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Bonifacio and the Katipunan in the Cuerpo de Vigilancia Archival Collection

Rene R. Escalante

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Bonifacio and the Katipunan in the Cuerpo de Vigilancia Archival Collection

A little-known source for writing the history of the Philippine revolution is the voluminous collection of documents and other materials gathered by the Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila, the intelligence service created by the Spanish colonial state in 1895. This article discusses its acquisition by the Philippine government in 1997. In utilizing some of the collection's contents, this article demonstrates its utility for enriching knowledge about the Katipunan, such as its founding, its clandestine operations, and the members' socioeconomic background. This article also shows how documents in this collection illumine the social history of ordinary people during the revolutionary period.

KEYWORDS: INTELLIGENCE REPORTS • COLONIAL ARCHIVES • PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION • KATIPUNAN • ANDRÉS BONIFACIO • ANTING-ANTING

Andrés Bonifacio and the Katipunan became a controversial subject of postwar historical discourse despite the dearth of primary sources on which historians and researchers could base their narratives. The topic stole the limelight in the 1960s after Teodoro Agoncillo (1956/2001) published his award-winning biography of Bonifacio. Research interest continued in the succeeding decades, with the Filipino uprising against Spain from 1896 to 1898 figuring prominently in Agoncillo's classic textbook on Philippine history. The 1998 centennial of the proclamation of Philippine independence also contributed to the enrichment of the historical literature dealing with Bonifacio and the Katipunan, given the numerous conferences and academic discussions held in the 1990s and the release during that decade of publications dealing with other aspects of the Philippine revolution.¹

Jim Richardson's (2013) *The Light of Liberty* is another major contribution to the historiography of the Katipunan. The documents he found in the Archivo General Militar de Madrid (General Military Archive of Madrid) corrected, clarified, expanded, and deepened our knowledge about the Katipunan. For instance, he presented evidence that as early as January 1892, six months before the founding of La Liga Filipina (The Philippine League), the Katipunan had already been conceived (*ibid.*, xv). What Richardson has accomplished must be sustained in order to clarify and ultimately settle the contentious issues surrounding Bonifacio, particularly the controversial documents attributed to him and the secret society that he cofounded.

This article aims to supplement Richardson's work. However, instead of mining further the rich materials in the Archivo General Militar, it examines the intelligence reports of agents (*agentes*) of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila (Surveillance Corps of Manila) and other materials on the Katipunan. This study shows that the Cuerpo de Vigilancia collection contains many documents that can fill historical gaps and enhance the accuracy of the narrative of the Philippine revolution. Moreover, it presents new data that run counter to common knowledge about the revolution. Because the collection is voluminous, this article is limited to documents pertaining to the Katipunan, Bonifacio and his associates, and some reports that enrich the social history of the revolution. This social history is an important addition to the existing literature because it sheds light on how the revolution affected the lives of ordinary people at that time, a subject that previous studies on the revolutionary period have tended to ignore. This article seeks to augment

the existing literature on the revolution, which to date have been focused mostly on the activities of known Katipuneros and local elites who joined the revolutionary movement.

Origin of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia Collection

The Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila was the intelligence service unit that the Spanish colonial state created in 1895 primarily to gather information on the activities of certain groups suspected of plotting an uprising against the colonial establishment. Initially, the Cuerpo de Vigilancia operated separately and independently from the Guardia Civil Veterana (Veteran Civil Guard) and the Ejército de las Islas Filipinas (Army of the Philippine Islands); however, a year after the outbreak of the revolution it was placed under the supervision of the chief of the Guardia Civil Veterana. The agents of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia were Spanish mestizos and native Filipinos who were under the command of Chief Inspector (*Inspector Jefe*) Federico Moreno. Moreno reported directly to Manuel Luengo, the civil governor of Manila, who in turn relayed security and intelligence information to the governor-general.

The Cuerpo agents were tasked to monitor the activities of suspected members of the Katipunan. They reported to their officers some of the rumors they heard from ordinary people and kept dossiers of opinions of the press, lists of financiers of the Katipunan, subversive materials, photographs, and personal letters of Katipunan members. It was also their duty to report the activities and views of persons, including foreigners, known to be involved in the political upheaval that was unfolding during the last decade of the Spanish era. Thus, the reports of the Cuerpo agents covered not only the activities of the Katipuneros but also the suspicious behavior of American, Japanese, Chinese, British, and German nationals residing in the Philippines. Before they disbanded, the Cuerpo agents submitted, mostly to Chief Inspector Moreno, close to 3,000 documents that could now be used to enrich the narrative of the Philippine revolution.

The Cuerpo de Vigilancia collection has been known as *Documentos, Copias, Impresos y otros Papeles del Katipunan y de la Insurrección Filipino* (Documents, Printed Materials and other Papers of the Katipunan and of the Filipino Insurrection). It consists of a wide range of historical materials on the Philippine revolution from the perspective of Filipinos as well as Spaniards and foreigners, but it has no general theme.² It contains various

types of documents, including pictures, diagrams, sketches, and maps along with printed texts as well as handwritten reports. A good number of them are eyewitness accounts of actual events from March 1895 until the Spaniards surrendered to the Americans on 13 August 1898. The conspicuous documents in the collection include lists of members of Masonic lodges, propaganda documents like “Dasalan at Tuksohan” (Praying and Teasing), trial records, documents about amulets (*anting-anting*), drawings of Philippine flags, maps of military operations, surveillance reports of Cuerpo agents, newspaper clippings, and a few excerpts from published works.

Acquisition of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia Collection

For almost a century, the Cuerpo de Vigilancia collection remained unknown to scholars. Public knowledge about the collection came just a few years before the 1998 centenary of Philippine independence, when Enrique Montero, a Spanish historian, collector, and dealer of old books, offered for sale archival materials that were in his possession, specifically, the files of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila. He said that he acquired the collection from a descendant of a Spanish general who was assigned in the Philippines during the twilight years of Spanish rule. How that general acquired this collection in the first place is yet to be established. The available materials are silent on this matter, and the key individuals who negotiated the sale did not elaborate on this part of the narrative. In any event, the original selling price was US\$160,000. Initially Octavio Espiritu, an executive of the Far East Bank and Trust Company,³ showed interest in the collection, but for unknown reasons the purchase did not proceed.

A few years later, in her capacity as Philippine ambassador to Spain, Isabel Caro Wilson learned of the collection’s existence and brought it to the attention of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA). The NCCA Executive Director Carmen Padilla took the offer seriously and considered the collection a valuable addition to the existing body of historical materials on the Philippine revolution. Before the NCCA finalized the sale, Madrid-based Dr. Antonio Molina attested to the authenticity of the collection and Montero’s legitimate ownership. On 12 December 1995, the NCCA Board passed Resolution No. 95–285 approving the purchase of the Cuerpo collection. The NCCA negotiated with Montero to reduce the price and the two parties agreed to close the deal at US\$145,000.

The NCCA officials labeled the Cuerpo collection as “Katipunan and Rizal Documents,” but this label should not create the impression that the bulk of the collection deals with Bonifacio and Rizal. The documents on Rizal and the Katipunan form only a small fraction of the collection and do not exceed 30 percent of its total content. Emilio Aguinaldo is the one who figures prominently in the collection, a result of the close monitoring he received from Cuerpo agents. In fact, the number of reports on the Truce of Biak-na-Bato and the Hong Kong Junta far exceeds that of the number of documents dealing with Rizal and Bonifacio combined. Aguinaldo’s prominence is explainable by the fact that Rizal and Bonifacio died four months and nine months, respectively, after the outbreak of the revolution, while Aguinaldo remained on the historical scene. Moreover, the Spaniards considered Aguinaldo the archenemy; having the intelligence community concentrate its attention and resources on him was no surprise.

By March 1997 the NCCA’s Padilla and historian Ambeth Ocampo had brought the Cuerpo collection from Spain to the Philippines (*Philippine Daily Inquirer* 1997b, 7). Before it was opened to the public, the NCCA asked its Committee on Historical Research (CHR) to catalog and annotate the documents. Headed by NCCA-CHR Chair Maria Luisa T. Camagay, the team that undertook this task was composed of historians and Spanish translators. Their objective was not to translate the collection to English but to produce a brief summary of each document that researchers could use as a guide.

The committee’s work was suspended on 13 September 1997 when the Presidential Commission Against Graft and Corruption filed a case at the Office of the Ombudsman against Padilla, which questioned the legality of the purchase of the collection. One issue raised was whether the NCCA had the mandate to buy historical documents. The directors of the National Library and the National Archives claimed that their respective offices were the ones endowed with this function. Another issue was that the Cuerpo collection could be classified as state papers, which by law would make them public documents. Under the Treaty of Paris state papers of the Spanish colonial government were part of the assets ceded to the US government. If this were the case, then the NCCA had to negotiate with the Spanish authorities for the turnover of these documents, not their purchase. The complainants also asked if Padilla verified whether the seller acquired the documents using legal means. If not, then Padilla could be charged with

violating the anti-fencing law (Office of the Ombudsman 1998, 2). Nearly a year after it was filed, on 31 August 1998 Ombudsman Aniano Disierto dismissed the case against Padilla, ruling that she did not violate the anti-fencing law because the complainants failed to prove that the documents were stolen. He also added that the effort of Padilla and Wilson to reduce the price from US\$160,000 to US\$145,000 was an indication that they acted in favor of the government.⁴

In 2008, upon assuming the chairmanship of the NCCA-CHR, I revived the project of cataloging and annotating the documents, entrusting this task to the Philippine National Historical Society. The committee designated Bernardita Churchill as project director and executive editor. Some former members of the 1997 group were invited and new members were recruited to help finish the project. In 2010 it was completed, and a research guide came off the press the following year (Churchill et al. 2011). Thereafter the NCCA commissioned the Ateneo de Manila University's Rizal Library to digitize the whole Cuerpo collection, after which the original documents were turned over to the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP) on 27 February 2014. Copies of the digital version have been entrusted to the NCCA, the NAP, and the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP).⁵

Organization and Cataloging of the Cuerpo Collection

The Cuerpo collection starts with an introduction, which according to Churchill et al. (2011, 1) was written by Montero, the vendor of the collection. The introduction provides an overview, an outline, and a discussion of the types of documents available in the collection. The introduction states that the "Archivo del Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila is composed of some 1,860 documents, approximately 1,565 letters and original manuscripts, 265 pieces of printed materials, an album of original photographs and two albums of printed materials" (*Archivo del Cuerpo de Vigilancia de Manila que consiste en unos 1,860 documentos aproximadamente 1,565 cartas y manuscritos originales y copias, 265 impresos, un albumen de fotografias originales y dos albumen impresos*) (Churchill et al. 2011, 1).

Using the Cuerpo documents as source of historical information can be daunting. For one, the collection is not organized chronologically and the classifications of materials according to theme, period, and title are not consistent. Abiding by the original catalog, the NCCA-CHR catalog divides the collection into four general categories: (a) the A-files, which consist of

manuscripts; (b) the B-files, composed of intelligence reports of Cuerpo operatives; (c) the C-files, a collection of photographs; and (d) the D-files, which consist of printed materials. However, found among the manuscripts in the A-files are loose printed materials that should have been placed in the D-files.

It behooves scholars to use the Cuerpo collection, particularly the intelligence reports, cautiously and critically, as some accounts are raw or unverified information. They came from sources who had no personal knowledge of a supposed event, but rather relied on hearsay and rumors, which, as in any intelligence work, had value and were reported to authorities for record purposes and further verification. Hence, not all of their reports are historically accurate.

For example, on Aguinaldo there are conflicting reports, some of which state that he was already in Cavite months before his actual arrival on 19 May 1898, whereas another agent, Heriberto Fernández (1898a), reported that Aguinaldo had already returned from Hong Kong aboard a British ship on 29 March 1898. Cuerpo agents also reported the death of Aguinaldo on two occasions. The first report was dated 18 February 1898, when he was allegedly murdered by his comrades who were not satisfied with the way he was running the Hong Kong junta (David 1898). The second reported his death a few days after returning from Hong Kong, when Aguinaldo was supposedly assassinated by forces loyal to Mariano Trias (Fernández 1898b).

These examples of wittingly or unwittingly inaccurate reporting, although interesting in themselves, should warn researchers to be cautious and to countercheck information before using the Cuerpo collection as basis for the factual reconstruction of past events. Critical evaluation and authentication are needed before these documents are used as evidence in asserting a historical fact.

The Objective of this Article

This study introduces the Cuerpo de Vigilancia collection to present-day researchers. It seeks to demonstrate the utility of the Cuerpo collection as source of historical information by using some materials that enrich the existing narrative of the Philippine revolution in general and Andrés Bonifacio and the Katipunan in particular. Many of the documents in the collection do not offer new information, but they do confirm and add details

not provided in earlier studies, as examples in later sections of this article demonstrate. This study also seeks to discuss some inconsistent accounts by supplying evidence based on the Cuerpo collection that favors a particular claim, as will also be demonstrated later.

It is also the intention of this article to showcase, based on the Cuerpo collection, the activities, behavior, and beliefs of people who were not members of the revolutionary movement yet were affected by the upheaval; their stories deserve inclusion in the narrative of the revolution. Much has been said about the leaders of the Katipunan, but the time has come to decenter the focus of historical studies to include the activities of ordinary Filipinos who were documented by Cuerpo agents. Their narratives help contemporary historians piece together a bigger and multisided picture of the Philippine revolution.

Monitoring a Secret Movement

As early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Spanish authorities were already worried about the growing restlessness of the native clergy and their associates (Schumacher 1981). The threat became more alarming in the 1880s when young university students started to espouse liberal ideals and denounce the excesses of the friars. Some civil authorities, thinking that the unrest was isolated and directed toward the friars only, downplayed the threat. Gov.-Gen. Carlos Maria de la Torre tried resolving the problem by taking a conciliatory and liberal attitude toward the enemies of the colonial government. He granted amnesty to Casimiro Camerino, a famous rebel-bandit of Cavite, and his associates on 15 August 1869 (Artigas y Cuerva 1996, 62). Things changed dramatically in 1872, when some workers of the Cavite arsenal, with the support of liberal lawyers, Masons, businessmen, and journalists, attacked the Spanish officers of the camp (Schumacher 2011, 74–75). The event forced Gov.-Gen. Rafael Izquierdo to adopt harsher measures against native Filipino agitators and rebels.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Spanish colonial government had already felt the heat of anti-Spanish sentiment in the different sectors of society. Aside from the native Filipino clergy, the other dissidents were the oppressed tenants and leaseholders (*inquilinos*) of the friar haciendas, restless Filipino students in Manila and Europe, some businessmen, and a number of professionals and employees of foreign trading companies. Before the creation of the Cuerpo, the governor-general

and officers of the Ejército de las Islas Filipinas relied on the reports of friars and the Guardia Civil if there were unrests in a particular locality; the government would then order its agents to conduct surveillance operations on suspected anti-Spanish persons and their supporters. With the Cuerpo's formation in 1895, intelligence gathering came under one state entity.

The Cuerpo de Vigilancia was organized in 1895, but its operations started only in the second quarter of the following year. As indicated in reports for the month of April 1896, Cuerpo operatives concentrated their intelligence and surveillance activities on Filipinos who had ties with Europe-based reformers and those affiliated with Masonry (NAP 1896a). They inspected the luggage of Filipino travelers arriving from Europe, Hong Kong, and Japan to confiscate subversive materials, such as publications of the Propagandists and Masonic circulars. Foremost in their list of suspicious persons were close friends of Rizal like Dr. José Albert, Salvador del Rosario, an unnamed sister of Fr. José Burgos, Rosario Villaroel (a known Mason), Pascual Poblete (former editor of *El Resumen*), Maximo Viola (financier of the *Noli me tângere*'s publication), and Pedro Serrano Laktaw (also a known Mason).

History textbooks mention that the Katipunan used social activities as fronts every time they had meetings because they did not want the Spaniards to notice them. Apparently, however, their subversive activities were monitored by Cuerpo agents, who placed under surveillance some locations in Manila that were used as meeting places of persons believed to be rebels and Masons. Reports specifically mentioned the Teatro in Sampaloc, the Basar El Cisne along Carriedo Street, and the Bazar de Japones in Plaza Moraga in Binondo (NAP 1896d). Some private residences were also watched closely because they were frequently visited by characters deemed suspicious. They singled out the houses of Jacobo Zobel, Felix Roxas, Doroteo Jose, Domingo Ferraz, Telesforo Chuidian, Mariano Veloso, and a certain watchmaker known only as Señor Matti. The Cuerpo's agents did not spare even the pharmacies, reporting that the drugstores in Quiapo and Gastambide were favorite rendezvous for Masons (NAP 1896b).

Lastly, the Cuerpo's operatives also informed the authorities that some members of the native Filipino clergy were actively involved in the anti-Spanish movement. These priests were allegedly giving regular monthly contributions to the propaganda campaign. Two of them were named: Manuel Modesto Marco, known as Father Narco (a Cuerpo agent misspelled his

name as such), the parish priest of Quiapo, and Fr. José Consunji y Espino, a priest assigned at the Manila Cathedral (ibid.). These reports clearly support the claim of John Schumacher (1981, 45) and Teodoro Kalaw (1956, 228) that during the revolution there were secular priests who were pro-Mason and anti-Spanish.

Cuerpo operatives also exposed the activities that Filipinos used as smokescreen when they held meetings. Chief Inspector Moreno (1896) reported that in Café Alhambra on Calle San Fernando, in Binondo, some men pretended to be staging *tertulias* (social gatherings normally held with some performances), but were actually holding meetings. Agent Agustin Mustieles (1898) on his part reported that suspected enemies of the colonial government used the chanting of the Pasyon and Holy Week pilgrimages as pretexts to deflect the attention of the authorities. He also noted that rebels made small holes on the walls of the Pandacan church where they could mount their weapons once hostilities broke out (ibid.). Gregorio F. Ignacio (1897), another Cuerpo agent, disclosed that in a house located at 23 Calle de Madrid in Binondo members of the Katipunan held regular late-afternoon to late-evening meetings, dancing, and feasting disguised as acts of religious worship. These camouflages are known in the literature. For instance, Corpuz (2006) talks about such strategies, but the Cuerpo documents provide interesting details like the exact address of the venues of the secret meetings.

While the Katipuneros used creativity to conceal their subversive activities and organize and prepare for an armed confrontation with the colonial government, the Cuerpo operatives managed to penetrate some of the Katipunan's strategies of concealment. By the second half of 1896, rumors concerning the existence of a subversive organization were widespread, and authorities were gathering concrete and credible pieces of evidence to justify using military action against them.

Although this historical information is not new, it needs to be mentioned here because it shows that months before the “discovery” of the Katipunan, Cuerpo agents already had dossiers on Bonifacio and other Katipuneros. The name “Andrés Bonifacio” appeared in an anonymous agent's report of 23 June 1896, two months before the “discovery” of the Katipunan. The report correctly identified a closely monitored individual named Bonifacio as an employee of Fressell and Company, who was reputedly a Mason and who circulated numerous subversive materials in the suburbs of Tondo, Trozo,

and Sta. Cruz (“conviene también vigilar, a un individuo llamado Andrés Bonifacio, personero de la casa de los Pres. Fressell y Co. que se sabe por buen conducto que es masón y que hace gran propaganda filibustera por los arrabales de Tondo, Trozo y Sta. Cruz”) (NAP 1896c).

Aside from the dossiers on Bonifacio, Rizal, Aguinaldo, and other prominent personalities who participated in the anti-Spanish movement, the Cuerpo collection also has documents containing extensive lists of names of and personal facts about ordinary Katipuneros that are unknown in the extant literature.⁶ Some documents contain lists of persons jailed for political crimes (NAP 1897a); prisoners pardoned by the governor-general (NAP 1897b); suspected Masons and subversives (NAP n.d., “Relación Sospechosas”); members of La Liga Filipina, the organization founded by Rizal and a few others on 3 July 1892 (NAP n.d., “Relación Liga”); and members of the Katipunan in Mandaluyong (NAP n.d., “Relación Mandaloyon”). No such lists are found in the works of Agoncillo (1956), Onofre Corpuz (1999), Reynaldo Ileto (1998), Glenn May (1997), and Richardson (2013).

Clearly, the Cuerpo de Vigilancia agents were hardworking operatives, and as a result they were able to unmask the Katipuneros no matter how hard the latter tried to conceal their identities and activities. Moreover, as the Katipunan expanded, especially after March 1896, it held frequent meetings and initiations at night, sometimes becoming lax with security and making the organization vulnerable to being found out by the Spanish authorities (Corpuz 2006, 264–66). The Cuerpo's surveillance of these activities produced lists that were quite detailed to the extent that the intelligence community was able to ascertain the personal circumstances of people being monitored.

For instance, the Sangguniang Bayang Macabuhay list had eight entries that indicated the individual member's real name, age, address, civil status, occupation, position in office, date of initiation into the Katipunan, and nom de guerre (NAP n.d., “Relación Mandaloyon”). The roster reveals that the majority of Katipuneros in Mandaluyong joined the movement at a relatively young age. Out of the 252 members listed, all males, nine were only 18 years old and close to 90 percent of the total membership belonged to the age bracket of 20 to 35 years old. The oldest member, Abraham Ignacio, was 49 years old when he joined the Katipunan in 1896. He is described as “married, lives in Bacood, works as overseer (*encargado*), and his alias (*nombre simbólica*) is *palakol* [axe]” (ibid.).

The list likewise indicated that many Katipuneros were engaged in blue-collar jobs. The Cuerpo agents categorized them in terms of their livelihood as laundry man (*maglalaba*), tailor (*mananahi*), collector (*cobrador*), supplier of fodder (*zacatero*), carriage driver (*cochero*), milk seller (*manggagatas*), administrator (*katiwala*), plowman (*mag-aararo*), vendor (*magtitinda*), boatman (*bankero*), barber (*manggugupit*), fireman (*bombero*), day laborer (*jornalero*), and shoemaker (*magsasapato*). Two occupations that could be considered white-collar jobs were writer (*manunulat*) and teacher (*maestro*), but their number totaled only five. These data from the Cuerpo collection nuance the claim of Renato Constantino (1975, 159–61) that the Filipino insurgents came from all walks of life and that the 1896 revolution was a “revolt of the masses.”

There is also a document in the Cuerpo collection that validates the common belief that members of La Liga Filipina were more affluent than Katipuneros (NAP n.d., “Relación Liga”; Agoncillo 1990, 146). It specifies only the person’s name, profession, and address, but is sufficient to prove that the majority of Liga members belonged to the upper middle class of native society. The first page of the document has thirty-nine names. On it are found the names of Apolinario Mabini, Doroteo Cortes, and five other lawyers as well as two law students (*estudiantes de derecho*). The names of José Rizal and four other physicians (*medicos*) plus one pharmacist (*farmacéutico*) are also there. The name of Paciano Mercado (Rizal’s only brother) was also on the first page and was classified as landowner in Bay, Laguna (*hacendero en Bai*). The rest of the list consists of a clerk (*escribiente*), cigarette maker (*tabaquero*), teacher (*maestro*), sculptor (*escultor*), and merchant (*comerciante*), and a few other professions that are undecipherable. The range of occupations suggests that Liga members were not all wealthy or equally affluent; still, unlike the Katipunan list, no one on the Liga list was categorized as worker (*labrador*) or day laborer (*jornalero*).

The “Discovery” of the Katipunan

Sylvia Mendez Ventura (2001, 64–67) presents three versions of the “discovery” of the Katipunan. All of them revolve around Teodoro Patiño, Fr. Mariano Gil, and a few other personalities associated with Bonifacio. The first version attributes the discovery to the rivalry between Patiño and Apolonio de la Cruz, both of whom were employees of *Diario de Manila*. Desirous of getting a salary increase at the expense of the other, they floated rumors

that put both of them in a bad light. Upon learning that Patiño got the salary increase, an envious De la Cruz wrote a derogatory letter to Joaquin Lafon, the general manager of the printing house, accusing Patiño of stealing some office supplies. Lafon acted on the accusation by inspecting the lockers of Patiño and other workers, which led him to discover subversive materials, weapons, and other paraphernalia in the lockers of the Katipuneros. This incident impelled the Spanish authorities to conduct more searches that led to the out-and-out discovery of the Katipunan.

In the second version of the discovery, Ventura (*ibid.*, 65) recounts the story that Agoncillo (1956/2001, 142–45, 339–43) told in *The Revolt of the Masses*: Patiño disclosed the existence of the Katipunan to his sister Honoria, who in turn reported it to Sor Teresa, the mother portress (*madre portera*) of the orphanage where she (Honoria) was staying. The nun relayed the information to Fr. Mariano Gil, who right away mobilized troops that raided the printing house of *Diario de Manila*.

In the third version of Ventura’s (*ibid.*, 67) account, Patiño and Father Gil were again the main characters, but this time it was Patiño’s wife who played a pivotal role. Patiño’s wife regarded her husband’s involvement in the anti-Spanish movement as a mortal sin. Bothered by her conscience, she confessed what she knew about the Katipunan to Father Gil. The priest instructed Patiño’s wife to bring her husband to him so he could give her husband absolution. Patiño went to see Father Gil, and in the course of their conversation he divulged what he knew about the Katipunan. This disclosure resulted in the raid of the printing house of *Diario de Manila*.

A particular document in the Cuerpo collection can help contemporary students of history decide which narrative is anchored on credible primary sources. It is entitled “Apuntes sobre la organización y desarrollo de la insurrección filipina 1896” (Notes on the organization and development of the Philippine insurrection of 1896), written by Olegario Diaz (1896) of the Guardia Civil Veterana (fig. 1). A portion of the report provides a three-page account of the “discovery” (*descubrimiento*) of the Katipunan. It belies the first and third versions in Ventura’s account because it does not mention Apolonio de la Cruz and Patiño’s wife. Father Gil, Teodoro Patiño, and Honoria are the only prominent personalities who figure in the report (*ibid.*, 30).⁷

Diaz (*ibid.*) wrote that Patiño disclosed to his sister what he knew about the Katipunan because he was fearful of what might happen to her in case

Algunos de la Conjuración y su descubrimiento.

1. Fuesen Patiño, nombre que todo español de la península conagradamente porquien con su arrepentimiento, inspirado por la Divina Providencia, ante a esta noble España, amargura sus suertes.

Patiño, trabajador de la imprenta del Monje de Alagon, la pertenencia al Katipunan de fondo, así como la mayoría de los cojitos y muchachos de dicho establecimiento.

Presupuesto y temeroso del momento que tomaba la revolución y de los proyectos criminales que perseguía se decidió a denunciarlos a su hermana, educando en el Colegio de la Caridad, que dirigían ilustradas y virtuosas hermanas de la Caridad está traslado la denuncia a su Superiora quien llamó a su presencia a Patiño, y cerciorada la gravedad que remitió al denunciador al Reverendo Fray Mariano Gil, Cura Párroco del arrabal de Tondo; a este repitió cuanto ya tenía manifestado, en la parte que él podía conocer como simple iniciado; afirmó que en la imprenta del "Diario," se imprimían recibos y que se [illegible text] cuchillos de manera clandestina para el Katipunan y por ultimo expuesto enseñar el sitio donde las piedras litográficas estaban ocultas.

Fig. 1. Report of the Guardia Civil Veterana on the discovery of the Katipunan
Source: Diaz 1896
Courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines

war erupted.⁸ He hoped that giving her advanced information would enable her to take the necessary precaution. Honoria relayed the information to the Mother Superior of the convent, who in turn facilitated the meeting of Patiño and Father Gil. Diaz (ibid.) also reported the raid of the printing house and the items the Spaniards discovered in the workers' lockers. An important part of the report stated:

Arrepentido y temeroso del incremento que tomaba la asociación y de los proyectos criminales que perseguía, se decidió a denunciarlos a su Hermana, educando en el Colegio de Looban que dirigen ilustradas y virtuosas hermanas de la Caridad está traslado la denuncia a su Superiora quien llamó a su presencia a Patiño, y cerciorada la gravedad que remitió al denunciador al Reverendo Fray Mariano Gil, Cura Párroco del arrabal de Tondo; a este repitió cuanto ya tenía manifestado, en la parte que él podía conocer como simple iniciado; afirmó que en la imprenta del "Diario," se imprimían recibos y que se [illegible text] cuchillos de manera clandestina para el Katipunan y por ultimo expuesto enseñar el sitio donde las piedras litográficas estaban ocultas.

Terrified by the consequences of the criminal objectives of the Katipunan, he told everything he knew about the organization to his sister, then a student of Colegio de Looban, a school run by the Sisters of Charity. Patiño's sister then told what she had learned from her brother to the Mother Superior. The Mother Superior then led the distraught Patiño to Fr. Mariano Gil, the parish priest of Tondo. Patiño reiterated to the priest everything he knew such as the printing of the Katipunan materials in the printing press. Later on, Patiño showed Father Gil where they kept the lithographic materials used in printing Katipunan materials.

Decades before Gregorio Zaide (1939, 61–102) published his study on the controversy surrounding the “discovery” of the Katipunan, Wenceslao E. Retana (1897, 91–98) and Francis St. Clair (1902, 53–55) already articulated this event in their respective books on the 1896 revolution. As mentioned earlier, some documents in the Cuerpo collection reinforce and strengthen existing knowledge about the Katipunan, and the account of Olegario Diaz

is one of them. To a certain extent, Diaz's account is more valuable than that of Retana and St. Clair because it comes from the agents of the Guardia Civil Veterana, the military unit that accompanied Father Gil in raiding the printing house of *Diario de Manila*. They had first-hand knowledge regarding the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the Katipunan and the items found in the lockers of the workers. Unfortunately, Diaz did not mention the ultimate motive of Patiño in revealing to his sister the secrets of the Katipunan. Hence, the imputed motive of revenge against his employer that Agoncillo (1956/2001, 339–40 n. 19) presented in his book remains unsettled and is speculative at best.⁹

Certain documents in the Cuerpo collection offer some hitherto unpublished facts about Patiño after the discovery of the Katipunan. As an act of gratitude for disclosing what he knew about the Katipunan and for professing loyalty to Spain, he was hired as a member of the intelligence community. But his stint was brief because after serving in the Cuerpo for a few months, he was judged unfit for the job. Chief Inspector Moreno (1897) depicted him as a person who lacked intelligence, zeal, and prudence. Moreno (ibid.) also reported that he was a heavy drinker, incorrigible, and a bad example to his colleagues. For these reasons, Moreno recommended that he be fired from the service.¹⁰ This new information about Patiño confirms that he was indeed an unreliable person and could not be trusted to handle sensitive information.

On the Katipunan's Acronym

Agoncillo (1956), Zaide (1968), Schumacher (1981), and Iletto (1998) studied Bonifacio and the Katipunan from different perspectives and used various primary sources. Each one came up with his own unique narrative, but they all agreed that the meaning of the acronym KKK ANB is “Kataastaasan, Kagalangalang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan” (Highest and Most Honorable Assembly of the Children of the People), although they employed different English translations of this name.¹¹ This meaning of KKK ANB was adopted by textbook writers and regarded as a fact of history. Recent studies on the Katipunan, however, challenged this well-established meaning of KKK. For instance, Corpuz (1989, 218) asserted that the meaning of the first “K” is not *Kataastaasan* (the Highest) but *Kamahalmahalan* (Most Esteemed). For his part, Richardson (2013, xxi) wrote, “we cannot be sure that the first ‘K’ always stood for ‘Kataastaasan’ or the second ‘K’ for ‘Kagalangalang.’”

These developments suggest that there is a need to reexamine and clarify the meaning of the acronym KKK ANB.

Two documents in the Cuerpo collection show that the acronym KKK stands for, as only one of many meanings, *Kataastaasan Kagalangalang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan*. However, the first of these two documents states that KKK *also* stands for “Katipunan, Kataastaasan, Kalayaan ng mga tunay na anak ng bayan” (Katipunan, Kataastaasan, Kalayaan—A Los Verdaderos hijos del pueblo) (Assembly, Highest, Freedom—To the true sons of the people) (NAP 1897c). The original document in Tagalog is a written order (*cautusan*) requiring the Katipuneros of Caloocan to get their arms ready and have ample food in preparation for the forthcoming uprising. The directive is dated 6 August 1896, that is, two weeks before the “discovery” of the Katipunan.

The second document, allegedly coming from Father Gil, gives the meaning of KKK as “Kataastaasan Katipunan Katagalugan” (Highest Assembly of the Tagalog) (fig. 2). The Cuerpo collection contains both a Tagalog as well as a Spanish translation. The document is entitled *Ministerio del Consejo Supremo Popular* (Ministry of the Supreme People's Council) and bears the seal of the Katipunan (NAP n.d., “Ministerio”). This important document deserves serious consideration because, if it is among the items Father Gil and other raiders confiscated from the lockers of the Katipuneros in the printing house, then the Tagalog version is likely to be an original Katipunan document.

Bonifacio's Letter and Photograph

One controversial document found in the Cuerpo collection that has not been presented in previous studies on Bonifacio and the Katipunan is a handwritten letter that appears to have been written by Andrés Bonifacio because it bears his full name and signature (fig. 3). It also mentions his residential address in Tondo: *mi casa hoy—Elcano No. 32* (my house at present—Elcano No. 32) (NAP n.d., “Bonifacio's supposed letter”). The text of the letter reads:

Sr. Luengo, Imbécil Gobernador. Estoi en Manila desda el día diez y tus veteranos, ladrones, y los estúpidos policías no dan con me persona. Ven tu solo a buscar me, también armado y lucharemos; versa como valgo menos que tu, imbécil. Mi casa hoy – Elcano No. 32.
[Signed] Andrés Bonifacio

Sr. Luengo, Idiotic Governor: I am in Manila since the 10th but your veterans, thieves, and the stupid police cannot find me. Why don't you come, alone, well-armed to get me and we will fight. Then you can see for yourself who is the better man, idiot! Today I live in 32 Elcano.
[Signed] Andrés Bonifacio

The letter is addressed to Civil Gov. Manuel Luengo who the author calls *imbécil* (idiotic). It also labels the Guardia Civil Veterana as stupid (*estúpido*) and thieves (*ladrones*). The undated letter seems to be an original composition because it is not a transcription by a Cuerpo agent. It is highly provocative, disrespectful, and aims to undermine the competence of the military arm of the colonial government at that time.

If this letter is compared with documents allegedly written by Bonifacio that Jim Richardson found in the Archivo General Militar de Madrid, one can easily detect that Bonifacio's handwriting and signature are very different in the Cuerpo letter and in those other documents.¹² Moreover, the letter in the Cuerpo collection is in Spanish, not Tagalog, the frequently used language of many Katipuneros at that time. Interestingly, fugitives would normally conceal their place of residence, but in this letter the alleged author gives his address to the arresting officers. These observations, however, should not be used as ground to dismiss the letter as dubious and without historical value. First, Bonifacio could possibly have altered his penmanship deliberately to confuse the Spaniards who were looking for him. Second, he wrote in Spanish because the letter was intended primarily for Luengo and not the Tagalog-speaking Katipuneros. Third, disclosing one's address, if it was genuine, would not have been a big deal for Bonifacio because he was already peripatetic at that time, as in all probability the letter was written after the *Diario de Manila* fiasco. In short, the letter could have been a propaganda material that Bonifacio and his men used in order to divert the attention of the colonial army to focus their attention on Tondo so that the Katipuneros could freely maneuver in the present-day Quezon City area where Bonifacio and his men had camped out. Finally, the letter showed that the author was no coward and ready to personally confront his armed enemies, a kind of personality reflective of Bonifacio, who was known to be confrontational.

Interestingly, the Cuerpo collection includes a, by now, widely publicized portrait of the supremo (fig. 4). This photograph includes a label beneath the

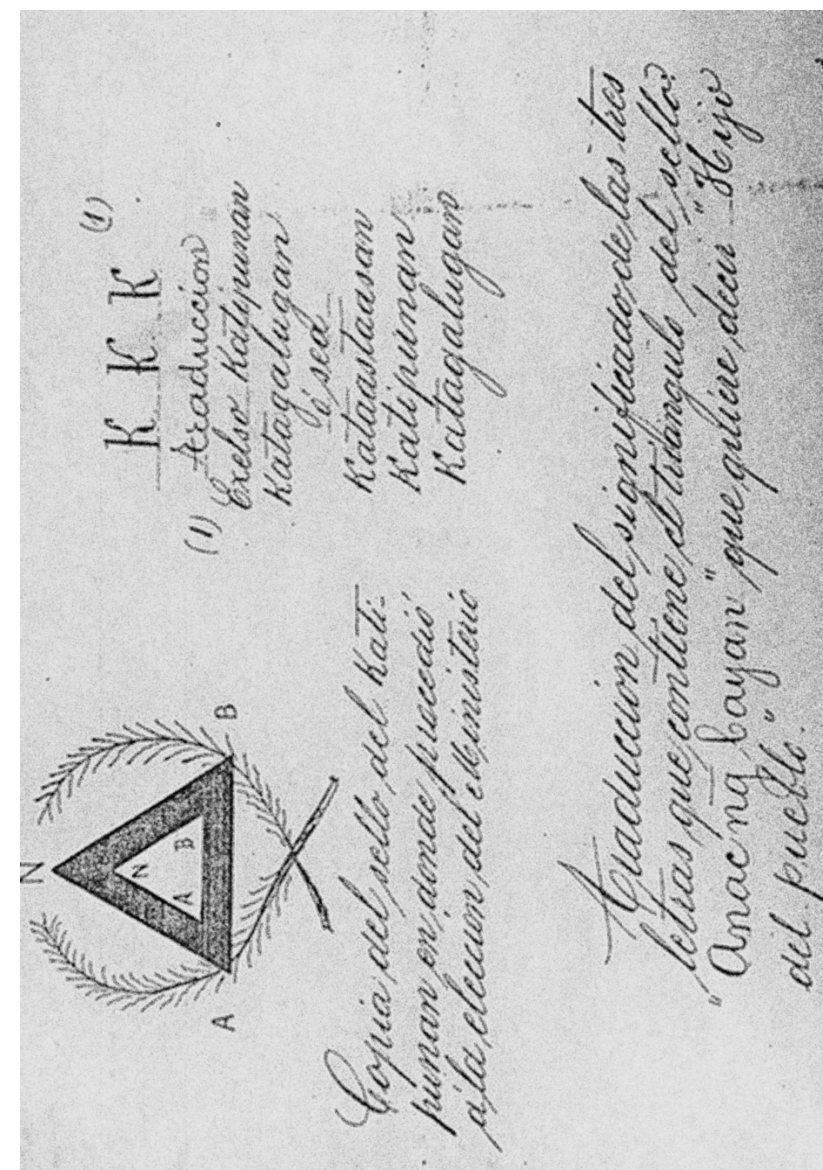


Fig. 2. Copy of a document that shows the meaning of KKK as Kataastaasan Katipunan Katagalugan
Source: NAP n.d., "Ministerio"
Courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines

Sr. LUENGO, INBECIL GOBER-
NADOR
 ESTOI EN MANILA
 DESDE EL DIA DIEZ Y TUS
 VETERANOS, LADRONES, Y
 LOS ESTUPIDOS POLIGIAS
 NO DAN CON MI PERSONA.
 VEN TU SOLO A BUS-
 CARME, BIEN ARMADO Y
 LUCHAREMOS; VERAS CO-
 MO VALGO MENOS QUE
 TU, INBECIL.
 MICASA HOY-ELCANO
 N.º 32 - A
 ANDRÉS BONIFACIO.
 DAE II MUT AN. ESPRE-

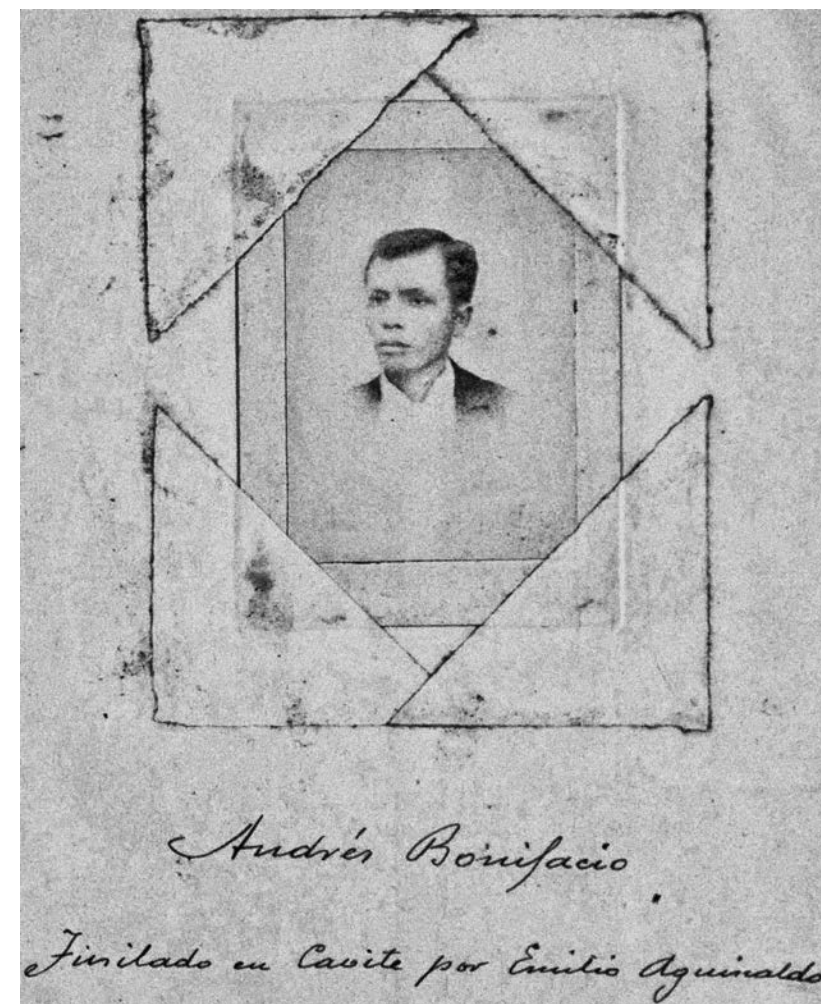


Fig. 3. Copy of Bonifacio's supposed letter to Manuel Luengo
 Source: NAP n.d., "Bonifacio's supposed letter"
 Courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines

Fig. 4. Enlarged photograph of Andrés Bonifacio
 Source: NAP n.d., "Magnífico Retrato"
 Courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines

name “Andrés Bonifacio” that categorically declares “Executed in Cavite by Emilio Aguinaldo” (Fusilado en Cavite por Emilio Aguinaldo). Nowhere in the photograph is there mention of its date, source, and origin. Moreover, it is silent as regard the author of the caption. Hence, it is hard to establish the context, perspective, and motives of the one who wrote it. In any case, the document is important because it is another contemporaneous account that singles out Aguinaldo as the person behind the execution of Bonifacio.¹³

Anting-Anting and the Revolution

The Cuerpo agents did not limit their intelligence work to the activities of well-known Katipuneros. It was also part of their job to take note of the cultural and religious practices of ordinary Filipinos. Moreover, they observed and recorded supernatural beliefs, specifically, the efficacy of anting-anting, amulets (*agimat*), prayers (*oraciones*), and other spiritual artifacts that gave the believer magical powers.¹⁴ Although a few scholars consider these folk beliefs nuisance topics in the grand narrative of Philippine history because of their obscurantist and unscientific elements, others have taken folk practices seriously and incorporated them in reconstructing the social history of the revolution.¹⁵

The Cuerpo collection has at least eleven exclusive reports on anting-anting and a few other documents that allude to it. The reports confirm that some Katipuneros were using anting-anting at that time. Moreover, the Cuerpo collection provides samples of these potent objects.

One document contains pictures of medals with images of the cross on it as well as prayers in adulterated Latin and Spanish (NAP n.d., “Varios Anting-Anting”). Colonial officials had reasons to take the anting-anting seriously because they saw images of it embedded on the documents they had seized from the Katipuneros. For instance, in the croquis of the Supreme Council and Popular Councils of the Katipunan, the supremo was symbolized by a star with a triangle and an eye inside the all-seeing eye (fig. 5). The latter is a familiar representation of *Dios Padre* (God the Father) and a common amulet sold in the vicinity of Quiapo Church up to now. The said document supposedly came from Fr. Mariano Gil and again possibly one of the documents confiscated from the printing house of *Diario de Manila* (NAP n.d., “Definición”). This image is also found in Iletto’s (1979, 74) *Pasyon and Revolution*, and he got it from Jose del Castillo’s (1897, 108) *El Katipunan*. However, the images found in Iletto’s book and the Cuerpo

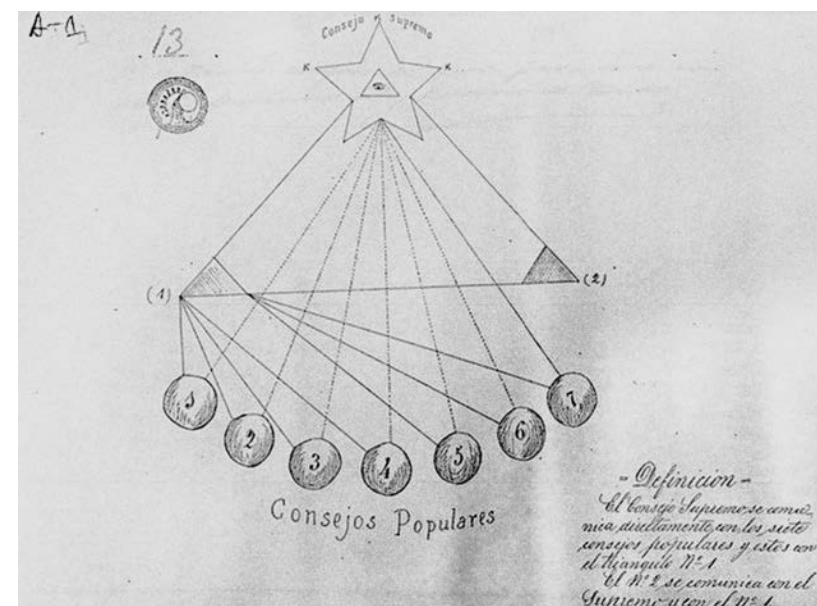


Fig. 5. Croquis of the Supreme Council and Popular Councils of the Katipunan that contains the symbol of Dios Padre (God the Father)

Source: NAP n.d., “Definición”

Courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines

document are not exactly the same because in Del Castillo’s drawing the “definición” text is in the upper right-hand corner while in that of the Cuerpo it is located in the lower right-hand corner. Moreover, the same image has been presented for different purposes. Iletto used it as evidence for the triangular organization of the Katipunan, whereas in this article it is part of the discussion of anting-anting. Iletto’s focus is on the triangle, while my focus is on the all-seeing eye.

Cuerpo agents reported that in the provinces of Laguna and Tayabas (present-day Quezon) one could find many anting-anting devotees. One report narrated that on Mount Makiling there appeared a “holy man” who was warmly received by the local folks (Moreno 1898a). He lived in a cave with three gates that people considered sacred. Near the cave was a big tree the branches of which were made into anting-anting. Cuerpo agents monitored his activities because he predicted that in the coming Holy Week the insurgents would attack Manila and the capital would be razed to the

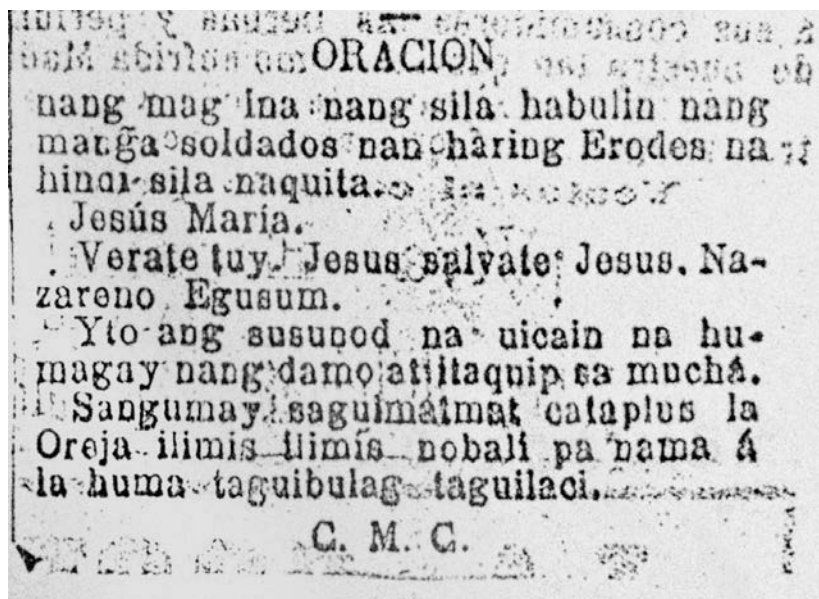


Fig. 6. Copy of anting-anting prayer
Source: NAP n.d., "Amuleto"
Courtesy of the National Archives of the Philippines

ground (ibid.). Another document written by an agent based on Mount San Cristobal, Quezon, reported that a "mystic" called Dios Padre was agitating the people to join his cause. He preached and offered prayers, masses, and sacraments to local residents who belonged to the sect called "Banal na Katipunan" (Moreno 1898b).

Also in the Cuerpo files is a document entitled "Amuleto Contraproducente" that contains several oraciones (NAP n.d., "Amuleto"; cf. fig. 6). The prayers come from a printed anting-anting booklet found in the possession of Cabecilla Abad of Laguna. Unfortunately, the report of the Cuerpo agent who obtained the material does not provide information on Abad's sources for these prayers. The oraciones are in Latin, Spanish, and archaic Tagalog. Under scrutiny, the Latin and Spanish texts are accurate as far as the etymology of the words are concerned, but they do not follow the standard grammar and conjugation rules of both languages. The linguistic formulations are similar to Chabacano or the Spanish creole language spoken in Cavite and Zamboanga. Thus, one can theorize in some measure that the anting-anting represents the Filipino way of appropriating or indigenizing some of the Christian teachings the Spaniards introduced. Although this

observation is already known in the literature, the actual document, "Amuleto Contraproducente," has not been used or cited in any published work.¹⁶

Another interesting element of the oraciones is the presence of some words allegedly uttered by Jesus and other Biblical characters, but are not found in the gospels. One oracion claims to be the prayer that Jesus recited when he was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane. The introductory part of the prayer in Tagalog states: "Prayer that Jesus uttered when He was arrested in the garden [of Gethsemane] wherein the soldiers fell" (*Oracion nang ating panginoong Jesucristo na canian uinica ng sia ay dacin sa halamang [sic] nang matimbuan ang mga soldados*). The oracion goes: "JESUS *pecatum pecabit en Jerusalem acendat—dibulis—quia misiratum anima mea sum santon alcem la muerto eurpam tuan.*" Another prayer avers to be the "Prayer of Mary Magdalene to Jesus when she asked for forgiveness of her sins. This is to pacify persons who are angry" (*Oracion ni Sta. Maria Magdalena cay Jesucristo nang canian hingin ang capatawaran nang canian manga casalanan. Yto pang lumay sa sino mang nagagalit*). The oracion goes as follows: "*Sangere eccecriste tuis fillos dey vive et encilla. Maria Magdalena peccatorumpecabit ea Jerusalem.*"

The discussion of the amulets in the Cuerpo collection enriches the historiography of the revolution because it shows that the Katipuneros used them as part of their weaponry in fighting the Spaniards. Hopefully, other scholars will pursue this topic and identify other spiritual weapons the Katipuneros used in addition to those discussed here.

Everyday Life in 1898

Aside from anting-anting, the Cuerpo agents also reported the behavior of ordinary Filipinos and made keen observations, which historians could use to have a glimpse of the problems and challenges encountered by Manila residents during the revolutionary period. The information the agents reported might not have had direct military relevance, but they must have deemed it important for the Spanish authorities to know so they could respond to the situation on the ground. For us today these documents, which clearly show the revolution affecting not only Spaniards and revolutionaries but ordinary people as well, enrich the narrative of the revolution.

One aspect of everyday life the agents monitored was the volatility of the price and supply of basic commodities during the upheaval. One month before the Battle of Manila Bay, Antonio Cabangis (1898) reported that the rumor of the arrival of thirteen American warships caused panic buying in

Manila. Wealthy residents of the city increased their inventory of foodstuff, resulting in the unprecedented increase in the price of rice. Cabangis (ibid.) accused Chinese traders of hoarding stocks of rice and other basic commodities, further increasing the price. This problem continued and even worsened after George Dewey crushed the Spanish Armada in the Battle of Manila Bay. Agent Juan Mendida (1898a; cf. Mendida 1898b) affirmed that by July 1898 the supply of meat was already dwindling. Beef was scarce, and butchers were selling carabao, horse, and goat meat as alternatives. People were complaining because meat vendors were selling them at the same price as cow's meat. A week before the Americans attacked Intramuros, an acute meat shortage compelled the Guardia Civil Veterana to search the house of vendors suspected of hoarding meat products (Mendida 1898c). Pedro Robledo, a resident of Binondo, was found keeping one carabao at his residence, which he did not give up because it was, he said, the source of milk for his family (Mendida 1898d).

Spanish authorities also monitored the activities of some merchants who were taking advantage of the situation. Agents reported that Chinese traders were selling their goods to the Americans, who paid higher prices than local customers. Osorio, a Chinese trader, was arrested when one of his *cascos* (small vessel) was caught bringing supplies to the Americans. He allegedly sold sixty heads of cattle and two *cascos* of vegetables to the Americans (Muniain 1898b). Cuerpo agents reported that, aside from foodstuff, vehicles for rent were hard to come by during this period. Consequently, authorities allowed privately owned vehicles to operate as public transport service (Muniain 1898a).

Lastly, rumors of an impending war also affected Spanish households. Intelligence reports mentioned that servants, cooks, and coachmen abandoned their employers for safety and security reasons. As a result, the masters ended up doing domestic chores and driving their own carriages (Muniain 1898c).

Conclusion

Using documents from the archival collection of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia, this article has shown that the story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan are still works in progress and many details need to be incorporated into the narrative. Previous studies mentioned that Katipuneros met secretly in public places and used all forms of fronts to deflect the attention of the Spanish authorities. Using the Cuerpo reports, this article has been able to identify some of the

names of the establishments used by the Katipunan, their addresses, and the activities they used to camouflage their meetings.

Numerous Cuerpo documents discussed in this article confirm the claims of previous studies, corroborating, for example, the assertion that members of La Liga Filipina were more economically well-off compared with members of the Katipunan. Based on the Cuerpo collection, this study also favors Agoncillo's (1956/2001) version over other accounts, such as those found in Ventura (2001), as regard the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the Katipunan in the *Diario de Manila* episode. However, on the meaning of the acronym KKK ANB, the Cuerpo documents indicate multiple meanings of "KKK," and the issue remains unsettled.

Use of the Cuerpo collection has also broadened the story of the revolution as it provides snippets about the everyday life of ordinary Filipinos during that time. Credit should be given to the Cuerpo agents for including in their report the behavior, disposition, and reactions of the residents of Manila and nearby provinces after the revolution broke out. Reports of Cuerpo agents also enlighten the use of anting-anting that Katipuneros used, which in the literature has been ascribed primarily to overtly millenarian movements.

The Cuerpo collection therefore is a most valuable compendium of historical materials, many of which have not been utilized by historians. With the collection now open to the public, historians can utilize it to further enrich the historiography of the revolution and even correct misconceptions perpetuated by previous studies. It will be a great service to the cause of history if scholars will pick out other topics in the Cuerpo collection not tackled in this article. The task of digging deeper and looking for new materials that will further enrich the history of the Philippine revolution continues.

List of Abbreviations

CdV collection	Cuerpo de Vigilancia documentos, copias, impresos, y otros papeles del Katipunan y de la Insurrección Filipina
Doc.	Documento
Ms.	Manuscrito
NAP	National Archives of the Philippines, Manila
NCCA	National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Manila
NCCA-CHR	National Commission for Culture of the Arts Committee on Historical Research
NHCP	National Historical Commission of the Philippines, Manila

Notes

- 1 The significant publications during this decade include Alvarez 1992; Ricarte 1992; Valenzuela 1992; Aguinaldo 1998; Ronquillo 1996; Schumacher 1981; Ileteo 1998; Medina 1994; Corpuz 1999; Villaroel 1999; Borromeo-Buehler 1998.
- 2 Citations of all materials from this collection provide the author, if available, and year of the document. If the document is undated, its citation includes a short title. Where no author's name is given, the citation of the document simply includes the name of the archive where it is currently housed, i.e., the NAP. Full bibliographic details including the manuscript code, manuscript title if available, as well as document number are given in the list of references.
- 3 Far East Bank and Trust Company no longer exists today after it was bought by the Bank of the Philippine Islands in 1999.
- 4 For more details about this controversy, see *Isyu: Manila Daily News Magazine* 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d; *Philippine Daily Inquirer* 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1998.
- 5 Given the prolonged closure of the NAP's Spanish section, researchers have the option of accessing the digital copy of the Cuerpo de Vigilancia collection by visiting the resource center of the NHCP in Manila.
- 6 People wanting to verify if their long-departed relatives participated in the revolution may pore over the Cuerpo reports to find the answer. I am not suggesting that the Cuerpo has a complete list of those who took part in the revolution, but the Cuerpo list is the longest that I have seen so far.
- 7 Diaz (1896) did not mention Honoria by name, but alluded to her when he wrote "*su hermana*," referring to Patiño's sister.
- 8 The document provides no specific date, but this event must have happened before 16 August 1896, the date when Patiño met Fr. Mariano Gil (Zaide 1931, 42).
- 9 Agoncillo (1956/2001, 339–40 n. 19) did not accept the claim of Gregorio F. Zaide (1968, 106–8) that Patiño revealed the secrets of the Katipunan to his sister because he wanted her to leave the orphanage and go back to their hometown in the Visayas. His motive was to spare his sister from the possible danger that might happen in case war broke out. Agoncillo, for his part, asserted that vengeance for not getting what he wanted from his employer was Patiño's motive in revealing the secrets of the Katipunan.
- 10 Another relevant document is Patiño 1897.
- 11 Agoncillo's (1956/2001, 44) translation is "Highest and Most Respectable Association of the Sons of the People"; Zaide's (1968) is "Highest and Respectable Association of the Sons of the People"; Ileteo's (1979, 93) is "The Highest and Most Honorable Society of the Sons of the Country," while Schumacher's (1981, 48) is "Highest and Most Respectable Society of the Sons of the People."
- 12 See sample Katipunan documents in Richardson 2013, 257–59.
- 13 Among contemporaries, Artemio Ricarte (1992, 52) suspected that Aguinaldo had a hand in the death of Bonifacio. Cf. Cristobal 1997, 156, 158–59.
- 14 *Anting-anting* appeared in various forms and served different purposes. Some offered protection from physical harm while others could make a person invisible. There were also those that

enabled the bearer to manipulate and control the behavior of other people. Other powers attributed to anting-anting were the ability to heal illnesses and foretell future events. Belief in anting-anting still persists today because amazing stories and credible testimonies confirm their efficacy.

- 15 Academics who have tackled *anting-anting* as a thematic element in their studies include: Ileteo 1998; Covar 1998; Medina 1994; Salazar 1995; Abrera 1992.
- 16 Personally, I had never known of the *oraciones* given in the document before I came across it in the Cuerpo collection.

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Rene R. Escalante is professor, Department of History, De La Salle University (DLSU), 1501 Taft Avenue, Manila 1004. He served as chair of the DLSU's History Department from 2006 to 2017. He earned his MA degree from the Ateneo de Manila University and PhD from the University of the Philippines. In 2010 he was appointed commissioner of the NHCP and subsequently elected chairman in 2017. He is author of *The American Friar Lands Policy* (2002), *The Bearer of Pax Americana* (2007), and *History of Hacienda de Imus* (2013). <rene.escalante@dlsu.edu.ph>

