their historical value is apparent from reading.

The following documents are found in the *Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas*, Santo Domingo, Quezon City, and are here published with the kind permission of Fr. Fernández, O.P., Archivist.

APUNTES SOBRE LA HACIENDA DE CALAMBA

Fr[ay] Felipe Dominguez fué nombrado Adm[inistrad]or de la Hacienda de Calamba por el M[uy] R[everendo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Agustin Gallego el 28 de Agosto de 1880 y tomó posesión el 31 del mismo mes dándole de compañero á Fr[ay] Natalio Esparza. Estos hermanos estuvieron en buenas relaciones con la Familia de José Rizal Mercado. Por entonces estaba José estudiando en Manila. En las visitas que hacía Ponciano Mercado Rizal á la Casa Hacienda, me suplicó que le diese terrenos en contrata suficientes para poder instalar seis máquinas de vapor con el fin de poder hacerse cargo cada uno [sic] de sus hermanas al cerrar los ojos de su padre Francisco Mercado: le contesté que se le señalarían terrenos en abundancia y en donde fuese más de su gusto, con tal de que la contrata se extendiera y la firmase su padre Francisco Mercado; supuesto que el capital de unos 30 mil pesos eran de su padre y de D[on] Telesfor Chuidian, Ponciano habló

⁵ *Brother Dominguez* was born in Tarancón, Cuenca (Spain) in 1839. He pronounced his vows as a Dominican lay brother in 1867, and volunteered for the Philippine mission. A carpenter by training and knowing something of woodcraft, he constructed the main staircase of the Santo Domingo convent in Intramuros which was destroyed during the last war. In 1882, he was assigned to the Dominican Procure in Madrid, but he returned to Philippines where he served as the Director of the printing press of the University of Santo Tomás. He was appointed the administrator of the Dominican estate in Calamba. There seems to be no doubt that he wrote the *Apuntes*. *Father Gallego* was born in Marzales, Valladolid (Spain) in 1838 and made his religious profession in 1855. He came to the Philippines in 1864 and served in the missions in Pangasinan until 1878, when he was made Prior of Santo Domingo in Manila. In April 1880, he acted as Provincial Superior of the Dominican Order in the Philippines because of the death of the incumbent Provincial. He left the Philippines for Rome when he was assigned as Socius for the Philippine Province in 1895. *Brother Esparza* was born in Riezu, Navarra (Spain) in 1844. He pronounced his vows as a Dominican lay brother in 1876, and soon sailed for the Philippines, where he served as administrator of the Dominican estates in Santa Cruz de Malabon,

NOTES ON THE CALAMBA ESTATE

Fray Felipe Dominguez [, O.P.] was appointed administrator of the Calamba estate by Very Reverend Father Fray Agustín Gallego [, O.P.] on 28 August 1880. He assumed charge on the 31st of the same month and had as companion Fray Natalicio Esparza [, O.P.].⁵ These brothers were on good terms with the family of José Rizal Mercado. José was at that time a student in Manila.

During [one of] the visits of Ponciano Mercado Rizal⁶ to the Casa Hacienda, he requested that I lease him enough land to be able to set up six steam engines so that each one of his sisters could take charge when his father, Francisco Mercado, closed his eyes in death. I answered that lands in abundance could be marked out for him wherever it pleased him most, provided that the contract be drawn up and his father, Francisco Mercado, signed it. Banking on a capital of some ₱30,000 from his father and Don Telesforo Chuidian,⁷ Ponciano spoke with

Lolomboy and Calamba. In 1909, he was the administrator of the hacienda in San Juan del Monte.

⁶ *Ponciano* is the spelling followed in a few manuscripts in the Dominican archives. I have not been able to check which is the correct spelling, *Paciano* (as is common) or *Ponciano*.

⁷ *Telesforo Antonio Chuidian* (1855-1903) migrated to the Philippines from China with his parents, when he was still a little boy. He grew up to be a successful businessman, a trader, besides investing in real estate and buildings. He received from the Spanish government the citation of *Caballero de la Real Orden Americana de Isabel la Católica*. It is said that he was the proto-type of Rizal's Capitan Tiago in the latter's *Noli me tangere*. Imprisoned for six months in Fort Santiago during the Philippine Revolution, he became a member of the Malolos Congress when it convened in 1898. He formed the commission, together with Pedro A. Paterno and Mariano Limjap, which signed the paper bills issued by the new republic. On 4 July 1899, he was named *Jefe de administración de primera clase*, with the military rank of Brigadier-General. He was imprisoned by the American military government, but was released immediately. He continued in business under the American civil government, until he died of tuberculosis of the larynx which he had contracted in Fort Santiago.

con su padre diciéndole lo que yo le había dicho; y le contestó que sí que él firmaría el contrato; pero que señalasen el terreno, que fijarían el canon anual que tendría que pagar. En el contrato que firmó D[on] Francisco Mercado se le concedió los terrenos por término de 5 años sin pagar canon a pesar de estar casi todo limpio, por haber estado sembrado algunos años de palay de monte. A primera vista parece que el Adm[inistrad]or se escedió en que se le concediese sin pago en los 5 años; pero me incliné a hacerlo así, con el fin de poder conseguir ver cultivado hasta la casa de majada. Durante estas cuatro cosechas cogieron muy buenas cosechas por lo cual estaban contentos y se mostraban agradecidos.

Ponciano visitaba los Domingos a los hermanos hacenderos y entre otras muchas cosas que se hablaban ya le proponía que supuesto que D[on] Telesforo Chuidian y su padre Francisco reunían 30 mil pesos para dedicarlos a la agricultura de la caña dulce, podrían formar una sociedad y poner una fardería para blanquear el azúcar; y de este modo sacar mas utilidad y no estar supeditadas a los acaparadores Chinos de Manila, quien[es] les estaban poniendo la ley; pero a pesar de mis buenos deseos no se formó sociedad para el blanqueo de la azúcar. Por entonces no conocía yo el terreno que pisaba; pero después conocí el inconveniente que había para no poder formar sociedad. Al destinarme como Adm[inistrad]or de la Hacienda de Calamba, me autorizaron para adelantar capital al seis por 100 por que los Padres creyeron a algunos inquilinos que vinieron a Manila diciéndoles que no tenían capital y lo tenían que pedir y si se lo daban que tenían que ser pagando un 25 por 100. Cuando fui conociendo a la gente y el modo que tenían de emplear el capital tomado para emplearlo en la agricultura a tan subido precio, desistí

⁸ The Dominican villa in the hacienda.

⁹ At that time they found from experience that the lands for the Calamba estate yielded better sugar than rice. The practice was for the Dominicans to allow four harvests without demanding rent for lands tilled or cleared for the first time because of the expenses, the relatively low yield of the land, the extra work entailed in opening the

his father and mentioned what I had said. He answered that he would certainly sign the contract, but they should [first] designate the [limits of the] land and agree on the annual rent which he would have to pay. In the contract which Don Francisco signed, lands were leased to him without rent for five years, although they were all practically cleared because they had been for some years planted with upland rice. At first sight, it seems that the administrator had gone too far in allowing five years without rent. But I was inclined to do this in order to have the land cultivated up to *La Majada*, the house.⁸ During these four plantings,⁹ they gathered very good harvests, for which they were satisfied and showed themselves grateful.

Ponciano habitually visited the Brother *hacenderos* on Sundays, and among many other things they often talked about, [the administrator] finally suggested that if Don Telesforo Chuidian and his father put together ₱30,000 to capitalize a sugar farm, they might form a company and set up machinery to process the sugar and so gain more profit and not be subject to the Chinese monopolists from Manila who dictated the law to them. Despite my good suggestions, no sugar processing company was formed. At that time, however, I was not familiar with the ground I treaded, although I later saw the difficulty against forming a company. When I was appointed the administrator of Calamba, I was authorized to lend money at 6% interest rate. The Dominican Fathers had believed some tenants who had gone to Manila and told them that they had no capital and had to borrow it. If people lent it to them, it had to be at 25% interest rate. When I came to understand the people and saw how they used the capital borrowed at such a high rate to finance their agriculture, I stopped my loans to

land, etc. But, in general, the tenants had no capital for the machine, i.e., the *trapiche*, for milling the juice, and so the contract was renewed for another 4 harvests with the sole condition that payment annually would be collected at a rate of ₱10 a year. The Dominican books show that several tenants had contracts for 15 harvests without an increase in the annual fee.

de adelantarles por que sabía que por las noches las ocupaban en jugar al monte en la casa de Lucía Rizal donde no faltaba D[on] Telesforo Chuidian llevando de Manila sacos de dinero para ir dando al que perdía; pero con la condición de darle un recibo a cuenta de pilones de azúcar a razón de muy bajo precio; y si por ejemplo tenía que entregarle cien pilones a razón de 2 pesos y medio que resultan 250 pesos y no entregaba más que 50 pilones cuyo importe serían 105 pesos se los decontaban del recibo pero por las 50 pilones que tenía obligación de entregar y no los había entregado la cargaba en cuenta a razón de 5 pesos que era el precio a que había vendido los 50 que le había entregado.

Un Domingo que estubo [sic] de visita Ponciano Mercado después de la misa, me dijo ¿sabe Usted que mi hermano José se ha embarcado en un vapor para Europa sin decirle nada a nuestro querido padre? Yo le dije y quien le paga el pasaje y gastos durante el tiempo que esté por allá? Según han dicho a algunos condiscípulos que le costeará todos los gastos el padre de su novia que es rico con la condición de casarse con la hija cuando vuelva con el grado de Doctor. El Padre de José Rizal telegrafió a Singapore para que le detuvieran; pero como el al embarcarse se cambió de nombre, no se efectuó la detención. Dijo su Padre: no le mandaré ni un cuarto. Pero andando el tiempo parece que con las cartas que José escribía [sic] a Lucia y su primo, consiguió que todos los inquilinos hiciesen causa común.

Cuando concluyó el primer contrato, solamente se le midió el terreno sembrado sin incluirle [sic] el que tenía preparado para la siembra como él se había comprometido en el primer contrato; y en lugar de ponérselo a razón de 25 pesos solamente

¹⁰ Gambling must have been a social problem in the Philippines. There are several documents in the Philippine National Archives which show the effort of the government to ban games and gambling.

¹¹ There seems to be uncertainty just what exactly a *pilón* is. Some say it is the local *panocha*, the brown sugar caked in a coconut shell, or a container about two feet tall. The Spanish Academy defines

them. I knew that they spent their nights at the house of Lucia Rizal playing *monte*.¹⁰ Don Telesforo was always there, bringing sacks of money from Manila to lend to any loser; on condition, however, of signing a receipt valid for a number of *pilones*¹¹ of sugar priced very cheaply. And if, for instance, [the debtor] had to deliver 100 *pilones* at ₱2.50 each, totalling ₱250.00, and he did not deliver more than 50 *pilones*, amounting to [only] ₱105.00, this was deducted from the account. But for the other 50 *pilones* still owed and not yet delivered, he was charged ₱5.00 each, the sale price of the sugar already delivered.

Once on a Sunday visit after mass, Ponciano Mercado remarked, "Do you know that my brother José has taken a boat for Europe without telling our dear father?" I asked him, "And who is paying for the ticket, besides the expenses all the time that he is there?"¹² According to some of his classmates, his sweetheart's father, who is rich, will pay all the expenses, provided that he marries her when he comes back a licensed doctor. José Rizal's father sent a telegram to Singapore, but since he had changed his name when he took passage, they failed to detain him. His father said, "I shall not send him even a *cuarto*."¹³ In time, however, it seems that through the letters he sent to Lucia and his cousin, José succeeded in having the tenants make common cause together.¹⁴

When the first contract was terminated, only the cultivated area was leased to [Potenciano's father], excluding the part prepared for sowing as had been the agreement in the first contract. And, instead of charging him ₱25, he was charged only

pilón as "pan de azúcar refinado, de figura cónica." (*Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 18a edición, Madrid, 1956).

¹² The quotation marks are my addition. I have not had the time to determine whether this report about the agreement between Rizal and his sweetheart's father came from Paciano or from the Dominican brother.

¹³ A *cuarto* was, in the old Spanish system, equivalent to 4 *maravedís de vellón*, i.e., 3 *céntimos de peseta*. The modern exchange is now 60 pesetas to one American dollar.

¹⁴ Guerrero has noted down these letters in his biography of Rizal.

se le puso a 15 pesos cade quiñón realengo o sean 5 ectareas 76 areas. Por este motivo se mostraban muy agradecidos a Fr[ay] Nataleo [sic] Esparza que por ese tiempo era el Adm[inistrad]or. Pero con las cartas que recibían de José, por el año 1886 fueron enfriando las buenas relaciones y empezaron a no paga[r] el canon, y a ser hostiles haciendo todo cuanto podían para hacer propaganda contra la Hacienda, valiéndose de las cartas de José leyéndolas en sus juntas en presencia de los inquilinos; y llegaron a creerse que llegaría el tiempo de que serían propietarios de todos los terrenos; y en estas reuniones daban con gusto grandes cantidades para mandarlas a Europa para ir activando y poder conseguir ser propietarios. También contrivían [sic] los de S[an]ta Rosa y Biñan.

En los años 1887, 88 y 89 hubo necesidad de demandarlos al Juzgado y poder evitar que con el fruto de las cosechas nos estuvieran haciendo la guerra. Efectivamente; se les embargó el palay se les lanzaron de sus terrenos, y fueron amainando.

Por las Navidades del año 87 estuvo [sic] en Calamba José y durante las misas de aguinaldo, que ellos llamaban misas de gallo asistían mucha gente de los inquilinos y entre ellos José Rizal en compañía del Teniente de la guardia civil, y llevaban música y cuando llegaban al monte de Lechería se sentaban en unos bancos de caña que habían hecho, y pronunciaban discursos contra España y plantaban la bandera

¹⁵ Rizal's father made a contract for 500 hectares. The lands had previously been cleared, and initial expenses were only for the plowing and planting of the cane sugar. This initial contract was for four harvests. According to the Dominican historian, Father Valentín Morin (*Ensayo de los trabajos realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas en Filipinas*, Tomo II, sub verbo "Laguna."), the land is prepared for planting by July and August. By January or February, planting begins, "using the top ends [of the cane]...which stay in the field for one entire year. When the cane is gathered for milling, new shoots appear and these are left that year for a second harvest.

₱15 for each lot of public land (5 hectares, 76 ares).¹⁵ For this reason they were beholden to Fray Natalicio Esparza, the administrator at that time. But, with the letters they were receiving from José, they soon cooled off in their good relations and by 1886 began to stop paying the rent. They became hostile, doing all they could to propagandize against the estate, making use of José's letters, reading them to the tenants in their meetings. And they came to believe that it would soon be time when they would be the proprietors of all the lands. At these meetings, they gladly contributed great sums of money to send to Europe in order to support the movement to make them proprietors. Even the people from Santa Rosa and Biñan gave their share.

In 1887, 1888 and 1889, it was necessary to bring them to court and it enabled us to avert the risk that at harvest time they would fight us. As a result, their palay was confiscated, they were ejected from the lands, and they gradually lost interest in their plans.¹⁶

José was in Calamba around Christmas of 1887. Many of the tenants were faithful to the Aguinaldo masses, which they call *misa del gallo* (mass at cock-crow). Among them was José Rizal, accompanied by the lieutenant of the Civil Guard. They brought music along with them to the milking mount where they sat on the bamboo benches they had constructed and made speeches against Spain and planted the German flag.¹⁷ When this came

All they need to do is keep the field clean of underbrush by plowing it two or three times. There are some privileged areas (especially in Calamba) which yield even four good harvests without replanting with new shoots. But ordinarily the tenants do not gather in more than two harvests..."

¹⁶ Aside from general and brief references to these incidents, there does not seem to be any extensive study of the land problems in Calamba in the late nineteenth century.

¹⁷ Rizal himself was aware of his alleged political affiliation with Germany. Cf. his letter to Blumentritt, 5 September 1887: *Epistolario Rizalino* (Kalaw ed.), V, pp. 199-213.

Alemania. Llegando la noticia al P[adre] Govea que era Síndico, fué a Calamba para enterarse; y se dijo que había visitado al General Veiler [*sic*] antes de ir a Calamba a enterarse. Pero al saber José que el P[adre] Govea estaba en Calamba, salió escapado y marchó al extranjero, y no volvió a Manila hasta que marchó Veiler y vino de General el otro que me parece era Despujol. Desde Hongkong escribió José al General, suplicándole si podría venir a Manila; y este le contestó que sí. Pero antes de desembarcar le registraron el equipage, y encontraron proclamas impresas y libros donde trataba revolución contra España. Lo dejaron libre por no sé cuantos días en Manila; y en este tiempo, tuvieron juntas glandestinas [*sic*] y ordenaron juntas para los arrabales, y hasta en provincias que llegaría a poner en peligro la dominación Española [*sic*] sobre Filipinas. En vista de esto, lo mandaron como desterrado a Dapitan; pero con muchas consideraciones, y re-comendaciones al Capitán que lo conducía. Allí se dedicaba a enseñar a los chiquillos doctrinas anti-religiosas y anti-Españolas y anti-frailes.

Contra lo que se ha propalado que los Administradores quitaban los terrenos después que los tenían limpios, y que se los daban a otros inquilinos que ofrecían pagar más canon; es una falsedad y calumnia. El regimen que se observó siempre en todas nuestras haciendas, fué fijar el canon y darlo por

¹⁸ *Father Francisco Govea, O.P.* was born in Salamanca in 1839. He received ordination to the priesthood in 1862 and a year later was working as a missionary in Pangasinan. He also worked in Bataan and Cavite before being appointed Syndic in 1886. He is credited with having constructed the beautiful church in Naic, besides several irrigation systems, and schools for children.

¹⁹ Valeriano Weyler was governor of the Philippines from 1888 to 1891. Eulogio Despujol succeeded him on 17 November 1891. He in turn was succeeded on 1 March 1893 by acting governor Federico Ochando.

²⁰ These letters have been cited by Guerrero in his biography of Rizal.

²¹ See Guerrero and his references to the letters of Rizal.

²² It is interesting to note the sensitivity of the Spanish community

to the attention of Father Govea, the Syndic,¹⁸ he went to Calamba to find out. And it was said that he had visited General Weyler before coming to Calamba to investigate. When José learned that Father Govea was in town, he fled the place, escaping abroad. He did not return to Manila until Weyler had departed and another had come as Governor General, Despujol it was, I believe.¹⁹ From Hongkong José wrote to the General asking if he could come to Manila.²⁰ The Governor sent word that he could; but, before he came ashore, they searched his baggage and found printed proclamations and books discussing revolution against Spain.²¹ They left him free in Manila for I do not know how many days. At this time, they held secret meetings, and made plans for others in the suburbs as well as in the provinces, so that Spanish domination of the islands was endangered.²² Because of this, they deported him as an exile to Dapitan, but with due respect and the proper instructions to the captain who conducted him. There he dedicated himself to teaching little boys anti-religious, anti-Spanish and anti-friar doctrines.²³

Regarding the rumor that the administrators had taken the lands from the tenants after they had cleared them, and that they had given them to other tenants who offered to pay a higher rent: this is a lie and a calumny. The rule that has always been followed in our estates was to fix the rent and settle

in Manila, both public and private, to the least sign of rebellion against Spain. In 1870, two years before the Cavite mutiny, a Spanish priest serving as the Treasurer of the Manila Cathedral, was shipped back to Spain because he dared to mention in a sermon that the mother country had allowed freedom of worship to the Spaniards. This was considered inflammatory and at least "indiscreet."

²³ Rizal's letters to Blumentritt describing his life in Dapitan give a different picture from what the author of this document gives. One of these letters contains a brief description and apparent resignation to his "present evil [from which] much fruit will be gathered..." (Rizal to Blumentritt, 19 December 1893: *Epistolario*, V, pp. 651). Rizal also writes that he was teaching Arithmetic, Spanish and English.

contrata y renovar estas volviéndolas a medir con el fin de poder apreciar con justicia y equidad subiendo el canonon [*sic*] en la nueva contrata; y nunca se le dió a otro inquilino no siendo a petición y súplicas del que hizo el 1^{er} contrato pasando de padres a hijos. Es más; cuando suplicaba un inquilino que se le traspasase algun terreno a otra persona que no fuere de la familia, el hermano Adm[inistrad]or anotaba éstas súplicas en su cartera o en un registro y le decía al suplicante; lo pensaré bien entre tanto llegue el tiempo de la visita. Cuando iba el P[adre] Visitador, nombrado por Nuestro P[adre] Provincial, se publicaba un bandillo anunciando el día de la visita. Reunidos los inquilinos se empezaba leyendo el padrón nombrando los nombres con la nota (pagado) (o bacante [*sic*] por deudor) y al concluir la lectura, les preguntaba el P[adre] Visitador; los que tengan que esponer alguna cosa o tengan alguna reclamación que se aprosimen y espongan lo que quieran. A todos los escuchaba con atención, uno por uno, con mucha caridad, y cuando acababan de hablar, preguntaba el P[adre] Visitador al hermano Ad[ministrad]or si era conveniente el hacer el traspaso que pedía del terreno; a lo que éste contestaba unas veces que sí; pero otras veces esponía que no convenía, por el motivo que tenía hijos capaces para seguir cultivando los terrenos. El P[adre] Visitador después de hacerles varias preguntas al [*sic*] inquilino[s], y estando conforme este, ponía el P[adre] Visitador el traspaso de su puño y letra. Por súplica de este inquilino pasan estos cargos a Fulano de tal y ponía su firma.

También se ha propalado que los inquilinos han gastado mucho dinero en roturar los terrenos; y que los hermanos Administradores, les iban subiendo el canon sin tener en cuenta los desembolsos que los inquilinos habían hecho. Esto es otra falsedad; porque el sistema que tenían los agricultores de la caña dulce era el siguiente. Se le hacía un contrato de un gran terreno que con anticipación había elegido; por que

it by contract. On renewal the terms were reviewed once more so that the rent could be equitably and reasonably increased in the new contract. Never was the lease given to another tenant, except at the request and consent of the first lessee, who had passed the contract from father to son. There is something else. When a tenant asked that a piece of land be transferred to another person who did not belong to his family, the brother administrator noted these requests in his notebook or in a register, and told the petitioner, "I shall keep it in mind until the visitation." When the Visitor appointed by our Father Provincial was due, notice was posted of the day of the visit. When the tenants had come together, they began to call the roll, marking after each name "PAID," or leaving a blank space after the name if a particular tenant had unpaid debts. After all the names had been called, Father Visitor asked questions. Those who had something to report or some complaint to make he asked to come up and say what they wanted. He heard them all with attention, one by one very kindly, and after they finished their turn, he questioned the brother administrator whether it was convenient to make the transfer of the land as requested. Sometimes he answered in the affirmative; at other times he explained that it was not convenient, since the tenant had sons fit to continue tilling the land. The Visitor put several questions to the tenant. And then, if the latter agreed, the Visitor wrote the deed of transfer in his own hand: "At the request of this tenant, these obligations are passed on to So-and-So." And he signed it.

It has also gone around that the tenants had spent much money to plough the land, and that the brother administrators had been raising the rent without taking into account the expenses the tenants had made. This is another lie.²⁴ For the system of the sugar cane planters was this. A big piece of land was leased to them, chosen with an initial down payment. The

²⁴ See note 9 above.

la mayor parte estaba limpio, por haber estado sembrado de palay de monte; en el contrato se le ponía por término de 4 años sin más pago que 10 pesos al año, por muy grande que fuese y en algunos sin pago durante los 4 años. Pero como no todos eran diligentes, sea por falta de capital, la siembra de caña era poca y en los 3 primeros años del contrato solamente llegaba a cojer [sic] unos 100 pilones de azúcar; pero entre tanto, había cobrado a los que habían sembrado palay de monte 3 cabanes de palay por cada cabán de semilla, obligándoles a ceder la leña que desmontaban para el uso de la máquina, o para venderla los propios inquilinos, obligabándoles [sic] a que en el terreno donde habían sembrado el palay; le dieran dos manos de arado, para poder sembrar de caña el inquilino del contrato, que por los 4 años no pagaba a la hacienda. Como corroboración [sic] de lo dicho, pondré aquí uno solamente. Potenciano Andaya vecino de Cabuyao firmó un contrato el año de 1870 y que durante 4 años, no págase nada siendo así que el terreno estaba limpio la mitad. Este inquilino fuese por falta de animales y poco capital, sembró poca caña; cumplió los 4 años del primer contrato, y se renobó [sic] por otros 4 años, despues de haber sido visitado por el hermano Adm[inistrad]or en compañía de Potenciano; y en este día, a ruegos y súplicas de este, consiguió que se le prorrogára por otros 4 años y prometiendo aumentar los animales y así la siembra sería mucha. Al concluir este 2º contrato había aumentado pero poco y así sucesivamente hasta el 5º contrato o sean 20 años, y pagaba en el año 1890 a razón de 10 pesos por cada quión realengo o sea por cada 5 ectareas 76 areas.

²⁵ The Spanish Academy gives the following land measurements: *Quiñón*: "Medida agraria usada en Filipinas, igual a 10 balitas y a 360,000 pies cuadrados. Su equivalencia métrica, 2 hectareas, 79 áreas y 50 centiáreas." *Balita*: "Medida agraria usada en Filipinas, décima parte dellquión, compuesta de 10 loanes y equivalente á 5 celemines,

portion was [already] cleared, since it had been planted with upland rice. And in the contract, it was explicitly stated that for four years the fee would be only ₱10 per year, no matter how big the area; for some other lots, there would be no rent for four years. But since not all were industrious, or it may be for lack of capital, there was little sugar planted. In the first three years of the contract, there was a total harvest of only 100 pilones of sugar. Meanwhile, from those who had planted upland rice, three cavans of rice had been collected from every cavan of seed rice. [There was an agreement to] give back the wood which they had gathered to use in the [sugar] machine, or [which they had planned] to sell themselves. It was furthermore understood that they were to give two turns to the plow in order to allow the contractor who had paid nothing for four years to the estate to plant sugar cane! As corroboration of what I have said, I shall cite only one case.

Potenciano Andaya, a resident of Cabuyao, signed a contract in 1870 with the agreement that for four years he would pay no rent, seeing that half the land was already cleared. This tenant — let it be for lack of animals and capital — planted little sugar cane. He finished the four years of the first contract which was renewed for another four years, after the land had been inspected by the brother administrator together with Potenciano [himself.] That day, on his own formal request, Potenciano received an extension for [still] another four years, [and he] promised that he would increase his animals to enlarge his plantation. At the termination of this second contract, there was an increase, but not much. It continued this way for four successive contracts until the fifth, or after 20 years. And in 1890, he was paying a yearly rent of ₱10 for each share of land (5 hectares, 76 ares).²⁵

y 10 estadales, o sea a 27 áreas y hace 95 centiáreas." *Loón*: Medida usada en Filipinas décima parte de la balita e igual a 3,600 pies cuadrados, o sea 2 áreas y 79 centiáreas." (*Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, *sub verbis*).

Para formarse una idea completa, si el canon estaba fijado barato o caro, podremos anotar lo que pagaban.

(Nota) 1ª. Clase 30 pesos, y cosechaban 500 pilones que vendidos a 3 pesos 50 céntimos = 1,750 pesos.

2ª. Clase pagaba a 25 pesos y cosechaban 400 pilones importe 1,400 pesos.

3ª. Clase paga 20 pesos y cogen 300 pilones; importe 1,000 pesos.

4ª. Clase paga 15 pesos y cogen 200 pilones; su importe 700 pesos.

Los gastos de cada pilón es 10 reales; pero como de cada pilón recogen 5 reales de miel para los caballos, resulta que el gasto se reduce a 5 reales cada pilón, o sean 62 céntimos de peso. Además hay una circunstancia muy conveniente de tenerla en cuenta, y es que en los años que hay enfermedades de animales, o de langosta, suplicaban rebajas y se les atendía visitando los terrenos antes de la cosecha en compañía del inquilino, y fijaban la rebaja que se le debía hacer; y algun año solo se les cobró la mitad, o la 3ª parte y algun inquilino no se le cobró nada.

Aunque sea algo pesado voy a repetir aqui lo que ya se lleva dicho sobre la calunia [*sic*] de que los terrenos los quitabamos y los dabamos a otros inquilinos que se ofrecía a pagar mas canon. El orden que siempre se ha observado en nuestros [*sic*] Haciendas, fué el traspasar los terrenos a quien suplícaba el inquilino pero había casos que el hermano averiguaba que los querían enagenar de su familia, dejando despojados para siempre a los niños de menor edad. En estos casos no se le concedía lo que venía suplicando; y solamente se le concedía que pasarán a nombre de su esposa con la expresa condición, que al morir ésta, se pondrían a nombre del hijo más dispuesto y de mejor conducta. Como ésta práctica se venía observando desde el principio de la administración de las Ha-

To see fully whether rent was high or low, we shall indicate what they paid:

1st class: ₱30, for a harvest of 500 pilones, which sold at ₱3.50 each, grossing ₱1,750.00.

2nd class: ₱25, for a harvest of 400 pilones, which sold at ₱3.50, grossing ₱1,400.00.

3rd class: ₱20, harvest of 300 pilones, gross income ₱1,000.

4th class: ₱15, harvest of 200 pilones, gross income ₱700.

The expenses for each pilon amount to 10 *reales*. But, since from every pilon they gather 5 reales worth of honey for the horses, the resulting expenses are reduced to 5 reales, or 62 *céntimos de peso*.²⁶ There is a further note to make, and that is, in years of disease among animals or of locusts, they asked and were granted a reduction in fees. Together with the tenant, the lands were visited [by the administrator] and they agreed on the deduction to make. And in one year alone, either only half [of the rent] was collected, or a third, and from one tenant nothing.

It may be a little repetitious, but I shall repeat now what has already been said about the calumny that we had taken away the lands and given them to other tenants who offered to pay a higher rent. The order which has always been observed in our estates was to transfer lands to the man for whom the tenant had made the request. But there were cases where the brother discovered that the tenants wanted to alienate the land from their family, leaving children of minor age destitute forever. In these cases, the tenant was not granted his request. He was allowed to transfer the lease only to the name of his wife with the express condition that, on her death, it would pass on to the name of the son who was better disposed or better behaved. Since this practice had been observed from the beginning of the administration of the estate

²⁶ In 1777-1880, one *peso fuerte* (silver) was equivalent to \$1.7151. I cite this just to show it is rather risky to guess at the modern equivalents of currencies in the last century.

ciendas de los Padres Dominicos, fuera de alguna rara excepción, se consideraban como propietarios; y de esto se seguía que tomasen dinero de otros que no figuraban como inquilinos en los padrones, y sin tener noticia el Adm[inistrad]or y por este motivo no figuraban en el padrón oficial. En el día de la visita anual, los inquilinos que no habían satisfecho por completo el cargo, se les leió vacante por deudor; pero si completaban el pago durante los 10 días que concedía de prórroga, se le ponía por mano del he[rman]o Administrador y bajo su firma... Se le devolvieron los terrenos y demás cargos, por haber se [sic] presentado y pagado. Todavía aunque raro volvía sin dinero alguno suplicando al Adm[inistrad]or tres días más de prórroga, y se los concedía.

Advertencia. En los terrenos de la Hacienda de Calamba, hay muchos terrenos donde con una sola siembra, prenden fuego a las hojas secas que quedan despues de haber molido la caña, y vuelve a retoñar hasta 4 años consecutivos; y tan solo con darle dos manos de arado y limpiar las malas yervas [sic], recogen mejor azúcar que de la siembra 1ª pero en menor cantidad.

Al respaldo de esta plana copio del padrón de cobranza el cargo que pagaba anualmente Eusebio Elepaño, por el cual se podrá ver el producto líquido que le resulta en vista de los datos que se han anotado vendiendo el pilón a 3 pesos y 50 céntimos cada uno, y teniendo presente que se ha vendido algunos años a cuatro y cinco pesos. El año 1876 y 77 lo vendieron a 8 pesos el pilón.

Manila 26 de agosto 1909

by the Dominican Fathers, discounting a rare exception, the tenants came to be considered as the proprietors. And from this followed [their practice of] collecting money from others who were not listed as tenants in the books, without the knowledge of the administrator. For this reason, they were not mentioned in the official census. On the day of the annual visitation, the names of tenants who had not fully paid their debts were left unmarked (as still owed). But if they paid their debts within the ten days of grace, their names were duly noted by the brother administrator himself and signed, . . . the lands were returned to them, with the other charges, because they had come and had paid. Still, although rarely, if someone came back without money and asked the administrator for three more days of grace, these were granted him.

Note: Among the lands of the Calamba estate, there are areas where, after just one planting, they burn the dry leaves left after the milling of the sugar, and succeeding crops grow [without planting] for four consecutive years. By just giving two turns to the plow and weeding out the bad grass, they gather a better harvest of sugar than the first yield, but in lesser quantity.

On the other side of this page I copy from the list of fees the annual rent paid by Eusebio Elepaño. It will show his net produce, considering the data listed from selling at ₱3.50 a pilon, and keeping in mind that in some years it sold at ₱4.50. In 1876 and 1877, the pilon sold at ₱8.00

Manila, 26 August 1909.

NOTE ON THE TABLES

A few Tagalog terms might not be understood by some of the readers. *Catijan* is the higher shoreland which dries up during low tide. If fish traps were planted here, it would be easy to catch the fish when the tide ebbed away. *Tomana* would be a garden plot, i.e., land used for planting vegetables, as distinct from farm lands which were for rice or corn crops. *Pono* (= *punô* in Tagalog) would refer to the individual tree (*pono de manga* of Table 2), or to the individual bamboo cane. The latter came in different sizes and lengths, some of which were strong and long enough for use in building house (95 *ponos Caña constru.* of Table 1).

There are a few errors in the tabulation. In Table 2, the annual rental for 100 *brazas* (about 2 yards to a *braza*) of fishing ground (*pesquería*) should read 12, $\frac{4}{8}$ *céntimos*, instead of 12, $\frac{4}{3}$. It is very hard to say what this amount would be today. In Table 3, the total sugar harvest should read 254,500 *pilones*, instead of 164,500. The total land area under lease or cultivation should read 56,263 hectares instead of 56,218.

	Residencia	MEDIACIÓN				CARGO	
		QUINONES	BALTAS	LOANES	BARRAS	PLATA	PALAY
Sementera regadio	pueblo	1	3	4	13	7.55	67-15
Yden iden	Bacal		6	7	3	3.75	33-19-4
Catijan caña 1a clase	Iden	23	9	8	90	719.66	
Yden iden 3a clase	Bigá	12	2	4	11		
Por 95 ponos Caña costru	Bacal					11.27	
Su solar calle principal				4	82		
Otro camarín de piedra y casa de sierra				4	12	10.30	
Solar con camarín piedra	Barra			3	51	8.75	
Solar de Felix				1		1	
Solar de Macario					98	.98	
Solar de Juan				1		1	
Solar de Marcelo				1		1	
Solar de La Gallera						100	
Por la 2a siembra regadio							32-455
Total =						1,130	133-14-9

Table I

TARIFA del canon anual que se paga en esta Hacienda de Lolomboy.

Tierras Palayeras	En Dinero		EN PALAY			TIERRAS CANADIZALES		TIERRAS CATL JAMES		P	¢
	Pesos	Cents.	Cabanes	Gantas	Chupas	6 baeotes.	Pesos	Cents.	sotares, pesquerias, cañas maderas y piedras.		
Regadio Quifón	25	..	85	..	..	Quifón	10	..	Quifón (tomans)	9	..
1ª clase = Bailta ...	2	50	3 1/2	..	..	Bailta	1	10	Bailta	"	84
= Loán	25	25	"	7	"	Loán	"	"	Loán	"	"
= Quifón ..	16	"	40	"	4	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	12 4/8
2ª clase = Bailta ...	1	60	4	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	12
= Quifón ...	22	03	"	10	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	12
3ª clase = Bailta ...	22	82	33	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	75
= Loán	2	05 4/8	8	7 1/2	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	60
Secano = Quifón ..	20	"	20	7 1/2	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	87
1ª clase = Bailta ...	2	"	2	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	25
= Loán	32	"	"	5	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
2ª clase = Quifón ...	17	"	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
= Bailta ...	"	82	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
= Loán	"	18	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
3ª clase = Quifón ..	14	"	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
= Bailta ...	1	64	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
= Loán	8	14	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
4ª clase = Quifón ..	8	"	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
= Bailta ...	"	77 4/8	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"
= Loán	"	03 6/8	"	"	"	Loán	"	"	100 brazas de pesqueria	"	"

Table II

Estado de cultivo y renta del año 1896.	Regadío Secano Palay	Total de Extension	Renta		Azúcar que se cosecha	Producto total venido el palay a \$175
			Palay	Plata		
Calamba	Hectáreas	2,700	11000	81000	100,000	\$ 50,000.00
Sta. Rosa		800	18000	14000	80,000	\$ 47,000.00
Bifiang		750	17000	10000	60,000	\$ 39,500.00
Sta. Cruz		1,800	18000	2000	2,000	\$ 33,500.00
Naic		1,500	17000	5000	10,000	\$ 34,750.00
Pandi		2,200	5600	27000	2,500	\$ 32,250.00
Lolomboy		700	8000	2000		\$ 16,000.00
Orion		300		1000		\$ 10,000.00
Sumas		10,750	94600	92000	164,500	\$268,000.00

	Sembra- do de Arroz	Iden de caña	Otros produc- tos	Sola- res	Pastos y bosques bajos	Maderas y leña	Cam. rios y barrios	Total de hect.
Calamba	904	5,076	850	610	6,535	1,515	924	16414
Sta. Rosa	1,886	2,707		198	176		33	5000
Bifiang	2,083	1,021		300			46	3400
Sta. Cruz	2,593	776		153	4,500		631	8701
Naic	2,160	500	559	59	3,996		695	7969
Lolomboy	4,554			120	124		78	4876
Pandi	6,700			88	2,730		385	9903
Total	20,830	10,080	1,409	1,528	18,061	1,515	2,792 =	56218*
Rentas	178,147	38,200	4,290	6,860	4,000	500	=	226997*

Table III

II

Por el mes de Octubre de este año [1891] tuvo lugar en Calamba un suceso no muy importante en si, pero que dió motivo a grandes alaracas de los individuos la Asociación Hispano Filipina de Madrid contra nuestra Corporación y a que algunos periódicos de la Península y de Hongkong, bien pagados por los filibusteros de aquí, escribiesen y publicasen artículos y manifiestos desfigurando la verdad y atestados de mentiras y calumnias, contra nuestra Corporación. La verdad de lo que en Calamba sucedió aparece claramente espuesta en el siguiente importante artículo que en defensa en [*sic*] Nuestra Corporación y con datos ciertos que se le enviaron publicó la "Epoca": Dice así: = "Filipinas — Cuestión Importantísima. = Reviste grande importancia la carta que hemos recibido de Filipinas, en la cual se explica minuciosamente todo lo ocurrido en Calamba y las causas que lo han motivado. = Si los Cólegas de oposición que, ya por espíritu de secta, ya por qué son sorprendidos en su buena fé, examinan el contenido de las siguientes líneas, ellos que, serán españoles antes que individuos de ningun partido, cambiarán seguramente de opinión, pues bien claro está, como la luz del día, que toda la razón tienen los Padres Dominicos, los cuales han agotado todos los médios imaginables antes de llegar al extremo a que han llegado las cosas. He aquí la carta, fecha en Manila el 17 de noviembre último." Dice así: = Lo de Calamba. = "En los últimos dias de octubre último y primeros de noviembre actual se han derribado en este pueblo algunas casas, de estas cuatro ó cinco de madera y todas las demás de materiales ligeros ó de caña y nipa, las de esta última categoría, más merecen el titulo de chozas que de casas, al propio tiempo y por orden del Gobernador General D[on] Valeriano Weyler, han pasado a Calamba unos cincuenta soldados del Regimiento Peninsular de Artillería al mando del Coronel del

²⁷ In this second document, the portions within quotation marks are the passages taken from the publication *La Epoca* by the Dominican

II

In the month of October this year [1891] an incident occurred in Calamba, not very important in itself, but giving occasion for wild outcries²⁷ by the members of the Fil-Hispanic Association in Madrid against our Order. It also elicited from periodicals in the peninsula and in Hongkong, suborned by local filibusterers, written proclamations and articles that distorted the truth, based on calumnious lies against our Order. What really happened in Calamba is clearly detailed in the following important article from *La Epoca* in defense of our Order and publishing the true facts sent to the editor.

The Philippines: A Very Important Question

We have received a very important letter from the Philippines minutely relating the whole incident in Calamba and its causes. If the colleagues from the opposition, either out of a spirit of partisanship or because they are surprised in good faith, examine the contents of the following lines, those who will first be Spaniards before being members of any party will surely change their mind. It is clear as day that the Dominican fathers are completely right. They have exhausted all means imaginable before going to the extreme to which things have come. Here is the letter from Manila, dated 17 November.

The Calamba Affair

"In the last days of October and the first days of November, some houses in Calamba were dismantled. Of these, 4 or 5 were of wood, and all the rest were of light materials, bamboo and nipa—these latter more aptly described as hovels than houses. At an opportune time Governor General Valeriano Weyler ordered about 50 troopers of the Peninsular Artillery Regi-

scribe. I am not sure which lines are quotations from the Manila letter sent to the editor of the newspaper.

20º Tercio de la Guardia Civil, señor Don Francisco Olive y Garcia. Este tercio comprende las provincias de Manila y limítrofes una de los cuales es la de la Laguna, cuyo es el pueblo de Calamba. Ultimamente se ha deportado a veinticinco individuos, por tenerse el convencimiento de que son las gentes de la perturbación de aquella localidad." = Por qué el auxilio de la fuerza. = "Ha ido la fuerza para auxiliar la ejecución de la sentencia de desahucio dictado por el Juzgado de 1ª Instancia, y confirmado despues en apelación por la Real Audiencia de Manila a la vez que para prevenir cualquier desorden ó perturbación de la tranquilidad pública que pudiera ocurrir al ejecutar una sentencia que afectaba a no poco [*sic*] vecinos del citado pueblo." Las causas que hicieron concebir temores son: = 1ª El gran número de desahuciados, pues siendo estos tantos, y la Guardia Civil de aquel puesto muy reducida, era cosa de que se tomaran precauciones por si algunos adoptaban actitud rebelde y se resistían al juzgado ó cometían atropellos contra las autoridades ó contra los religiosos. = 2ª Que en otros desahucios de menos escala habían insultado al Juez executor y a sus acompañantes, adoptando una actitud ofensiva que no llegó a vias de hecho por la presencia de la Guardia Civil llamada de propósito para proteger la administración de justicia. = 3ª Porqué en esta ocasión no se pudo disponer de la suficiente fuerza de la Guardia Civil destinada en la provincia, porqué siendo escaso el personal de los diferentes puestos y secciones si se hubiera concentrado en Calamba, se habrían quedado casi abandonados esos mismos puestos y secciones. = "La tropa se ha conducido en Calamba con extrema cordura: no ha hecho extorsión de ningún género a ninguno de los vecinos. El Coronel y Oficiales han exportado hospedados por su cuenta en una casa principal por ofrecimientos del dueño y la tropa en otra casa desalquilada, vacante a virtud de desahucio; ha pagado religiosamente al pueblo raciones y demás que han necesitado, y en los diferentes incen-

ment to Calamba, led by Colonel Francisco Olive Garcia, commander of the 20th *Tercio* of the Civil Guard. This *tercio* covers Manila and the surrounding provinces, one of which is Laguna to which Calamba belongs. Lastly, 25 persons were deported because they were considered to be the agitators in the locality."

Why the Use of the Forces

"The military force has gone to Calamba to help enforce the sentence of eviction imposed by the Court of First Instance, a sentence later sustained on appeal before the Royal *Audiencia*. The troops were also ordered to stop any agitation or public disorder which might ensue from the execution of the sentence affecting not a few residents."

The reasons for such a fear are: 1. The big number of evictions. Since the Civil Guard is much reduced in that post, it was a question of taking precautionary measures in case some should assume an attitude of rebellion and resist the court, or attack the authorities or the Dominicans. 2. In other minor cases of dispossession, the people had insulted the executive official and his staff, assuming postures of defiance, but they had not carried out their threats because of the presence of the Civil Guard detailed precisely to protect the administration of justice. 3. On this occasion they could not dispose of sufficient forces of the Civil Guard assigned throughout the province because in the different posts and stations, there were not enough men. If these had been concentrated in Calamba, those posts and stations would have been almost completely abandoned.

"The troops have behaved in Calamba with great prudence. They have not in any way victimized a single resident. The colonel and his officers have found lodging in a prominent house at the invitation of its owner and they paid him at their own expense. The troops went to another house for rent, empty because of the evictions. They have scrupulously paid for their rations and their other needs. They have opportunely

dios, realizados ó frustrados por los rebeldes incidiosa y traídoramente (al Juez de Paz le han quemado la casa y un camarín lleno de grano) ha prestado eficacísimo [*sic*] auxilio y trabajado como si fuese un cuerpo de bomberos." = Los desahucios. = Se ha verificado el desahucio de veintinueve colonos de la hacienda de San Juan Bautista de Calamba en fincas rústicas y urbanas. = "La sentencia de los tribunales decía: que desalajen [*sic*] las fincas rústicas y solares que tienen en arrendamiento de las que trata juicio en los términos y plazos que marca la ley con apercibimiento que de no efectuarlo se procederá al alzamiento que la misma prescribe." = No se ha hecho más que cumplir al pie de la letra sin extralimitación alguna, la sentencia: ésta ha sido ejecutada no por la tropa ni por particulares, si no por las gentes de la administración de justicia. = "Los restos de los materiales de las casas derribadas por sentencia judicial se han puesto a disposición de sus dueños si bien ordenándoles el Gobernador de la provincia que no los pusieran en la vía pública y que si en el término de veinticuatro horas no los recogían (cañas, nipa y restos de otros materiales ligeros de escasisimo valor) se les prendería feugo en lugar seguro." = Este ha sido el motivo porqué se ha hablado algo en Manila de las casas quemadas en Calamba; no se ha hecho tal quema; se ha puesto fuego, de orden de la Autoridad, a los restos del derriba que los dueños no quisieron recoger. Únicamente en un barrio lejano a orillas del lago, se prendió fuego a un grupo, no de casas sino de tapancos (que ni siquiera llegan a chozas) de pescadores que habiéndose colocado allí sin permiso de la Hacienda y amonestados repetidas veces a que reconocieran el derecho del propietario, pudiendo haberlos lanzado en el momento, se les dió doce dias de plazo, y, no sometién dose [a] la autoridad, dispuso que se quemáran aquellas barracas levantadas contra todo derecho y usurpando la propiedad de los Padres Dominicos."

helped as a team of firemen during the several fires insidiously or treacherously started and attempted by the rebels (they burned the Judge's house and *camarin* filled with grain)."

The Evictions

"Twenty-nine tenants of the rural and urban areas of the hacienda in San Juan, Calamba were evicted. The court sentence read: 'Let the rural and urban lots held on lease to which this case refers be evacuated, according to the terms and limits marked by law, with the understanding that, in case of failure to comply, the law will proceed to their demolition as provided for by the same.' Nothing was done beyond the sentence according to the tenor of the law, without going beyond its provisions. This was effected not by the troops, nor by private persons but by agents of the department of justice.

"The remaining materials of the houses have been by judicial act placed at the disposal of the owners, although the provincial governor had ordered that they should not leave them on the public road and that, if within 24 hours they did not collect them (the bamboo, nipa and the other light materials of slight value) they would be burnt in a safe place."

This was the reason why there was some talk in Manila about houses burning in Calamba. No such conflagration took place. The remaining materials of the demolished houses, which their owners did not want to recover, were put to the flames. And only in a remote barrio by the lakeshore a bunch, not of houses, but of fishermen's sheds (which could not even be called huts) was burned. These had been built without permission from the hacienda, and the owners had been repeatedly warned to respect the rights of the proprietor [of the land]. They could have been evicted right away, but they were allowed 12 days, after which, because they did not submit to authority, the order was given to burn these sheds illegally built and in usurpation of the Dominican property rights.

= Lo ocurrido en años anteriores. = "En la actualidad rebelde que, va á hacer cuatro años — debido a las predicaciones de Rizal, que han continuado desde Europa — han tomado gran parte de los colonos de Calamba, los Padres Dominicos han venido desplegando un plán que, inspirado en los deseos de paz y amistoso arreglo, han tenido que llevar hasta sus últimas consecuencias: primero, el cariño, la suavidad, el llamamiento paternal, proceder que sin tomar absolutamente medida de rigor duró desde septiembre de 1887 hasta igual mes de 1888; después, viéndolo que persistían en su tenáz desobediencia, embaucados y seducidos por Rizal y compañeros de este en Europa y por los agentes del filibusterismo en Manila, se pensó hacer uso de las facultades que el derecho otorga ante la justicia, y, para que los demás aprendieran y escarmentáran, se empezó demandando a juicio de desahucio a la familia principal entre los colonos a la de Rizal." = Este juicio, interpuesto primero en el Juzgado de Paz de Calamba, y perdido en este juzgado porqué el Juzgado de Paz le interinaba el teniente Juez de Sementeras, un indio vulgarísimo, y la sentencia la dictó el hermano de Rizal, se continuó y terminó en apelación de los Dominicos en el de primera instancia de S[an]ta Cruz: los condenados interpusieron recurso de queja ante el Tribunal Supremo, pero fué desatendido y rechazado por improcedente. = Obtenido, como era de rigor esta sentencia, se ejecutó haciendo que desalojasen la casa y poniendo los muebles en la calle, (pues ellos se resistían a ejecutar la sentencia) en presencia del pueblo; pero se respetó la casa, es decir se cumplió a medias, porqué así lo quisieron los Padres Dominicos el auto de desahucio, puesto que no dejaron amplio y expedito el solar, como procedía en rigor, sinó que se contentaron los propietarios con que salieran los que persistentes en no pagar, lo ocupaban. De este modo lento han venido verificándose otros desahucios de solares, y a fin de no extremar actitudes y hacerles ver que más bien se les esperaba que se les ahuyen-

The Incidents in Previous Years

In the present uprising, now in its fourth year (instigated by the continued preaching of Rizal from Europe) many of the Calamba tenants are involved. The Dominican fathers have followed a plan of action out of their desire for peace and hoping for a friendly settlement, but which they had to carry to its final consequences. First kindness, benevolence and fatherly invitations — an approach they followed from September 1887 to September 1888, without recourse to violent means. But, convinced by Rizal and his companions in Europe and by the active filibusterers in Manila, the tenants persisted in their disobedience and so it was decided to make use of the powers which in justice are allowed by law. And in order that others might learn and mend their ways, the fathers instituted a suit for eviction against the principal tenant family of the Rizals.

The case, first filed before the Calamba Justice of the Peace, was lost because the presiding judge was the deputy inspector of the fields, a low-born indio, and Rizal's brother dictated the sentence. Appealed by the Dominicans, the case was raised and settled in the Court of First Instance of Santa Cruz, Laguna. The plaintiffs then had recourse to a plea for suspended judgment before the Supreme Court, but it was denied hearing for lack of merit.

With the imposition of the sentence, it was implemented by carrying out the order to abandon the house and leave the furniture on the street in the sight of the people, since they themselves refused to obey the court. But the house was spared, that is, the judgment of eviction was enforced only partially as the Dominicans had requested, since the lot was not cleared as would ordinarily have been done. The owners were satisfied with the eviction of the tenants who persisted in not paying [rent]. In this way, gradually, the eviction of the other families followed, always taking care not to resort to extremes, making them see that the fathers would rather

taban y castigaban. = “Al desahucio de Rizal siguió el de otras dos, después el de tres ó cuatro y luego el de doce; yendo por grados, aumentando sucesivamente el número de demandados, a fin de que el pueblo pudiera ir viendo que no le saldrían bien sus tretas, pues ni la justicia podía faltar a los Dominicos, que con sus contratos de arrendamiento y veintinueve datos probaban su derecho, ni los Padres se cansarían en su empresa de remediar esa especie de comunismo socialista que allí se desarrollaban con detrimento notable del prestigio de la religión y de la patria. = Mas éstas [*sic*] desahucios de solares no producían resultado apetecido. Primero: porqué muchos, después de haber dejado las casas, volvían a ocuparlas; segundo: porqué, aún los que no volvían a ocuparlas, se refugiaban en otras casas del pueblo ó las levantaban en otros sitios (lo cual aquí se hace en una semana o menos) contra la voluntad de la Hacienda, que prohíbe en los contratos al subarriendo de solares sin permiso expreso y escrito del Administrador de la misma. = Para evitar estos inconvenientes, que venían a hacer completamente inútiles los desahucios para befa y escarnio de la administración de justicia y de la Corporación Dominicana, propietaria, se acordó que los desahucios verificados últimamente lo fuesen, con todo el rigor de la sentencia, en la forma que ya queda dicho.” = Que son los nuevos contratos — La fórmula de contratos de arrendamiento de terrenos y solares, redactada hace un año, de la que tal vez ciertos Filipinos residentes en Europa hayan propalado noticias exagerables y hasta calumniosas, no ha venido a hacerse otra cosa que expresar y sancionar de modo mas solemne el que venían practicando colonos y hacienda, en virtud del buen acuerdo que antes reinaba y de la buena fé que por ambas partes había. = “Siempre han existido los contratos de arrendamiento, los mismo de campos que de solares: la Hacienda la poseen los Dominicos desde 1833, como consta de escritura pública con auto del Magistrado de Terrenos, informes y aprobación del Gobierno General y Real Audiencia é Intendencia del Estado. = A los Dominicos se les entregaron en

welcome than eject or penalize them.

"After the eviction of the Rizals, two other families were driven out, and then 3 or 4, and finally 12, proceeding step by step, slowly adding to the number of the accused, so that the people might see that their tricks did not succeed, since the law was on the side of the Dominicans who were able to prove their title by the terms of the contract and 29 documents in their possession. Nor would the fathers tire in their efforts to put an end to this kind of socialistic communism taking form there, to the great harm of religion and the fatherland.

"But these evictions did not obtain the desired result. First, because many returned to their houses after abandoning them. Second, because those who did not return, found lodging in other houses of the town, or built new ones elsewhere (and these are finished in a week or less), against the will of the hacienda [owners] which forbids in the contract sub-leasing of lots without written permission from the administrator."

To avoid these difficulties because the measures of eviction turned out to be totally useless, a mockery and an insult to justice and the proprietor, the Dominican Order, it was decided to effect the last cases of eviction in the manner already described, that is, exactly according to the tenor of the sentence.

The New Contracts

"The terms of the lease of lands and building lots, drawn up a year ago, of which perhaps certain Filipinos residing in Europe have spread exaggerated stories and lies, are nothing more than a more formal expression and sanction of the usual contract between the tenants and the estate, based on the mutual respect and good faith of both parties as before.

There have always been contracts for fields and residences. The Dominicans own the estate since 1833, as proven from the public deeds authenticated by the Magistrate of Lands, the reports signed by the Governor General, the Royal *Audiencia* and the Intendant. They were granted perpetual ownership

perpetua propiedad, con plenos poderes Reales, incluso el de superficie, los terrenos y solares todos del pueblo de Calamba, segun plano é inventario oficiales que les fueron entregados.” = Desde entonces han venido verificándose los contratos de arrendamiento riguroso respecto a ambas cosas, al principio con grandes formalidades, después en forma de contrata que firmaba el inquilino y renovaba de tiempo en tiempo (cada tres ó cuatro años) respecto a solares y terrenos. = “Entonces se dirá ó como se permitió que se levantasen casas fuertes con arraigo en los solares? Pues se permitió bajo las bases y condiciones de arrendamiento, con la condición de que, si los inquilinos cumplían las condiciones de arrendatarios los propietarios no les molestarían en el uso de los solares; es decir la táctica constante y en constante proceder de los Dominicos es que los terrenos arrendados no dando motivo para lo contrario pasasen de padres a hijos y que la corporación dominicana así lo haría como há hecho siempre y seguirá haciéndolo, por lo cual aquellos han edificado y han arraigado; de modo que la base de estas edificaciones ha sido la confianza que, como se vé, sin destruir el arrendamiento reinaba entre ambas partes, colonos y propietarios.” = “De aquí resulta que como las casas de los colonos, aunque edificadas en su suelo ageno arrendado simplemente, eran suyas, han podido hipotecarlas y venderlas, (éste último previo consentimiento de la Hacienda) y siempre teniendo en cuenta que nada del suelo les pertenecía; la propiedad era y es lisa y llanamente, lo edificado.” = Estas y otras condiciones, que venían estando en uso, son los que expresan en los actuales contratos. = “La causa de que algunos se abstienen en no pagar, y sobre no pagar sean hostiles a los Dominicos, consiste precisamente en que ven por ahora se atan los cabos bien atados, en vista de

²⁸ See Beatriz Hidalgo de Miranda *The Administration of the Dominican Ricelands: A Study of Socio-Economic Conditions*, a term paper submitted for the second semester of 1958-59 at the Ateneo de Manila University, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. These titles

with full powers from the king, inclusive of the top-soil, of all the lands and residential areas of the town of Calamba, following the official map and inventory provided them."²⁸

Since then terms for both the fields and lots have been drawn up, in the beginning with due formality and later in the form of a simple agreement concerning the fields and lots, which the tenant signed and renewed from time to time (every 3 or 4 years).

And now the question is, how was it possible to erect strong houses in the residential lots? Permission was granted according to the conditions and stipulations of the contract, that if the tenants fulfilled their part of the agreement, the proprietors would not disturb them in their use of the lots. This is to say, the unchanging plan or method of the Dominicans was that, unless there was cause to the contrary, lands on lease would pass from father to son, and the Dominican Order would always act in the traditional manner it has followed. And so, tenants have built houses and rooted themselves there. Thus, the basis of all these constructions has been the mutual trust of the contracting parties, tenants and owners, without, as one can see, voiding the lease.

"Hence it follows that since the tenants' houses built on another's property which was merely rented belonged to the builders, they could mortgage or sell them (with the previous consent of the estate), but always remembering that no part of the soil went with the transaction. What they built was theirs, plain and simple."

These and the other conditions which have been observed are contained in the present contracts.

"The reason why some refuse to pay, and, besides refusing, are hostile to the Dominicans, is precisely that they now see the ends of the string all tied up in a knot [i.e., they are now all caught in a fix], in view of what is happening.

to the lands owned by the Dominicans are kept in the Dominican Archives.

lo que viene ocurriendo y en lo sucesivo no podrán, ante el Juzgado, arreglarse a triquiñuelas y escusas que, por no estar antes bien detallados los contratos, les han servido de mucho.” = En una palabra, chillan, y se asustan los que no querían [sic] cumplir; los buenos, los dóciles, nada dicen porque saben que contra ellos nada vá, pues portándose bien, todo les será propicio con los Dominicos. = Para terminar recordaremos que la Orden Dominicana en Filipinas costea los gastos de la Universidad de S[an]to Tomás, en Manila, y que, si bien ésta fundación no se ha resentido de la campaña comprendida para que la Orden no percibiese sus rentas, de prolongarse tal situación, no hubiese sido posible cortar sus consecuencias. = “Carácter social y político de lo de Calamba = El origen de la situación de Calamba coincide con la época en que, para desdicha del país era Director Civil un fusionista pletorico de popularidad y Gobernador de Manila un republicano, Jefe de la Masonería de Filipinas, que tenía dadas repetidas muestras de aversión profunda a los religiosos. Ambos creyeron hacer la felicidad de este Archipiélago democratizándose hasta lo inconcebible; ¡aquí, en una colonia cuyas razas indígenas conocen la distancia que de ellas a la del Europeo existe!” = En tales circunstancias llegó a Filipinas procedente de Alemania el Calambeño José Rizal, quien reunió de seguida a lo más granado de su pueblo y entre aquellas sencillas gentes divulgó con pertinaz insistencia ideas rabiosamente opuestas a los Españoles, a los [sic] autoridades y en particular a los religiosos, a ciencia y paciencia de los que debieron impedir tales predicaciones. = “Para mayor desgracia era Gobernador Civil de la Laguna en aquella sazón y con carácter de interino, un democrata de abolengo grande amigo y muy protegido de D[on] Manuel Becarra cuya polí-

In the future, they will not be able to settle it in the courts by their tricks and alibis that the contracts had not been clear, although they had used them to their full advantage."

In a word, they scream. Those who do not wish to abide by the terms are frightened. The good, the docile say nothing because there is no case against them; conducting themselves properly in their dealings with the Dominicans, everything will be in their favor.

"To conclude, we will recall that the Dominican Order in the Philippines shoulders the expenses of the University of Santo Tomás in Manila. Although this foundation has not been affected by this campaign such that the Order was prevented from collecting the rent, if the situation continues, it would not be possible not to feel its effects."

The Socio-Political Character of the Affair

"The beginnings of the situation in Calamba are traceable to the time when, unfortunately for the country, the Civil Administrator was a political compromiser basking in popularity and the Governor of Manila was a republican, the head of the Masons in the Philippines, who had repeatedly given signs of his strong dislike for the religious. Both had hoped to bring about the prosperity of the archipelago by democratizing it up to no one knows where—here in a colony where the native races are aware of the distance separating them from those of Europe."

In these circumstances, the Calambefío José Rizal returned to the Philippines from Germany. Immediately he grouped together the élite of his town and among the simple people fanatically spread ideas violently against the Spaniards, against the authorities, and particularly against the religious, with the connivance of those who ought to have forbidden such teachings. To add to the poison, the interim civil governor of Laguna was at the time a democrat because of his family connections, a friend and protégé of Don Manuel Be-

tica de asimilación ha traído a Filipinas tantos trastornos.” = Rizal ha inspirado entre sus paisanos oído [*sic* = odio?] a la Religión Católica y sus más adeptos, han abandonado toda práctica religiosa, cumpliendo en esto fielmente con lo que enseña en su novela “Noli me Tangere,” antipatía profunda a los religiosos, desprestigiándolos y diciendo de ellos que son explotadores del indio de Calamba y otra porción de cosas por el estilo, depresivas no ya para los Dominicos, sino también para todas las demás comunidades, y nada digamos de como pinta la raza española. Consta con los antecedentes de este ingrato filipino llegaron a Calamba de simples aparceros, esto es, pobres punto menos que de solemnidad fueron tomando terrenos, y, poco a poco en la Hacienda de los Dominicos se crearon una fortuna. Pepe Rizal, cuantas veces se há acercado a los Padres Dominicos a ofrecerles sus servicios! . . . Cuantas responsabilidades tiene sobre si el germanófilo, pues con sus teorías ha venido a producir mil disgustos a muchos de sus paisanos! = “En Calamba no se habla sinó de los triunfos de Rizal, de sus promesas, de la acogida que le dispensan los sabios (?) de Europa uno de ellos ese gran maestro de filibusteros llamado Blumentritt; de sus viajes por Alemania; de su poder y grandes influencias (!) en esa nación; de que se vá a traer una escuadra alemana (!!) [*sic*]; de que él les há de dar a sus paisanos la propiedad de la Hacienda de Calamba, de que allí se há de construir un gran Estado, una República modelo. . . . En fin mil paparruchas que tienen totalmente perturbadas a aquellas gentes de un modo tal, que es ridículo y absurdo, pero exactísimo, que en Calamba a los que siguen a Rizal se les apoda el partido de Alemania, y a los que son leales a los Padres Dominicos se llama el partido de los frailes.” = Esta actitud de los Calambeños la aprueban y aplauden y alientan los que en Manila, Bulacan, Batangas, Pampanga, etc. son correspondientes de esa Asociación llamada Hispano-Filipina que en Madrid existe; de suerte que Calamba viene a ser punto de metralla de la integridad española-

carra, whose policy of assimilation had caused serious upheavals in the Philippines.

Rizal has inspired among his countrymen hatred for the Catholic religion and his closest followers have given up all their religious practices, fulfilling in this regard exactly what he teaches in his novel, *Noli me tangere*, nursing deep antipathy for the religious, demeaning them and saying they exploit the *indio* in Calamba, and many other remarks of the kind, derogatory not only to the Dominicans but also to the other religious communities, and we have not said anything about how he paints the Spanish race.

It is known that the ancestors of this Filipino ingrate came to Calamba as simple tenants, poor folk on the brink of destitution who rented lands, and little by little created their fortune on the estate of the Dominicans. Pepe Rizal! How many times has he approached the Dominican fathers offering his services! What responsibilities has this Germanophile taken on himself, now that his theories have succeeded in stirring up a thousand dissatisfied among his countrymen!

"In Calamba all the talk is about Rizal's triumph, his promises, the reception accorded him by the scholars in Europe, one of them being the grand teacher of filibusterism, Blumen-tritt; of his travels through Germany, of the power and wide influence he exercised over that nation, of a German squadron he will lead; of the lands he will give to his countrymen from the Calamba estate, where a great state will rise, a model republic In fine, a thousand crazy things which have completely disturbed those people, so much so that in Calamba—absurb or nonsense, but true—those who follow Rizal are tagged as the German Party, and those who remain loyal to the Dominicans are called the Friars' Party."

This stand of the Calambeños is approved, abetted and fed by the corresponding members in Manila, Bulacan, Batangas, Pampanga, etc. of the Fil-Hispanic Association based in Madrid, such that Calamba has become the executioner's bloc of Fil-Hispanic integrity.

filipina. = "El destierro de los 25 = Esta medida la ha adoptado el General S[añ]r Weyler, según expediente formado por el Coronel Olive a fin de cortar el mal que vá acudiendo en ese pueblo y amenaza propagarse a los demás." = Los desterrados en [sic = es?] notorio que, en reuniones, en todas partes de palabra, y por cuantos medios les era posible, hacían tenaz campaña de oposición, no solo a los Dominicos, sino también a la dominación de España en Filipinas. = "Tan engañados tenían a muchos, que han provocado en Calamba un estado parecido al de Antique con sus Babaylanes, y al de Samar con sus dios-dioses." = De seguir las cosas como seguían, no hubiera tardado mucho tiempo en estallar una revolución en todo el país, que tal vez hubiera podido poner en grave peligro nuestro predominio. = En esta gravísima cuestión de Calamba que por espacio de dos años tanto dió que hacer a nuestra Corporación, fué digno de elogio como en otras muchas cosas el M[uy] R[everendo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Paulino Valle, que nombrado Síndico General en el Capítulo del 90, fué quien de oficio tuvo que intervenir en todos los múltiples y enojosos incidentes a que dió lugar un asunto que, por no haberlo encausado bien desde el principio el P[adre] Govea, Síndico General del 86 al 90, se convirtió en un pleito en el que estando clarísimas la razón y la justicia de nuestra parte, costó no poco trabajo ganarlo en todas sus partes, primero en el Juzgado de S[an]ta Cruz de la Laguna, luego en la Audiencia de Manila, y por último en el Tribunal Supremo de Madrid a donde apelaron los rebeldes. No era el P[adre] Paulino hombre de grandes conocimientos; pero tenía otra cualidad muy apreciable que suplía esta falta, sabía consultar a tiempo buscaba y aceptaba gustoso el ilustrado consejo que pudiera darle cualquiera de sus Hermanos de hábito y jamás desdeñada [sic] el valioso concurso que éstos pudieran prestarle, ya con sus amistades con abogados, y Magistrados ya con su influencia cerca de las autoridades. En este sentido le ayudó muchísimo, trabajando sin descanso, el M[uy] R[everendo] P[adre] Fr[ay] Evaristo Fr.

The Exile of the Twenty-five

"General Weyler has adopted the measure following the report penned by Colonel Olive, in order to stop the evil that threatens that town and that threatens to spread to others.

It is well known how the exiles, gathered all over the place, by word and every means possible to them, formed a strong body to oppose not only the Dominicans but also the Spanish government in the Philippines.

"They have so deceived so many that in Calamba a situation exists similar to that in Antique with its priests, and to Samar with its false gods."

If things had been left to their own course, not much time would have intervened before a revolution had broken out all over the country, and endangered our sovereignty.

In this question of Calamba, which for two years had caused so much trouble to our Order, credit is due principally to Very Reverend Father Fray Paulino Valle. Appointed Syndic during the Chapter of 1890, it fell to him to intervene in all the annoying vexations and incidents resulting from the case which, because it was not properly prosecuted from the start by Father Govea, the Syndic from 1886 to 1890, has ended as a lawsuit. And despite our evidently logical and just approach, it cost us no little labor to win the case at all levels—first, in the sala of Santa Cruz, Laguna, then before the *Audiencia* in Manila, and finally before the Supreme Court in Madrid, before whom the rebels made their appeal. Fray Paulino was not a man of wide knowledge; but he had another precious quality which compensated for this lack. He knew when to consult, he sought and gladly accepted the enlightened advice which any of his brothers in the habit could offer, and he never disdained the courageous support given him, either because of his friendship with lawyers and magistrates, or because of his influence among the authorities. In this sense, the Very Reverend Evaristo Arias, then Prior

[sic] Arias que a la sazón era Prior de S[an]to Domingo. Justo es que el Cronista consigue tambien con merecido elógio el nombre del P[adre] Arias en este lugar.

III

Con motivo tambien del día del Santo de S[u] M[ajestad] el Rey publicó en la Gaceta el siguiente Decreto: "Manila 23 de enero de 1892—Deseando solemnizar el santo de S[u] M[ajestad] el Rey D[on] Alfonso XIII (q[ue] D[ios] g[uarde]) con un acto de clemencia en favor de los que, por determinadas faltas han merecido el severo castigo de la deportación y llevar de este modo el consuelo a numerosas familias afligidas; teniendo en cuenta el tiempo prolongado que llevan sufriendo aquella pena extraordinaria, la conducta observada y la naturaleza de los hechos que la motivaron; en uso de las facultades de que me hallo investido, vengo en indultar de la expresada pena de deportación, a los individuos que la sufren comprendidos en la siguiente relación que oportunamente se remitirá a los jefes de las colonias en que la extinguen." Los que figuran en la citada relación son sesenta y seis Filipinos deportados en tiempo de Terrero y de Weyler por filibusteros y revoltosos la mayor parte de ellos, y otros por públicamente amancebados, jugadores y tulisanes. Tambien es de advenir que en esa lista figuran unos catorce a quince de los más malos de Calamba deportados por Weyler como medio absolutamente necesario para restablecer la paz y tranquilidad en aquel pueblo. Como la mayor parte de esta mala gente de Calamba había sido lanzada por sentencia judicial de los terrenos y solares nuestros que llevaban en arrendamiento por haberse negado a pagar el Canon, y como los dichos terrenos y solares ya se habían dado en arrendamiento a otros indios mejores; el General Despujol antes de dar el transcrito Decreto de indulto indicó a nuestro P[adre] Lucio

of Santo Domingo, was a great help in his untiring efforts. It is right that the chronicler should include the name of Father Arias here.

III

On the occasion of his Saint's day, His Majesty, the King published the following decree in the Gazette:

"Manila, 23 January 1892.

"Desirous of solemnizing the Saint's day of His Majesty, King Alfonso XIII (may God preserve him!) with an act of mercy towards those who for definite crimes have merited the rigorous penalty of exile and in this way bring consolation to so many afflicted families;

"Keeping in mind the long period during which they have suffered that extraordinary penalty, their known conduct during their exile, and the nature of the case which has motivated their separation;

"By the powers vested in me, I have decided to free from the said penalty the individuals subject to it whose names are included in the following dispatch which in due time will be sent to the heads of the colonies to nullify."

Sixty-six Filipinos were included in this particular dispatch. They had been deported in the time of Terrero and Weyler most of them for filibusterism and rebellion and others for public scandal, gambling and robbery. In the list were some 14 or 15 names of the worst elements of Calamba deported by Weyler as the means absolutely necessary to restore peace and order in that town. The greater number of those criminals from Calamba had been evicted by court order for refusal to pay rent for the lands and residential lots they held on lease from us. These lands have now been leased to the more faithful indios. Before releasing a copy of the indult, General Despujol suggested to Father Lucio [Asencio, O.P.] (then the

[Asensio, O.P.] (que hacía entonces las veces de Provincial) y al P[adre] Arias Prior de Santo Domingo que le pidieran el indulto para aquellos deportados perdonando nuestra Corporación generosamente las ofensas y daños que de ellos había sufrido y que así lo hacía constar en el decreto de la Gaceta; añadiendo que si no le pedían él los indultaría por si y ante si: y que además creía el que sería muy honroso para nuestra Corporación el que de nuevo se les dieran terrenos y solares. En consecuencia de todo esto, nuestra Corporación no tuvo otro remedio que pedir el indulto para todos los que el General quiso limitándose a indicarle los que a juicio de la misma Corporación habían sido algo menos culpables. En cuanto a darles terrenos y solares, se le dijo que eso dependía de la conducta y compartimiento [sic] que ellos observasen. En esto mostró quedar satisfecho el General, pero no cumplió su palabra de hacer constar en la Gaceta petición de indulto hecha por nuestra Corporación.

Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores. = Exc[elentísi]mo S[eñor] Gobernador General, Vice-Real Patrono de estas Islas. = Elevar su voz ante las dignas autoridades del Archipiélago pidiendo perdón é indulgencia para los desgraciados, a quienes lamentables extravíos han hecho merecer los rigores de la justicia, grátísimo fué siempre a las Corporaciones Religiosas de Filipinas, y ha sido constante y muy amada práctica de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de P[adres] Dominicos, cuyo nombre tiene la honra de llevar el que suscribe. Arrancar víctimas al patíbulo, a las cárceles, al ostracismo, llevando el consuelo a las familias y convirtiendo quizás en miembro útil a la sociedad al antes pernicioso y discolo, la más alta Política lo aconseja, los sentimientos de la humanidad lo reclaman y la religión católica que todos

Provincial) and to Father Arias, Prior of Santo Domingo, that a request be made for the pardon of those exiles and, in the name of the Order, generously forgive the offenses and damages which the Order has sustained. The General said that he would make it appear in the decree that the move to pardon them had been initiated by our Order, and, since it would redound greatly to the reputation of our Dominican Order, the exiles should be again offered lands and residential lots for lease. The Order, in view of all this, had no other recourse but to present a petition for pardon as the General wanted, but limiting the indult to include only those who in the judgment of the Order had been less guilty. With regards to leasing lands and residential lots to them, he was informed that this depended on the behavior and conduct of the exiles. The General expressed satisfaction; but he did not keep his word to show in the Gazette that the petition for an indult had been made by our Order.

* * *

Province of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines of the Order of Preachers

Your Excellency, the Governor General and Vice-Patron of these Islands:

It has been the pleasant task of the religious orders in the Philippines to raise our voice before the worthy Authorities of the Archipelago, in supplication for an indult of mercy on behalf of the unfortunate, whom justice has made the victims of her impartiality. The same has been the constant and cherished task of the Dominican Province of the Most Holy Rosary, whose name the undersigned is honored to bear. To free victims from the gibbet, from prisons, from ostracism; to bring consolation to families, transforming perchance into a useful member of Society one who was formerly a danger and a rebel: this the highest political wisdom advises, the human heart urges, the Catholic religion which to our own

por bien nuestro profesamos lo aplaude y lo bendice, prometiéndolo al que entrañas de caridad manifiesta con sus hermanos bienes sin cuento, que en esta vida no paran, sino que trascienden los umbrales del sepulcro. Ciertamente es que la defensa y conservación de los intereses a la tutela del Gobierno encomendados, exige medidas represivas, que en todo evento y sin consideraciones de otra índole, garanticen el derecho en sus varias manifestaciones, y muy especialmente en las que de cerca atañen al bien social de los pueblos, castigando con mano dura a los que no respetan la propiedad en sus bases fundamentales, ó la Religión, suprema ley divina y humana perturban, ó contra las Instituciones del Estado, en forma más ó menos ostensible conspiran; pero tampoco debe echarse en olvido que ese sagrado deber de defensa tiene sus naturales y legítimas limitaciones en la práctica, siempre que dejando a salvo las prescripciones ineludibles de la justicia y del derecho, permita ejercer las nobles funciones de la clemencia, excelso atributo de la soberanía, la que al castigar los delitos, no prescinde del carácter paternal, que por su esencia reviste todo poder legítimo entre los hombres: y si al delincuente, al infractor de sus obligaciones aplica el rigor de las leyes penales, mira principalmente a su corrección y enmienda, al saludable escarmiento de los demás, y a consolidar en el seno de los pueblos, por medio de la coacción jurídica, el respeto a las instituciones sociales. Recientemente, en el pueblo de Calamba, Provincia de la Laguna, sujeto a la administración espiritual de la Orden Dominicana, la Autoridad suprema de las Islas se ha visto obligada, en cumplimiento de altísimos deberes de su cargo, a adoptar una medida extraordinaria, deportando al distrito de Joló, a más de veinte individuos que, según expediente resultaban acreedores a ese riguroso castigo. No entra en los propósitos del Provincial de Santo Domingo examinar la gravedad y trascendencia de la situación del pueblo de Calamba, las causas más ó menos profundas que a ello dieron origen, ni mucho menos el carácter del malestar que en esa población se sentía; solo dirá que la ejecu-

good we all profess holds in high regard and deems to be good, holding out promises to one who opens the heart of kindness to his brothers, promises of good without end, promises that do not cease with life, but transcend the shadows of the grave. No doubt the defense and the care of interests entrusted to the Government demand the means of repression in all situations regardless of other considerations, for these guarantee the [rule of] law in all its manifestations. This is especially true in affairs that pertain to the common weal of the people. The law punishes with a heavy hand those who do not respect the basic presuppositions of property or the disturbers of religion which is the supreme human or divine law, or those who conspire more or less openly against the institutions of the State. But neither should it be set aside in oblivion that there are natural and legitimate limits in the exercise of this sacred duty of defense. Ever safeguarding the inescapable prescriptions of justice and law, it allows the noble exercise of mercy, that priceless quality of sovereignty, which in the punishment of crime does not divest itself of its paternal character, an essential attribute of every legal power among men. And if the delinquent, the negligent in one's duties is made to feel the rigor of penal law, it seeks principally the correction and the reformation, the salutary warning of the others and the upholding, in the midst of the people, of the respect for social institutions by juridical sanctions. Recently in the town of Calamba, Laguna, a town under the spiritual care of the Dominicans, the Supreme Authority in the Islands was obliged to adopt an extraordinary measure in the fulfillment of the responsibilities of its high office. Deported to Jolo were more than 20 persons who, according to the minutes [of the case], deserved this severe sentence.

It is not the purpose of the Dominican Provincial to question the seriousness or the gravity of the situation in the town of Calamba, the causes, more or less serious, that originated it, much less the upheaval that was felt in that town. He will say only that the execution of the decree of exile,

ción del decreto de destierro, como era natural ha producido honda y amarguísima pena en las familias de los deportados, algunas de las cuales han acudido al Religioso Dominico, Párroco de aquella población, pidiéndole con lágrimas en los ojos consuelo a tan acerbo dolor, y remedio a situación tan aflictiva. El Párroco ha respondido a las súplicas de sus feligreses, y ha pedido desde un principio a su prelado Regular interpusiera sus ruegos cerca del Gobierno General de estas Islas en demanda de conmiseración para los que en Joló sufren la pena condigna a su proceder insensato. El Superior de P[adres] Dominicos, animado de los mismos sentimientos que su subordinado el celoso Párroco de Calamba, verbalmente los significó ya a V[uestra] E[xcelencia] en el próximo pasado mes de enero, atreviéndose hoy a manifestarlos, reiterándolos en este escrito; y sin prejuzgar si los deportados están ó no suficientemente arrepentidos de su conducta pasada, sin mirar si con el tiempo que llevan sufriendo su condena están ó no satisfechas las exigencias de la justicia y del buen gobierno, sin prestar atención a temores de peligros para lo porvenir, solo escucha hoy los gritos de su corazón cristiano y religioso, solo atiende a las inspiraciones de la caridad y de la clemencia, y fijos los ojos en la constante y no interrumpida tradición de su Provincia, que a sus administrados como a hijos ha tratado siempre, y como a tales amparado y defendido, pide y suplica a V[uestra] E[xcelencia] con la solemnidad y eficacia que acto tan noble reclama, otorgue perdón é indulgencia a los individuos de Calamba deportados poco há a la plaza de Joló, concediéndoles indulto generoso de la pena que sufren, en el caso de que el ilustrado y recto criterio de V[uestra] E[xcelencia], apreciando en su justo valor todas las circunstancias, no vea inconveniente alguno en ese acto de clemencia y generosidad. De, Exc[elentísimo] S[eñor], en esta ocasión, muestra gallarda de los sentimientos de bondad y de cariño que su magnánimo corazón alberga hacia los habitantes de Filipinas; manifiestelos una vez más que la noble España que los engendró a la Fé y a la cristiana civilización, hijos

as was natural, has caused deep and bitter suffering to the families of the deportees. Some of them have besought the Dominican missionary who is the parish priest of that locality, begging with tears in their eyes for consolation in such a painful plight and a remedy to such a sorrowful situation. Their parish priest has responded to the appeal of his faithful, and, since the beginning, has requested his religious Superior to intercede with his voice before the Governor General of these islands, and ask mercy for those who in Jolo suffer the just penalty of their senseless actions. The Superior of the Dominicans, filled with the same sentiments as his subject the zealous pastor of Calamba, signified it verbally to Your Excellency last January. Now he dares to recall it and repeat the same in writing. Without prejudging whether the exiles are sufficiently repentant of their past conduct or not; without asking whether with the time that they are undergoing their penalty the demands of justice and of good government are satisfied or not; without attending to the risk of future danger, the Provincial listens today only to the inspiration of charity and mercy. With his mind fixed on the constant and unbroken tradition of his Province which has always treated its subjects as sons to be helped and defended, the Superior of the Dominican Order asks and begs Your Excellency with the formality and urgency that such a noble act demands, to grant pardon and grace to the individuals recently deported from Calamba to the town of Jolo. Grant them a merciful surcease from the penalty they suffer, hoping that the enlightened and correct judgment of Your Excellency, viewing in all their true weight all the circumstances, sees no inconvenience in this act of clemency and magnanimity.

On this occasion, most excellent Lord, give shining proof of your good feelings and the affections nestling in your heart towards the natives of the Philippines. Show them once more that Spain who has given them life in the Faith and opened them to Christian civilization, wants her sons united

quiere a ella unidos por los vínculos de la gratitud y del amor, que por tantos y tan renombrados títulos tiene con exceso merecidos; que las Ordenes Religiosas que lo evangelizaron y con éxito defendieron aquí y en la Corte en tantas ocasiones, contra atropellos é injusticias, siguen y seguirán siendo sus constantes é incansables defensores; que el respeto a la Religión y a la Pátria, y la obediencia a sus preceptos, serán los que una vez vueltos del destierro, les harán felices y útiles a si propios y a sus semesjantes. El Cielo prolongue los dias de V[uestra] E[xcelencia] para hacer muchas obras de caridad y clemencia, para el feliz y próspero gobierno de este Archipiélago, y para la consecución de los santos y patrióticos ideales confiados al celo y prudencia de ese Gobierno General, representante en este país de los altos Poderes de la Pátria.

= Manila 7 de marzo de 1892 = Exc[elentísi]mo S[eñor].

= Fr[ay] Lucio Asencio [, O.P.]

Gobierno General de Filipinas = Secretaria = Seccion 1ª

He recibido la tan razonada como magnánima y elocuente solicitud de V[uestra] R[everencia] en la que no oyendo otros sentimientos que los de la más generosa caridad, en nombre de las familias de los desterrados de Calamba, en el del celoso Párroco de esa misma feligresia, y en el de la muy distinguida Corporación Dominicana a la que digneamente preside V[uestra] R[everencia] suplica gracia é indulto en favor de los individuos del indicado pueblo, a quienes este Gobierno General se vió en el triste deber de deportar a la plaza de Joló por Decreto de 13 de noviembre pasado. Gratísimo sobremanera me sería acceder en toda su amplitud a la generosa petición de V[uestra] R[everencia] ejercer la noble prerroga-

to her in ties of gratitude and love due her for so many and so well known reasons. [Prove] that the religious orders which brought them the gospel and successfully defended them against attacks and injustices on so many occasions here and in the Courts, continue and will continue to be their constant and tireless advocates. [Teach them] that once they are back from exile, it will be respect for religion and for the fatherland, and obedience to its laws that will make them happy and useful [citizens] for their own good and that of their peers.

May Heaven lengthen the days of Your Excellency for deeds of charity and mercy, for the happy and prosperous government of this archipelago, and for the realization of the holy and patriotic ideals entrusted to the zeal and prudence of this general government, the representatives in this country of the Superior Powers of the Fatherland. Manila, 7 March 1892 = His Excellency, the Governor. Fray Lucio Asencio [, O.P.]

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General Government of the Philippines

Office of the Secretary, First Section:

I have received the very reasonable, as well as magnanimous and eloquent solicitude of your reverence by which, not heeding other feelings than that of a generous heart, your reverence begs in the name of the families of the Calamba deportees, of the zealous pastor of that same parish, and of the distinguished Dominican Order which your reverence so worthily governs, pardon and grace for the individuals from this particular town whom this General Government was in sorrow duty bound to deport to the town of Jolo by decree of last 13 November. It would be exceedingly a pleasure to me to accede in all its scope to your reverence's generous petition. To exercise the preroga-

tiva del indulto es para mi corazón la mayor de las satisfacciones; y el otorgar en este caso dicha gracia sin limitación alguna me sería tanto más agradable cuanto a la Corporación Religiosa que lo solicita, es de las que mayores servicios han prestado al país, por su celo evangélico en las misiones, por sus constantes y gloriosos afanes para difundir la enseñanza por sus trabajos y sacrificios en favor de los pueblos y por su incondicional apoyo a las Autoridades de este Archipiélago. Pero las mismas graves consideraciones que ya en enero último me impidieron acceder a la primera indicación de V[uestra] R[everencia] me obligan hoy también a moderar un tanto los impulsos de la clemencia, concediendo si desde luego el indulto a la mayor parte de los deportados de Calamba existentes hoy en Joló, pero excluyendo por ahora de dicha gracia a cuatro deportados más comprometidos en aquellos sucesos, según aparece en el expediente que al efecto mandó instruir mi digno antecesor. Sirva esta restricción, una vez para todas, de prueba fehaciente, a los ojos de V[uestra] R[everencia], de la ínclita Orden Dominicana y de cuanto por candor quizá ó por malicia, en lo sucesivo aparentasen dudar, de que, no obstante mi profundo y creciente amor al pueblo filipino, lo mismo en esta que en cualquiera otra ocasión análoga, que, durante mi mando y contra todas mis esperanzas, pudiera ocurrir, dispuesto estoy a cumplir sin vacilaciones ni miramientos, todos los deberes, por penosos que sean, que la Pátria impone a los Gobernadores Generales de Filipinas y a corresponder fielmente a la confianza del Gobierno de S[u] M[ajestad]. Dios gu[ard]e a V[uestra] R[everencia] muchos años. Manila 9 de Marzo de 1892. Eulógio Despujol.
= M[uy] R[everendo] P[adre] Provincial de Dominicos.

tive of granting an indult is of the greatest satisfaction to my heart. And to grant in this instance this particular grace without any qualification would be all the more pleasing to me than to the Religious Order that requests it; it is one of those which have rendered the greater services to the country by its evangelical zeal in the mission, its ceaseless and praiseworthy efforts to spread education, its labors and sacrifices on behalf of the people and its unconditional support of the authority of this archipelago. But the same serious considerations that last January had already stopped me from granting your reverence's first plea also oblige me to-day to moderate somewhat the impulse of mercy. I do grant pardon to the majority of the deportees from Calamba now staying in Jolo, but I deny for the moment the favor to four of them, the ones more involved in those incidents according to the documents which my worthy predecessor has caused to be drawn. Let this restriction be, once for all, indubitable proof in the eyes of your reverence, in those of the renowned Dominican Order, and of so many who sincerely until now have doubted, or maliciously pretended to doubt that for the future, despite my deep and increasing love for the Filipino people, now, as in any other similar situation which might occur during my government against all my hopes, I am ready to fulfill without hesitation or fear, all the duties, painful though they be, which the fatherland imposes on the Governor General of the Philippines, and to live up faithfully to the confidence in me of the government of His Majesty. God keep your reverence many years. Manila, 9 March 1892. Eulogio Despujol.

To the Very Reverend Father Provincial of the Dominicans.

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Provincia del S[antísi]mo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores. = Exc[elentísi]mo S[eñor] = He recibido la atentísima contestación de V[uestra] E[xcelencia] a la solicitud que mi digno Vicario General durante mi ausencia en la Península, elevó a V[uestra] E[xcelencia] con fecha de 7 del corriente, y al acusarle recibo faltaría no solo a las exigencias más rudimentarias de la cristiana cortesía, sino a los deberes de justicia y gratitud, si no diere a V[uestra] E[xcelencia] las más complidas gracias por el pronto y favorable despacho que ha concedido a la petición de mi Orden, llevando el consuelo a tantas familias, y otorgando vuelvan libres a sus hogares la mayor parte de los que hoy sufren en Joló el triste correctivo de la deportación. No son menos de agradecer las entusiastas frases de elogio que V[uestra] E[xcelencia] dedica a mi Corporación, frases, a las que, mi Orden procurará con todo el ardor y ahinco de su misión religiosa, hacerse digna ante Dios y ante los hombres, y muy particularmente a los ojos de V[uestra] E[xcelencia] en quien se complace, y un gobernante recto y prudente, que cual cumple a suma autoridad cristiana cuida de enderezar sus actos todos, al cumplimiento de la justicia y a la consecución del bien público en este Archipiélago. Y si bien no hemos tenido la dicha de que a todos los deportados haya llegado la gracia del indulto, en esa misma restricción hemos visto prácticamente confirmada la idea concebida tiempo hace de la justificación y entereza de ánimo de V[uestra] E[xcelencia] por lo que atañe a la conservación y defensa de los intereses religiosos y sociales de estas Islas; y si hasta el presente no ha dudado mi Orden un momento de hallar en V[uestra] E[xcelencia] un decidido protector y un amante patrono, mucho menos lo dudará en lo sucesivo por lo que acontecerle pudiera en el ejercicio de su sagrado ministerio, y en la defensa de sus legítimos derechos. Dios gu[ard]e a V[uestra] E[xcelencia] muchos años. = Manila 25 de marzo de 1892. Exc[elentísi]mo S[eñor]. = Fr[ay] Santiago Paya, [O.P.] = Exc[elentísi]mo S[eñor] Gobernador General de estas Islas.

Province of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines of the Order of Preachers. Most Excellent Lord: I have received Your Excellency's most respectful answer to the request which during my journey to the Peninsula my worthy Vicar General has presented on the 7th of the present month. In acknowledging its receipt, I would fail not only in the most elementary duties of Christian courtesy but also in the demands of justice and gratitude if I do not thank Your Excellency for the prompt and favorable answer which Your Excellency has given to the petition of my Order and bringing consolation to so many families, guaranteeing the free return to their homes of the majority of those who today suffer the sad penalty of exile in Jolo. No less thanks are due to the enthusiastic words of praise which Your Excellency dedicated to my Order, phrases which my Order will endeavor, with zeal and ardor in their religious mission, to be worthy of before God and men, but especially before Your Excellency, to whom we are beholden, an upright and prudent governor, careful in the exercise of his Christian authority, to direct all his actions to fulfill justice and achieve the public good of the archipelago. Although we have not had the joy of seeing all the deportees receive the grace of pardon, in the very restriction itself of this favor, we have seen practically confirmed our long-held esteem of the rectitude and the magnanimity of soul of Your Excellency, in what concerns the preservation and defense of the religious and social interests of these islands. If until now my Order has not for one moment doubted of finding in Your Excellency a dedicated and loving Patron, much less will it doubt it for the future, by whatever might happen in the exercise of his sacred duty, and in the defense of his legitimate rights. God keep Your Excellency for many years. Manila, 25 March 1892. Most Excellent Lord, Fray Santiago Paya, [O.P.] To His Excellency the Governor General of these Islands.