

The 1884 Uprising in Pangasinan: Unravelling its Unknown Ties with the Katipunan and the Revolution

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ABSTRACT

The short-lived 1884 uprising in Pangasinan is relatively obscure. No historian was able to link it with the Katipunan (KKK) and the revolution. Even Philippine history textbooks neither discuss nor mention this brief disturbance though it caused considerable alarm at that time. This essay looks into the connection of the Pangasinan uprising to the revolutionary organization and examines the parallelism of its causes, objectives, and aims with those of KKK. It provides a succinct account of the unrest and the investigation that followed its wake, which caught the attention of the propagandists since many intellectuals were arrested on suspicion of being part of the conspiracy.

INTRODUCTION

Preparing notes for his defense lawyer, Rizal enumerated several separatist movements that could have been avoided had the colonial government been more willing to institute reforms.¹ Among those Rizal mentioned was the 1884 Pangasinan revolt led by Adriano Novicio, *teniente mayor* of Santa Maria, Pangasinan. Though Felipe Buencamino asserted in his memoirs that this was a fake revolt, the *guardia civil* accounts provided a narrative of this rebellion.² At 10:00 p.m. on 10 May 1884, the guardia civil patrol found the residents—in particular, the friars of the town of San Quintin, Pangasinan—in a state of alarm. The Spaniards had sought refuge in the convent and prepared to defend their lives for fear of *un alzamiento en sentido filibustero* or a seditious uprising.³

This essay seeks to establish connections between this short-lived revolt with its cry *Viva la Independencia y Muera España* and the revolutionary movement that started eight years later. The connections can be viewed from several angles. One family links one revolt to the other.

ADRIANO NOVICIO AND THE PANGASINAN REVOLT

The *gobernadorcillo* of San Nicolas, Pangasinan, reported the assembly of a group of suspected *gente de mal vivir* in San Nicolas by midnight of 9 May 1884. Another group with firearms and bladed weapons entered Santa Maria by midnight of 10 May. They marched into Asingan by early morning of 11 May. They were pursued by the 5th division of the guardia civil in Asingan commanded by Lt. Ricardo Carnicero. The rebels made their way through Tayug, San Miguel, San Nicolas, and Santa Maria until San Felipe and the mountains of La Union. They encountered a patrol unit headed by Santiago Saballas who was

killed in the skirmish. By 12 May, the rebels had been dispersed by Carnicero's men. There were twenty-five prisoners and one dead.⁴ Carnicero continued reconnoitering the mountains and found Domingo Sarmiento, head of the *cuadrilleros* of Santa Maria. He was wounded. The hunt continued until 16 May when the rebels had reached a point in the mountains that could not be reached without a full expedition. The guardia civil concluded that the fugitives must have joined the group of *tulisanes* that had been at large in the highland areas at the borders of Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, and Benguet. This group was led by a famous criminal called Abdon.⁵ As of 16 May, Novicio had not yet been found and his family feared that he had died.⁶

The rebellion turned out to be a fiasco. Novicio's arrested accomplices, like Eugenio Monar and Luis Flordelis, said that Novicio had been establishing networks in Manila since October 1883 and that he had sought the support of various persons in Manila, Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, and Ilocos for the insurrection.⁷ The rebels were supposed to surprise the guardia civil posts, secure their arms, then augment their forces with all men capable of fighting, advancing toward Manila from San Isidro. Guillermo Clemente, Novicio's son-in-law, said that Adriano was waiting for two or three ships loaded with firearms from the United States.⁸

PANGASINAN IN THE 1880S

Pangasinan was hit by a cholera epidemic from October 1882 to August 1883. During this period 24,187 died of cholera out of a population of 313,753.⁹ The 1884 tax reforms implemented to replace various personal contributions with the *cedula personal* took a toll on the Pangasinenses. On 22 August 1885, Fray Casimiro Lafuente, the parish priest of Santa Barbara, Pangasinan, wrote the provincial governor to say that

the Pangasinenses were bitter about the social order because of the abuses of the tax collectors and the civil guards. Fray Lafuente wrote again on October 1885 about rumors that the people are planning to cut off the heads of all the Spaniards in December and that the people believed that proclaiming allegiance to Germany would result in reduced tribute to one real a year.¹⁰ A year after the Novicio revolt, there continued to be a vehemently anti-Spanish sentiment among some sectors in Pangasinan.

The town of Santa Maria, Pangasinan, where the revolt started, was a small town in eastern Pangasinan. Ilocanos migrated to eastern Pangasinan and contributed significantly to the increase of rice production from the beginning of the 1800s.¹¹ Migrations may have been a result of the Silang Rebellion in 1762–1763 and the revolt of Juan de la Cruz Palaris, with many rebels fleeing to the mountains and to the sparsely inhabited districts of the central lowland east of Manaoag but more likely due to escalating population and lack of available and tillable lands from where they came from. The modern populations of the towns of Asingan, Tayug, Umingan, Lupao, San Jose, and Puncan may have, in part, been built up from these refugee and land-hungry groups. The town of Santa Maria was founded in 1875. It depended on Tayug for its spiritual needs until 1889 when it became an independent parish by royal decree.¹² Santa Maria had a population of 3,566 and Tayug had 9,360. These figures were small compared with the bigger towns of San Carlos (24,752), Dagupan (24,471), and San Nicolas (13,729).¹³

THE SEDITIOUS LETTERS

Letters addressed to *principales* and signed by a certain Juan Bolivar were found by the *cuadrilleros* near the town hall at San Quintin on 11 May 1884. Some of the addressees of the letters, like Tomas Bernabe and Ludovico Vels, both former town chiefs

of San Quintin, were apprehended. One letter was addressed to Don German de Guzman of Rosales. This letter was dated 7 May 1884. Another letter addressed to Don Nicolas Flores of San Fernando bore the heading Lingayen, 20 April 1884.

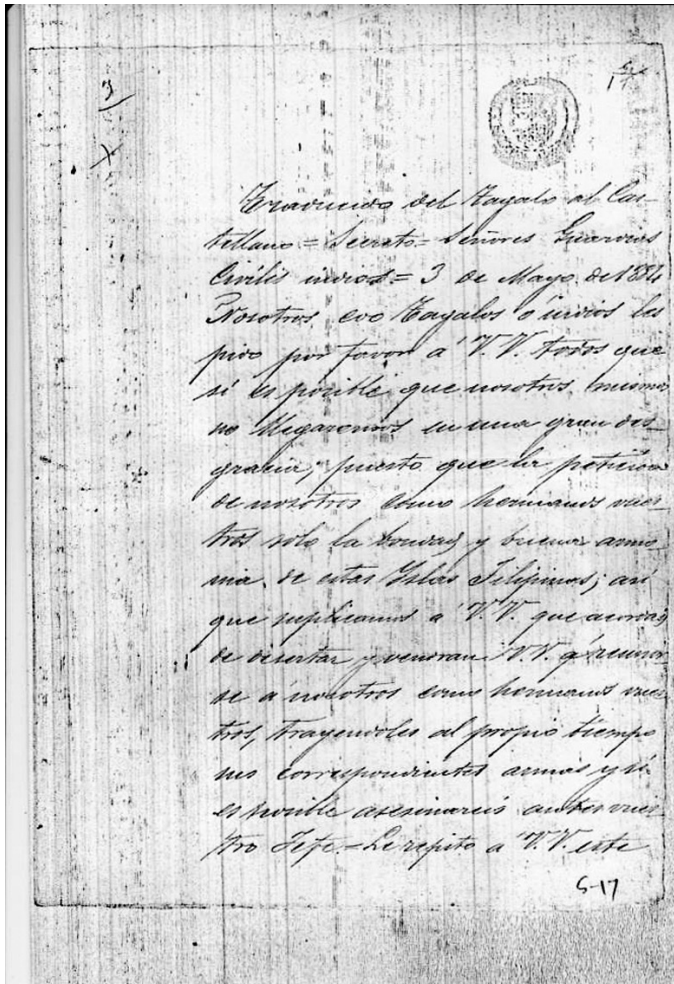


Figure 1. One of the seditious letters from the National Archives

In these letters, the writer, Juan Bolivar, addressed the recipient as “senor mio y amigo.” He said that on the 10th of May, there would be a concerted attack on the guardia civil posts by the rebel forces, which Bolivar referred to as “*nuestras fuerzas*.” In addition to seizing the guardia civil garrisons, the rebel forces were set to occupy the houses of Spanish, English, German, American, and Chinese residents of the town. The recipient was exhorted to recruit all single males aged eighteen to forty years, or anyone who wants to work for the common good (“*cualquier voluntario en procurar el bien publico*”). The recipient was exhorted to take command of his own forces, then assemble in San Isidro. Once all the leaders and recruits had been assembled, they would all march toward Manila.¹⁴

Bolivar said that some dissenters believed that this plan seemed to be misguided, taking into account what had happened before, but he affirmed that success “is possible” if they act with full force like Pelayo in Asturias, Tamerlane in Samarkand, Washington in the United States, and the Mahdi in Egypt. Bolivar appealed for complete secrecy and anyone who would disclose information to the authorities would be considered an enemy. He also instructed the addressee to give a sign of his agreement with the plan by hanging a piece of colored cloth on one of the windows of his house that could be viewed from the street.

Bolivar also tried recruiting the guardia civil. In one translation of a letter originally written in Tagalog, he appealed to the *indios guardias* for the benefit and harmony of the Philippine Islands. Bolivar addressed the guardias as “hermanos nuestros” and entreated them to desert, join the rebel forces, take along their arms, and, if possible, kill their chief.¹⁵

Several persons to whom these letters were addressed were promptly arrested. Juan Bolivar wanted to convey the idea that

the organizers of the movement had an extensive network. These letters were sent to prominent people in different municipalities. No wonder that the spate of arrests made in the course of the revolt caused a slight hysteria in Manila.

IMPACT OF THE NOVICIO REVOLT

Felipe Buencamino, who was in Sibul at that time, was arrested by the guardia civil commandant, then brought in a *carromata* to San Isidro, Nueva Ecija. He was locked up in the provincial jail of San Isidro. At 12:00 noon the following day, Gregorio Sancianco, author of *El Progreso de Filipinas* (1881), was also thrown in jail. Sancianco was in San Isidro on the morning of 11 May 1882 to visit the new provincial governor who had invited him for lunch. While the two were conversing, the governor received a telegram from the captain general ordering him to arrest Sancianco. The governor was stunned and at a loss as to what to do with Sancianco when the captain of the guardia civil barged in to arrest Sancianco. The next day, a certain Antonio Constantino was thrown into jail for the same reason.¹⁶ Joaquin Luna (father of Antonio and Juan) and his brother Jose, a physician, were also imprisoned.¹⁷ Jose Pigueras, the special judge assigned to the case, dismissed charges against most of the accused including Buencamino.

Buencamino wrote in his memoirs that this revolt had been simulated by the friars. He connected Joaquin Jovellar's plan to secularize the University of Santo Tomas (UST) to the event. Buencamino figured that the friars were opposed to the governor-general's plan and, as a consequence, simulated the insurrection availing themselves of Adriano Novicio. Buencamino's theory most probably stemmed from his experience at the hands of the Dominican friars, when, as a UST student in 1871, he and Sancianco had been arrested for supposedly fomenting disorder

in the university. To date, there is no proof of Buencamino's conspiracy theory.

Juan Villa, O.P., a Dominican chronicler, saw the whole event as something blown out of proportion by the guardia civil or at least one of their officers for his own personal gain. The friars of the province knew that the people had some grievances about their obligations and that there was some discontent among the priest coadjutors. Coadjutors were discontented because the friars had enforced a rule that prohibited them from living in the parish priest's houses (convent). It could be noted that at least one Filipino secular priest, Bartolome Espiritu of Vigan, was arrested in the course of the revolt. Father Villa, however, thought that all the restlessness could not have transcended the bounds of the province if not for the exaggerations of the guardia civil. The chronicler deplored the fact that since it was the view of the guardias that prevailed, the authorities mobilized troops—an action that was both unnecessary and ridiculous. The rebels were dispersed and some were arrested by the guardias themselves. The guardias tortured people to extract confessions, which they later withdrew before the special court. All these, Father Villa wrote, constituted a farce and a major discredit to the government. The Dominican chronicler, nonetheless, admitted that some people really knew that Adriano Novicio was indeed harboring seditious intentions (*miras filibusteras*) and to accomplish these aims, he manipulated people for his own ends. The silence of the Dominican friars about the event was interpreted by the authorities as a sign of their deteriorating prestige in the province. The Dominicans feared that a certain person named Ruiz Martinez had a project involving the creation of municipal secretariats that would undermine friar influence in the towns.¹⁸

The Pangasinan events provided material for writers abroad. Pedro Govantes, a Spanish reformist who later became the lawyer

for Rizal in the deportation case of Manuel Hidalgo, wrote in *El Liberal* denouncing the arrests made on false accusations. Graciano Lopez Jaena, writing in *El Porvenir*, expressed outrage at the senseless reaction of the government and inconsistent newspaper reports due to censorship.¹⁹ The official version of the revolt attributed the disturbance to a group of brigands. But Lopez-Jaena pointed out that it was impossible for prestigious people arrested in Manila to connive with bandits in Pangasinan. Why did the government want to project the disturbance as a conspiracy when it was clearly a mutiny against the harassment of local officials? His article entitled “Cuestiones Filipinas” pointed out that the government should heed the legitimate demands of the people who were abused by provincial authorities.²⁰ Both Govantes and Lopez-Jaena recalled that a similar alarm was caused by the arrest and deportation of innocent and prestigious people for their alleged complicity in the 1872 Cavite mutiny.

Governor-General Jovellar convened a *Junta de Autoridades* on 17 June 1884 to consider the state of affairs after the uprising in Pangasinan. In the meeting they discussed the reports from several places about imminent revolts, all of which proved groundless.²¹ Jovellar wired governors of various provinces asking them about the conditions in their areas.²²

LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLT

The leaders of the rebellion were Adriano Novicio, teniente mayor of Santa Maria; Luis Flordelis, the *directorcillo* of the same town; Eugenio Monar, gobernadorcillo of Binalonan; and Jacinto Amulacion, alleged gobernadorcillo of Urdaneta. In Asingan, the guardia civil were able to arrest Flordelis and twenty-four other rebels. The Novicio family was kept in custody but Adriano Novicio was not captured.²³ While some of the gobernadorcillos were proponents of the revolt, others opposed

it. Cipriano Diaz reported it to the priest though Novicio was counting on his support. The gobernadorcillo of Vigan, Primitivo Formoso, turned in a seditious letter to the governor of Ilocos Sur.²⁴ The gobernadorcillo of Asingan was especially zealous in making arrests and the governor-general even had to order the provincial governor and the guardia civil colonel to limit the arrests to those who were truly responsible and not gullible people who were merely deceived into joining the revolt.²⁵ The Novicio revolt was envisioned to be an uprising of towns to break away from the authority of the colonial state.

THE REVOLT AND THE REVOLUTION: UNTANGLING THE TIES THAT BIND

What were the linkages that tie the revolt with the revolution? As hinted at earlier, two brothers linked the other to the 1896 revolution whose circumstances are recounted in the following section.

THE DIAZ BROTHERS

In 1884, Cipriano Diaz de la Concepcion, former gobernadorcillo of Tayug, informed the parish priest of Tayug about Novicio's schemes.²⁶ In a report of 10 May 1884 by Capt. Ramon Saenz de Ynestrillas, however, Cipriano was supposedly "*el jefe que se iba a poner del movimiento en esta provincia*" or "the head who was going to lead the movement in this province." Cipriano denounced the movement under greatest secrecy (*bajo el mayor sigilio*) to the authorities. After he was apprehended, his brother, Valentin Diaz, directorcillo of the same town, made a secret report detailing the persons involved in the conspiracy.

Could this be the explanation behind Cipriano's and Valentin's actions of informing the colonial authorities about

Novicio's schemes? Since they wanted to extricate themselves from a difficult situation it was easier for them to divulge details because that would preserve their lives and properties than to stay within the movement that would mean imprisonment, torture, or even death.

VALENTIN DIAZ: INFORMER OR REVOLUTIONIST?

Valentin Diaz became one of the founders of the Katipunan in 1892. Eight years before, he informed Spanish authorities by providing them with a detailed dossier on the movement. On the night of 7 July 1892, Andres Bonifacio, Deodato Arellano, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, Jose Dizon, Diaz, and others met to found the Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan or KKK.²⁷ According to Ladislao Diwa, Plata was responsible for recruiting Diaz and Brigido Briccio Pantas in the system called *trianggulo*.²⁸ In October of the same year, the first Supreme Council was constituted with Arellano as president, Bonifacio interventor, Diwa fiscal, Plata secretary, and Diaz treasurer. After this, Diaz was out of the picture since he was not elected in several assemblies of the Supreme Council.

Why did Valentin Diaz join the Katipunan? Was he atoning for that sin he committed against his comrades in 1884? Originally from Paoay, Ilocos Norte, members of Diazes de la Concepcion clan migrated south and some settled in Tayug. Later, the de la Concepcion part of their surname was taken out. Valentin was a town clerk. He must have moved to Manila after the debacle. He became a court clerk in Binondo; one source said in Quiapo.²⁹ His Katipunan name was Walangulat [Intrepid] and became a Kasanguni [Counselor] of the Katipunan during the years 1892 to 1893.³⁰ At his house in Salinas Street (later named Elcano) in Tondo, he witnessed the initiation into the society of Restituto Javier, the first recruited member.³¹ But on 5 August 1896 he was arrested and imprisoned for falsification

of private instrument. To avail of an amnesty provided by the colonial government, Diaz gave a testimony on 23 September 1896, a month after the outbreak of the Katipunan revolution.³²

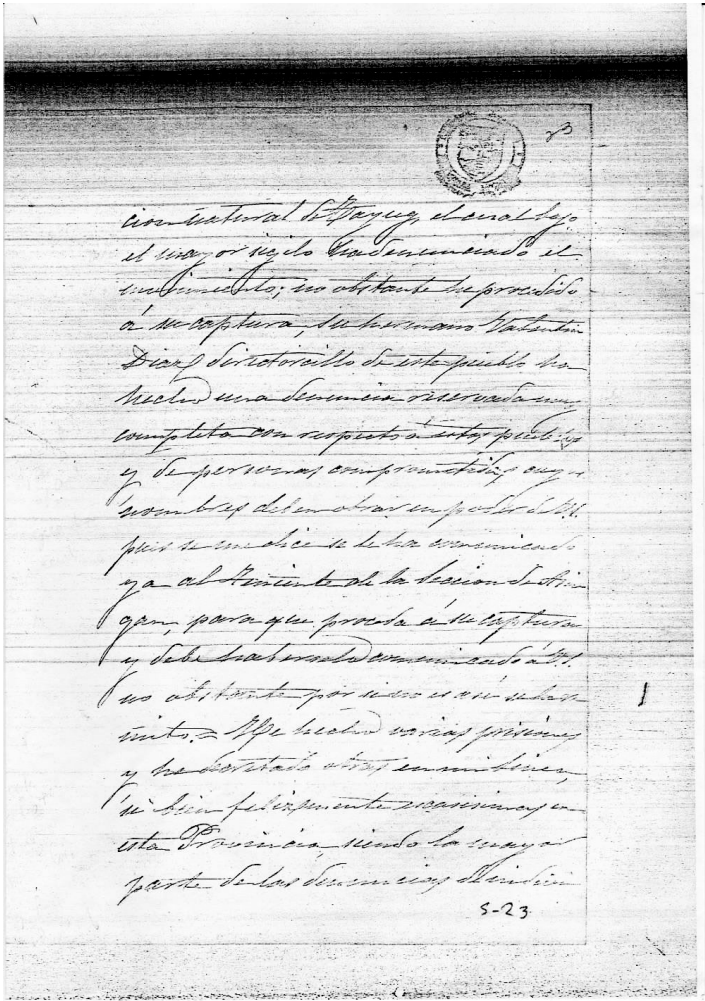


Figure 2. Document from the National Archives implicating Valentin Diaz in the 1884 revolt

Diaz told the authorities that he was a member of the Katipunan a year prior to his incarceration. He also said that one Teodoro Plata on uncertain day and month of 1894 recruited him to an association led by one Andres Bonifacio for the purpose of securing the independence of the country and for that it would require the monthly contribution of four reales. Having agreed, he was brought to the house of Bonifacio at Calle Dulumbayan and that he performed the necessary acts of membership including a ceremony called the blood compact. After his initiation, he said that he attended three or four meetings. He revealed the names of Emilio Jacinto, and some details on the arms that Bonifacio would be using. He also told about Rizal and the formation of what he called “La Liga Filipinas” in 1892 along with Bonifacio and others at Calle Dulumbayan. He also revealed that in the years 1894 to 1895 he was a member of the Masonic lodge Taliba whose head, Jose Dizon, was succeeded by Luis Villareal.

So was Valentin Diaz really one of the founders of the Katipunan when he was only initiated in 1894? But he must be dissimulating his role because he wanted to get out of prison. If he revealed that he was one of its founding members, colonial authorities would put him in a very tight situation that might have prevented the realization of his motive. After his release, he was used by Spanish authorities to identify Katipunan documents. A draft of “Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan” had his note saying “*letra de Emilio Jacinto segun manifesta Aguedo del Rosario*” or “handwriting by Emilio Jacinto based on what Aguedo del Rosario declares.”³³

Months after the revolutionaries in Cavite were pushed to evacuate to Batangas and later to Bulacan by Spanish forces, Diaz must have escaped or been freed to join his former comrades. During the promulgation of the constitution of Biac-na-Bato on 15 November 1897, he was among the signatories.³⁴ When

the truce of Biac-na-Bato was promulgated, he was among those who sailed to Hong Kong via Sual in Pangasinan on 27 December. When Aguinaldo returned to Manila in May 1898, Diaz joined the army under Gen. Francisco Makabulos and during the Philippine-American War, he was said to have fought under Generals Artemio Ricarte and Antonio Luna as army colonel. Years before his death in 1916, in 1906 he along with Pantaleon Torres, Alberto Bautista, Santiago Alvarez, and Pascual H. Poblete relaunched the Katipunan with himself being elected as the chairman upon American behest, which did not prosper. In fact it was widely assumed at that time that Alvarez and Poblete were secret service agents and that the “new society was to be used merely as a trap to catch unwary malcontents and to discover their secret, with a view to betraying them to the authorities.”³⁵ Since Diaz was made chairman, he must be privy to these ulterior agenda.



Figure 3. Valentin Diaz along with others in Biac-na-Bato in December 1897³⁶

ANTICIPATING THE REVOLUTION

The 1884 uprising prefigured the aspiration of the 1896-1898 revolution for independence, the opposition to the *cedula* as the embodiment of colonial decay and the leadership of the *gobernadorcillos*. Even the government response to the Novicio revolt was somehow a rehearsal for 1896. After receiving news from the governor of Pangasinan, Governor-General Jovellar immediately mobilized troops stationed in Zamboanga, Palawan, and Cavite to assemble in Bulacan then head for Tarlac toward Pangasinan.³⁷ All these proved unnecessary since the rebels were dispersed by the *guardia civil* contingent in Asingan. Its battle cry *Viva la Independencia y Muera España* resonated well with the Katipunan and the xenophobic nationalism of Andres Bonifacio. The reference to *guardia civiles* as “our brothers” in Bolivar’s letters again hinted at the seed that would grow and develop into Katipunan’s concept of brotherhood. Even its propaganda that an external help in the form of US ships with arms would come was fulfilled albeit differently when in 1896 Bonifacio sought the help of Japan while Emilio Aguinaldo allied with US Commodore George Dewey only to be fooled in mid-1898.

The greater significance of this revolt has got to do with the role of *gobernadorcillos* during the revolution. Apolinario Mabini, the first theoretician of the Philippine revolution, viewed the lack of power of the *gobernadorcillos* as an indicator of the deplorable political situation in the Philippines before the revolution.³⁸ Mabini pointed out that “[t]he town governor was a mere agent for the collection of taxes and the execution of the orders from the provincial authorities. He was empowered to have the streets and the roads repaired by using the personal services of his townsmen; but he had neither the pecuniary means for faculties to perform other works of common utility or necessity. The town governor was not the chief, but the servant of the parson and of the Constabulary chief of his

town.” Although they seemed to be powerless, they and other local officials became pivotal in the collapse of Spanish power in the Philippines. Aguinaldo, a capitan municipal, the name that replaced gobernadorcillo, was the clear testament to how local officials took advantage of the revolutionary situation.

Mabini saw the revolution as an opportunity to infuse substance into the local government: “The sudden and general movement destroyed all at once the order established by the Spanish administration in the provinces and the towns of the archipelago; then it was urgent to establish order, that anarchy might not bring forth fatal consequences. I proposed a plan, reorganizing the provinces and municipalities in so democratic a form as the circumstances allowed, and the plan was approved by Mr. Aguinaldo and carried into practice without loss of time.”³⁹ Mabini’s organization of government as embodied in the June decrees of 1898 could be seen as the forgotten triumph of the revolution.⁴⁰ The gobernadorcillos were the cornerstone of a strong national government.

CONCLUSION

While working on this, we discovered a theft at the National Archives of the Philippines. Original documents imputing Valentin Diaz and his elder brother Cipriano to the 1884 revolt in Pangasinan are missing in the bundle containing the original documents. Nonetheless, photocopies of these said documents are available due to the prescience of its former director, Dr. Domingo Abella. Was the theft carried out to suppress these particular data? We can only speculate. This little detail on the revolt and the Diazes demonstrates that human character is difficult to gauge and that events long-forgotten and seemingly trivial had some bearing on the events that follow. Such was the case of the 1884 Pangasinan revolt. For example, Adriano

Novicio was the uncle of Juan and Antonio Luna who was reluctant at first to join the revolution until he became a general during the Philippine-American War. Carnicero, a captain in 1892, was Dapitan's military governor when Rizal was exiled there. Buencamino later joined the Aguinaldo cabinet after the fall of Mabini. But who was Juan Bolivar?

The surname was of course taken from Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Latin America who freed the continent from the Spanish empire and ruled it from 1819 to 1830. In fact, Simon had a brother called Juan who was sent by the Junta Suprema de Caracas in 1811 to the United States to seek aid for the independence of Venezuela and died in the same year due to shipwreck. Bolivar, the man who used this pseudonym, must be a learned man who knew his history but failed short of a revolutionary because he lacked the necessary preparation for his revolution to succeed. Was he Adriano Novicio? There was no particular piece of evidence saying Bolivar was Novicio. Nonetheless, since Novicio was identified as the "*cabecilla*" or "ringleader," reported as such in the *Diario de Manila* of 16 May 1884 and circulated in translated form in Singapore's *The Strait Times* of 10 June 1884, we could assume, although still unsure, that Novicio could be Bolivar. But could Bolivar be "Don Juan," a recently arrived Spanish Filipino whom Novicio met the previous year while he was in Manila? Nonetheless, either Novicio or Bolivar was no Bonifacio who laid the groundwork for a revolution, which was eventually co-opted by Aguinaldo.

NOTES

- 1 Jose Rizal, "Data for My Defense," in *Political and Historical Writings*, vol. 3 (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2000), 341.
- 2 Colonel of the 2nd Division to Captain General, 12 May 1884, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, Book 20, SDS 10560, National Archives of the Philippines [hereafter as NAP].
- 3 Guardia Civil 2nd Division to Division Chief, 10 May 1884, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, Book 32, SDS 10558, NAP.
- 4 Colonel of 2nd Division to Captain General, 14 May 1884, *Indice de los Documentos Relativos al Movimiento Insurreccional en Pangasinan* [hereafter as *Indice*], NAP.
- 5 Lieutenant Colonel to 2nd Division to Captain General, 16 May 1884, *Indice*.
- 6 Colonel of 2nd Division to Captain General, 16 May 1884, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, Book 20, SDS 10560, NAP.
- 7 Terrero report in the appendix of Jose Villamor, *El General Antonio Luna* (Manila, 1932), 306.
- 8 Colonel of 2nd Division to Captain General, 18 May 1884, *Indice*.
- 9 Jose de Castro, *Memoria Medica de la Provincia de Pangasinan* (31 December 1883).
- 10 Eliodoro Robles, *The Philippines in the Nineteenth Century* (Quezon City: Malaya Books), 244.
- 11 Rosario Mendoza Cortes, *Pangasinan 1801–1900: Beginnings of Modernization* (Quezon City: New Day, 1990), 53.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 13 De Castro, *Memoria Medica*.
- 14 Copy of the letter from Juan Bolivar to Don German de Guzman, Rosales, 7 May 1884, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, Book 32, SDS 10558, NAP.
- 15 Translation of the letter signed by Juan Bolivar to the Señores Guardias Civiles Indios, 3 May 1885, in *ibid.*
- 16 Felipe Buencamino, "Sixty Years of Philippine History," *Historical Bulletin* 13 (1969): 321–22.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Juan Villa, O.P., *Cronica, 1881–1886*, Roll 45, University of Santo Tomas Archives.
- 19 John N. Schumacher, SJ, *The Propaganda Movement 1880–1895* (Manila, 1973), 41–42.

- 20 Lopez-Jaena, *Discurso y Artículos Varios* (Manila, 1951), 121–22.
- 21 Schumacher, *Propaganda Movement*, 41.
- 22 Confidential circular from Jovellar to Alcaldes Mayores, 21 June 1884, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, Book 20, SDS 10560, NAP.
- 23 Colonel of 4th Division to Captain General, 11 May 1884, *Indice*.
- 24 Governor of Ilocos Sur to Governor-General, 15 May 1884, *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, Book 20, SDS 10560, NAP.
- 25 Governor-General to Governor of Pangasinan, 17 May 1884, *Indice*.
- 26 Account of Emilio Terrero y Perinat, Governor-General of the Philippines to Minister of War and Overseas Minister, 19 May 1886 in Appendix 1 of Juan Villamor, *El General Antonio Luna*, 306.
- 27 Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996), 45.
- 28 Jose P. Santos, *Si Andres Bonifacio at ang Himagsikan* (Manila, 1935), 14.
- 29 J. Y. Mason Blunt, *An Army Officer's Philippine Studies* (Manila: University Press, 1912), 77–78.
- 30 Jim Richardson, *Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan 1892–1897* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013), 41, 419.
- 31 Hermenegildo Cruz, *Kartilyang Makabayan: Mga Tanóng at Sagot ukol kay Andres Bonifacio at sa Kataastaasan, Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Manila, 1922), np.
- 32 “Valentin Diaz,” *Sediciones y Rebeliones*, SDS 10559, NAP, s-267.
- 33 Richardson, *Light of Liberty*, 193–94. See also digitized Katipunan documents at the National Historical Commission of the Philippines (NHCP), particularly the following *Archivo General Militar de Madrid*, Caja 5677, Leg. 1.68, 78; Leg. 1.83, 99; Leg. 1.90; Leg. 1.94.
- 34 Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics (1872–1920)* (Manila: Oriental Commercial Company, n.d.), 422.
- 35 Blunt, *An Army Officer's*, 97–99. Thanks to Jim Richardson for pointing this out.
- 36 George M. Hizon, “A Pact Sealed with Blood 1: The Diazes of Paoay,” *Global Balita*, 29 November 2011, accessed 5 November 2014, <http://globalbalita.com/2012/11/30/a-pact-sealed-with-blood-1-the-diazes-of-paoay-2/>.
- 37 Governor-General to the following officers: Navy Commander, Governor of Paragua, Commanding General of Mindanao, 10 May 1884; to Military Governor of Cavite, 11 May 1884.
- 38 Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution*, 222.
- 39 Ibid., 235.

- ⁴⁰ Digna B. Apilado, "The Gobierno Revolucionario de Filipinas: The Forgotten Triumph of the Revolution of 1896," in *Centennial Papers on the Katipunan and the Revolution* (Manila Studies Association, 1999), 26.

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