

Alimokon: Mateo Noriel Luga, the Life History of a Revolutionary (1868?–1899)

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ABSTRACT

In the study of historical figures of the Philippine Revolution of 1896, much focus has always been given to the already famous and well-known (Emilio Aguinaldo, Antonio Luna, Artemio Ricarte, and Gregorio del Pilar, to name a few). Many of these revolutionaries either hail from Manila and its immediate environs, are members of the *ilustrado* class, or have rubbed elbows with the powers that be. As a result, they have continuously overshadowed the role played by other revolutionaries from the

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peripheries. One of them is Mateo Noriel Luga, a revolutionary who was born in Ilocos Norte but grew up in the town of Tumauni, Isabela. Although he gained prominence for his participation in the Philippine-American War in Cebu, much of his early life, especially his involvement in the previous 1896 Revolution, has remained shrouded in mystery. His story represents the cause of the Isabelanos and can validate the Katipunan Revolution as a truly national uprising. This paper follows the life history methodology, which endeavors to depict the life of Mateo Noriel Luga within the socio-historical context of his time, in an effort to create a dialogic interaction between the text and the context, grounding him with the facts of his era.

KEYWORDS

Life history, Philippine Revolution, oral history, Isabela, Cebu

INTRODUCTION: ENTER THE ALIMOKON¹

“In Mateo Luga, you saw a man to remember as long as you lived.”

— Unnamed American officer, Jungle Patrol²

The year was 1899. It was a very peculiar moment in Philippine history since for the second time in a span

of just two years, the country was again to be engaged in another war. This time around, it was against a significantly more powerful foe.

The Americans decided to keep the Philippines as a colony, marking their country's debut into the world stage. The Philippines, on the other hand, was just beginning to establish itself as a sovereign nation-state after 300 years of tyranny under the Spanish flag. These factors and conflicting interests doomed the country to an inevitable clash with the Americans. The former Katipuneros who fought during the previous Philippine-Spanish War must again raise their arms to preserve the freedom which they have fought so hard for.

Battles throughout the country may have started at different months, but soon the entire archipelago was engulfed in this new crisis. Luzon was the first to engage the Americans, while Visayas and Mindanao were soon involved in the struggle. It was there in Visayas, particularly in Cebu, that a certain Ibanag or Ilocano³ made a name for himself in the war against the Americans—Mateo Noriel Luga.

Mateo Noriel Luga is among the more prominent figures in the battle against the Americans in Cebu, serving as one of Arcadio Maxilom's⁴ most important chiefs in the struggle.⁵ His service to the war effort in the region started in April 1899 when he was sent to Cebu by Emilio Aguinaldo and Antonio Luna in the guise of a sailor on board the ship *Butuan*.⁶ Since then, he had been through numerous military campaigns on the island. One of the

more famous sorties which he took part in was the battle of Sudlon,⁷ which along with Pardo, were the epicenter of the war in Cebu during that time.⁸

His importance as a revolutionary chief in Cebu can be attributed to his fighting qualities, being the best among the chiefs in the region.⁹ This fact was evidenced by his continuous rise in the revolutionary army's ranks¹⁰—first serving as the second chief of the third group of the guerrilla resistance operating in his area that covered “the boundaries separating Mandaue and Consolacion, and that separating Pardo and Talisay, and the line between the towns of the east and west coast,”¹¹ then becoming the chief of the fourth *fraccion* (group or faction) assigned to oversee and defend the center island,¹² and later being promoted to the rank of general.¹³

His military skills have also helped him survive close encounters with the opposing Americans. Aside from surviving in the center islands¹⁴ a confrontation with Lt. Cromwell Stacey, an American soldier who has also seen his equal share of battles in Cuba and Latin America,¹⁵ he has also escaped American attempts to capture him. As he recalled the event, it was night time when an American force started bombarding Luga's forces with two cannons while slowly attempting to surround him and his men. Since his forces were on higher ground, they saw what the Americans were planning. Instead of panicking, Luga remained calm and ordered his men to break into smaller ranks and sneak behind the approaching Americans.

The darkness of the night along with their familiarity of the terrain enabled the Filipinos to outflank the Americans. Once Luga and his men slipped through the attempted American encirclement, it was their turn to scatter and surround the Americans. After gaining a safe distance from the enemies, they then started to open fire on them. The pursuers who were now on the receiving end from all sides started to panic and open fire in all directions, doing more damage to their own men than on the revolutionaries, while giving Mateo and his men enough time to retreat to safety.¹⁶

This ability to make the most out of his surroundings not only helped Luga survive but also enabled him to mount offensive maneuvers against his enemies—whether it be in the jungle or the city. An example was his frequent lightning raid attacks against American troops quartered within the Cebuano cities at night. He did this by slipping through the town while “carrying a coffin ostensibly for internment, but which actually contained weapons” which he and his men used in their attacks.¹⁷ Lyman J. Carlock, the judge of first instance of the Cebu-Bohol district described his experience with one of Luga’s night raids:

The insurgents under Del Rosario and Luga were firing on the town every few nights. I became somewhat accustomed to trying cases by day and listening by night to the rather menacing and sleep-disturbing song of Mauser bullets, flying over the roof of our house...¹⁸

After such attacks, he and his men, with the help of the sympathetic townspeople serving as their “spies,”¹⁹ would retreat to the safety of the mountains, leaving his foes puzzled, wondering where they had gone. It was through such tactics that he was even able to rescue his family in Cebu when they were captured by the colonizers, hoping to gain leverage against the “Terror of the Americans.” Hence, his skills at evasion and his cunning tactics earned him numerous sobriquets such as *Tagolilong* (a mysterious being who can make himself invisible at will), *Agta* (the black giant in Cebuano folklore who dwells in a tree), and his adopted *nom de guerre*, *Alimokon* (a species of wild dove which is very difficult to catch).²⁰

At first glance, such sterling achievements might make one assume that Luga has always been a brilliant individual even in his younger days. Yet, there is nothing recorded about the general’s life before Cebu. All current researches pertaining to Mateo Luga only focus on his participation in the Philippine-American War. However, according to the general himself, his contribution to the Philippine goal of independence started even during the war against the Spaniards.²¹

How was his early life? Where was Mateo Noriel Luga really from? When was he born? Who were his parents and siblings? And more importantly, what was his involvement in the 1896 Revolution? Hence, it is with these objectives that the present research endeavors to reconstruct, using the life history methodology,²² these unaccounted parts of the life of the general: his early life before the war (1860s–

1896), and his involvement in the 1896–1898 Philippine Revolution.

THE LIFE HISTORY METHODOLOGY

The writing of our national history has “almost been synonymous with the events in Manila and its immediate environs,” resulting in the obscurity of the roles played by the peripheral figures in our national narrative.²³ A natural consequence of this flaw is the exclusion of other historical figures who have contributed to the development of our country, simply because they are from the margins.

To rectify this oversight, the life history methodology as an approach aims to reconstruct the lives of these peripheral individuals. Because their lives are from the margins, they may not have been as well-documented compared to other historical figures coming from the center. Nonetheless, this methodology allows the use of unconventional sources of history such as oral histories.²⁴ This does not automatically mean that document studies are neglected since they are still needed in order to verify and corroborate the collected oral accounts.²⁵ In other words, both sources are still used in the recreation of an individual’s life.²⁶

Another peculiarity of the life history methodology is that it gives equal focus on the “social, cultural, and historical contexts”²⁷ which the individual has lived in, as well as the response of the actor to these contexts. This dynamic creates a dialogic interaction between the text (individual) and his context²⁸ that leads to a better

understanding of how and why the actor responded as such. In essence, the use of this methodology results in a well-balanced depiction and recreation of historical narratives relevant and representative of all sectors.²⁹

LIFE BEFORE THE WAR: THE TEXT AND THE CONTEXT

In contrast to some claims that he is of Ibanag descent and lineage, Mateo Noriel Luga is actually an Ilocano, born in Paoay, Ilocos Norte.³⁰ His date of birth, however, is unknown but based on the estimate of his age at the time of his death (1938) which was in his early 60s,³¹ it can be surmised that he was probably born around 1868 to 1873. Unfortunately, other relevant information about his childhood life and family is uncertain. What is known though is that Mateo had three siblings namely Vicente, Domingo, and Julia.³² Despite being born in Ilocos Norte, he and his family decided to leave the region allegedly because of the scarcity of food there during that time.³³

Various reasons can be cited for the scarcity of food in the region from the mid to the late 19th century. One reason was the terrible flood that hit Ilocos in the 1860s, causing great losses to the farmers of the region.³⁴ Another possible reason was the continuous growth of the populace creating substantial population density.³⁵ As a result, the landless or the poor Ilocanos decided to migrate to neighboring regions like Pangasinan, Cagayan, or Isabela.³⁶

Luga's family and other Ilocanos chose to relocate to other regions not only for convenience's sake but

also because the available lands in these areas (except Pangasinan) were bigger than those in Ilocos Norte.³⁷ Another important pull factor for the Ilocanos was the fact that there were less inhabitants from the 1870s to the late 1880s in the other regions (again, with the exception of Pangasinan). Therefore, more fallow lands were available to be cultivated by a few.³⁸

The Ilocano immigrants in Isabela had not “mingled very greatly with the Cagayan, but have persevered its separate tribal feeling and dialect in great part,”³⁹ possibly resulting in some misunderstanding between these two ethnic groups. This could explain why the oral history from the region indicated that Mateo Luga seemed to be always involved in brawls in Tumauni during his early days there.⁴⁰ Little did he know that these episodes of fighting would serve him well in many of his encounters during the Philippine-Spanish and the Philippine-American wars.

It was not only fights that preoccupied Mateo Luga. In fact, it was also in Isabela that he first fell in love. Before eventually marrying Ruperta Valdez while on his way to Cebu in 1899,⁴¹ he actually had two previous romantic relationships. The first one was with a certain Vicenta Alba, who was said to be of Muslim descent. She was known as the “woman with one breast” and according to the oral stories in Tumauni, she would always accompany Mateo in whatever battle he fought.⁴² Mateo Luga made sure that his paramour was present because she was said to possess an *oracion* which allegedly empowered him to win battles.⁴³ An *oracion* is an incantation chanted to protect an individual from different threats such as bullets and blades.

It can also imbue an individual with different abilities such as invisibility or the power to tame any animal. Witnesses claimed that it was not only Vicenta Alba that gave Luga his skills but it was also the *oracion* that Luga inherited from his ancestors that endowed him the ability to fight on equal footing against anyone, even the Americans in Cebu.⁴⁴

Unfortunately, his romance with Alba did not produce an offspring because she was barren.⁴⁵ This could have driven Luga to seek another amorous liaison, albeit this time around, it was short-lived. No other information is known about this second woman in the general's life aside from the fact that they had a child named Bartolome Luga.⁴⁶ This son later continued Mateo's bloodline in the region through his children: Zoilo Luga, Brigida Luga, Consolita Luga,⁴⁷ Amadeo Luga, Jose Luga, Lucas Luga, and Mateo Luga Jr.⁴⁸ Ironically, it was also this only child of his who thwarted his political ambition in Isabela.

Oral accounts affirmed that Mateo Noriel Luga ran for office before the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution. He vied allegedly for the position of town mayor⁴⁹ but lost the election to his opponent, a certain Tumolva.⁵⁰ His defeat was said to be caused by his own son. Several reasons were put forward as to how and why Bartolome contributed to the end of his father's political ambition. One of these was the claim that he was bribed to badmouth his own father. Regardless of how he caused his father's defeat, a more important issue was his motive. Bartolome was apparently born out of wedlock from Mateo's previous relationship and that he never had the chance to meet his mother. This

could, therefore, be the probable reason why Bartolome conspired with the opposite camp, in whatever manner, just to ruin his father's aspirations.⁵¹

Corroborating the oral sources with the documents available, Tumauni was already a *pueblo* starting 12 May 1753.⁵² Thus, a political election in Tumauni around 1891–1895 could have happened. If the oral history about Mateo Luga's attempt to run for the position of town mayor is true, then his enemy who won, Tumolva, should appear on the list of *gobernadorcillos*, which is roughly equivalent to today's municipal mayor for the period, 1891–1895. However, from the list of officials of the town appointed for the biennial years, 1891–1893, a certain Juan Tumolva was indeed listed as a town official but not as *gobernadorcillo*. Rather, he held the position of 2nd *juez de policia* (chief of police).⁵³ Therefore, Mateo Luga did not run for *gobernadorcillo* but was possibly for *juez de policia* in 1891.

This finding consequently questions the assumed birthdate of Mateo Luga. If he was able to run for office at 1891, then he must be at least 25 years old to be an eligible candidate. This was when the minimum requirement for somebody to run for the position of *gobernadorcillo*.⁵⁴ On this basis, if we are to estimate his age in 1891, he would be 23 at most, which was still two years below the acceptable age as far as the age qualification for *gobernadorcillo* was concerned.⁵⁵ Moreover, he was said to have already fathered a child who allegedly badmouthed him, adversely affecting his candidacy. Assuming that Bartolome was at least 16 years old in order for his criticisms against his father to be

taken seriously, then how could Mateo Luga sire Bartolome at the age of 23? Therefore, Mateo must have been born at an earlier date than 1868, possibly in 1860.⁵⁶

At first glance, it may seem that Luga's early life simply revolved around politics, romance, and fighting. However, behind these daily activities, he, like other Filipinos of that time, also experienced the injustices and cruelty of Spanish colonial policies. The region of eastern Cordillera was no stranger to such oppressions. Just like in his native town of Ilocos Norte, Isabela also experienced the harsh implementation of tribute collections and forced labor (*polo y servicios*). The degree to which the former policy was enacted earned for the Spaniards the stereotypical sobriquet "robbers."⁵⁷

The latter policy's implementation was, if not equally, more mercilessly executed for the benefit and whim of the colonizers. Examples of such instances included how the natives were used to bring down "extraordinarily huge" molave tree trunks manually from the forests to the town of Claveria in order to build the town church.⁵⁸ They were also forced to render personal services (*servicio personales*) to Spanish missionaries and government officials⁵⁹ which ranged from carrying the luggage of the missionaries, cleaning churches and convents, cooking for missionaries and Spanish officials, ferrying them across the river, and other possible whimsical desires that these colonizers might order them to do without any adequate compensation. These tasks were so arduous, prompting these natives to flee to the mountains rather than live under these missionaries and officials like slaves. Some of these escapees were even

from Tumauni, Isabela which incidentally was Mateo Luga's town.⁶⁰

The implementation of the tobacco monopoly in 13 December 1781 further added to the hardships of the local people. When the region was banned from producing its signature cash crop, many people lost their source of livelihood.⁶¹ Furthermore, typhoons and floods followed by plagues of rats and locusts destroyed other staples of food the people had, resulting in starvation and death.⁶² Yet, even during these unfortunate events, the local officials still collected tributes from the people, who were imprisoned and flogged if they failed to pay.⁶³

Precisely because of the severe implementation of harsh policies along with the onslaught of calamities and disasters, the Cagayan-Isabela region frequently rose in a series of revolts against the colonial oppressors even before the 1896 uprising. Such rebellions happened in the following years: 1589, 1598, 1603, 1605, 1608–1610, 1615, 1621, 1661, 1718, 1763,⁶⁴ and 1785.⁶⁵

Of these revolts, the one which stood out was that from Cagayan to Ilagan, Isabela in 1763. The revolt of 1763 was the result of the defeat of the Spaniards in the battle of Manila. Diego Silang sent Baltasar Magalona to Cagayan and Isabela to help instigate a revolution there just like what they did in the other regions of the Philippines to take advantage of the temporary defeat of the colonizers. Despite the positive response of the natives from Aparri to Ilagan, Isabela, the revolt was still quelled.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the fall of Manila and the positive response of the eastern

Cordillera to the call for revolt showed that if there was indeed an opportunity, the Isabelanos and the other people of the region would gladly help in the liberation of the country.

THE REVOLUTION IN ISABELA

The tumultuous region of eastern Cordillera which had already experienced numerous revolts brought by the harsh colonial policies saw another chance at liberation and freedom when the 1896 Revolution occurred. Just like in the previous 1763 revolt, the natives receptively heeded the call to arms and participated in the national effort starting with their commandeering of the Spanish steamboat *Compania Filipinas* by force which was later sent to the revolutionaries in Cavite for their purposes.⁶⁷

The steamboat was put to good use when the revolutionary army eventually utilized it to go to the eastern parts of the Cordillera to help in the liberation of the region. On August 25, 1898, Colonel Daniel Tirona upon orders by Aguinaldo, traveled to Aparri to establish the revolutionary government in northern Luzon. The means of which he was able to reach the region was through the very same boat the natives had previously captured and had renamed *Filipinas*.⁶⁸ The arrival of Col. Tirona signaled the end of the Spaniards' reign in eastern Cordillera. One by one, the provinces surrendered to the advancing revolutionary army starting with Aparri (upon Tirona's arrival), Tuguegarao in August 30, Isabela in September 12, and Nueva Vizcaya in September 15—all of which were achieved without any fight.⁶⁹ A reason for

these bloodless victories of the revolution was the reversal of the loyalty of the native troops—which comprised the bulk of the Spanish army in the region—who abandoned their post in favor of the revolution leaving the Spanish authorities defenseless.⁷⁰

MATEO LUGA AND THE 1896 REVOLUTION

The commandeering of the *Compania Filipinas* might have, on the surface, seemed to be the only significant contribution of Isabela to the revolution; but even before 1898, there was already an active involvement on the part of the Isabelanos in the revolutionary cause—by directly taking part in the battles raging sporadically in Manila. In the case of Tumauni, it was mostly the youth of the town who joined the battles in Manila, with many of them never able to return while those who did were not, even minimally, compensated for their efforts.⁷¹ Mateo Noriel Luga belonged to the former although during this time, he was no longer one of these youthful Isabelanos since he was around 30–31 years of age. Aside from him and the other Isabelanos, his brother Vicente was also said to have joined the Katipunan movement in Manila.⁷²

His own accounts made mention of places where he had fought, although he did not indicate or estimate any particular dates when these skirmishes happened.⁷³ Yet, through the use of the historical context of 1896–1897, it is possible to determine the dates for some of these campaigns starting with Montalban (August–September 1896),⁷⁴ and San Pedro de Makati (early September 1896).⁷⁵ Regardless of the exact dates of these sorties, he

was arrested by the Spaniards in late September-October 1896 under suspicion of his affiliation and, to a possible extent, his involvement in the Katipunan. During his imprisonment in Fort Santiago, he said that Jose Rizal was also imprisoned there, yet he never had any account of the execution of the national hero. Nonetheless, he confirmed the execution of a fellow Katipunero named Orobia which happened in October 1896.⁷⁶ These data give us a clue, however minimal, that he was imprisoned around September 1896, and was released, at the very least, before Rizal's execution on December 30, 1896.

It was just a stroke of luck that his soldiers were already sent to Mindanao, leaving no sufficient evidence to adequately prove his participation in Bonifacio's movement. If it were not for their reassignment, then Mateo might have suffered the same fate as that of Orobia or that of Rizal's.⁷⁷ After being released from Fort Santiago, Mateo continued his participation in the revolution, joining in the numerous engagements in Morong (January 1897),⁷⁸ and Muntinlupa (before 13 February 1897).⁷⁹ Another battle which he was part of (undated) was that in Palipanan.⁸⁰

AGAINST THE AMERICANS IN LUZON

After the defeat of the Spaniards, the Philippines was pitted against another colonizer who was significantly more powerful than the former opponent—the Americans. Open hostilities formally started on 4 February 1899 when Pvt. William W. Grayson of the First Nebraska Volunteers while on sentry duty fired at a Filipino soldier who allegedly crossed the delineated border of the Americans in Santa

Mesa. The Filipino revolutionaries immediately returned fire. Grayson's first shot marked the start of the Philippine-American war.⁸¹

Like the other revolutionaries who fought in the previous war, Mateo Luga chose to protect the freedom that they had just attained. It was in this spirit that he fought his last battle in Luzon. Under the leadership of General Antonio Luna, Filipino revolutionaries numbering 4,000 amassed near Caloocan at the Manila and Dagupan railroad. Mateo Luga was one of the 4,000 soldiers who on 11 February 1899,⁸² clashed with the American Army led by Lieutenant-General Arthur MacArthur Jr.⁸³

Needless to say, the continuous battles which he lived through, from the 1896 Revolution to the 1899 war against the Americans in Luzon, made him a battle-hardened veteran of the army. This could precisely be the reason why Aguinaldo and Luna chose to send him to help in the resistance against the Americans in Cebu. On April 1899, Mateo Luga, along with two bodyguards, Manolo Luga and his aide-de-camp Raymundo Luga, left for the Visayan island to continue the battle for Filipino freedom.⁸⁴

THE 1896 REVOLUTION AS A NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Through the life history of Mateo Noriel Luga and the context in which he has lived in, the Philippine Revolution of 1896 can be seen not only as a localized movement in Manila and its immediate environs but also as a national movement with extensions to the periphery. The popular

resentment against the Spaniards in Isabela was nurtured by the hardships that the people experienced with the harsh implementation of Spanish colonial policies for almost 300 years. Hence, if there ever was an opportunity, the natives had always seized it in order to overthrow their oppressors. As proven by the earlier 1763 revolt, a revolution in Isabela did not always start internally. Therefore, when the 1896 Revolution in Manila broke out, the Isabelanos were more than willing to join this struggle for freedom, proving that the revolution was not only a Tagalog, but a nationalist agenda.

The writing of Mateo Noriel Luga's life history serves as the evidence of this Isabelano's participation in the revolutionary cause yet there are still numerous unnamed Isabelano youths who participated in this battle for freedom. These men, along with Luga, left the comforts of their home only to risk their life and limb for the freedom which they may not experience in their lifetime. These men did what they could for our country thus, it is only appropriate to pay homage to these nameless heroes of history. Hopefully, this work has salvaged at least one life from being completely forgotten and that in the process, the Filipino people may be reminded that there once was an Isabelano who fought for their freedom.

Friends, I have only one ambition. We the veterans are already old, but before we die, there is only one wish I am asking from God. Even though we have no money to leave behind because we are poor, we do wish that before we go to our final resting ground, we

could see that you who are left behind could enjoy
the fruits of the freedom we have been hoping for.

— Mateo Noriel Luga⁸⁵

APPENDIX A

**EXHIBIT NO. 5
LIST OF GROUP CHIEFS AND
AREAS OF OPERATIONS**

First and Second Chiefs		Areas of Operations
First Group:	Nemeslo Maxilom Ramon Aleho	From the extreme town of the north to the boundary between Catmon and Carmen on the east coast and the boundary between Tuburan and Asturias on the west coast
Second Group:	Enrique Lorega Leoncio Alfon	From the boundary between Catmon and Carmen and the boundary between Consolacion and

		Mandaue on the east coast and the line that separates the towns of the west coast from those of the east
Third Group:	Lorenjo Eje Mateo Luga	From the boundaries that separate Mandaue and Consolacion as well as Pardo and Talisay and the line between the towns of the east and west coasts
Fourth Group:	Potenciano Aliño Martin Cebueños	From the line separating Minglanilla and El Pardo and the road to Barili
Fifth Group:	Hilario Aliño Sulpicio Aliño	From the road abovementioned and the extreme towns in the south on both sides including all to the south of Barili and Sibonga

Sixth Group: Emilio Verdeflor	From the boundaries of Asturias and Tuburan on the north and of Aloguinsan and Barili on the south to the center of the Island
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First Column (composed of the first and second groups – (Pantaleon)
Pedro E. del Rosario
Second Column (composed of the fourth and fifth groups) – Alejo
Miñoza

Source: John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), V: Exhibit 1405, 97.

APPENDIX B

TRANSLATION

Gentlemen:

According to letters received from Washington, Mr. Root, Secretary of War of the United States and General Corbin, as his Secretary, are coming to the Islands, the Minister sent by McKinley.

Are likewise coming, of their own free will, a number of Democrats with the object of seeing with their own

eyes, what is taking place in the Philippines in order to speak knowingly of the condition of the country when it is discussed in Congress.

The American authorities in the country are hastening to pacify it, in order that when Minister Root arrives, he shall find it pacified and thus be able to communicate this good news, which is the basis for the approval of the Spooner bill, which authorizes McKinley to determine for himself and by himself, the government to be given in the Philippines, in which case Congress will have nothing to do with the subject; but if Root shall find it not pacified said law will not be approved, remaining in charge of Congress, which is very much inclined to give Philippines independence.

From what is said, in my humble opinion, it is advisable to continue the war, in order that when Secretary Root arrives as well as the abovementioned Democrats, they shall find it disturbed and firing on all sides, because this fact will prevent the approval of the Spooner law, and will enable the Democrats to say in Congress—that the Philippines are not yet pacified, having seen it with their own eyes, and therefore does not belong to the United States, McKinley being thus left without power to settle the question which will remain solely in hands of Congress, which, seeing the report made by the Democrats returning from the Philippines, will conclude by giving these Islands their independence.

I beg the generals who receive this to be kind enough to transcribe it to others.

Your servant etc.
(signed) Liberato Cui

May 5, 1901

P.S. If McKinley has the determination of the government to be given to the Philippines, under the Spooner law, in no way will he give it independence.

To the Respected Generals:

Señors Malvar, Cailles, Vito Belarmino, Lucban, Mojica, Maxilom, Climaco, Eje, Antonio Guevara, Sison, Mateo Luga y Noriel, in the South and San Miguel (Zambales) Torres, Tecson, Morales, Lacuna, Leyba and others in the North.

Source: National Library of the Philippines, *Philippine Insurgent Records*, roll 43, no. 432-433.

APPENDIX C

CIVIL SERVICE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

27

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND POLICE—Continued.

Bureau of Constabulary—Continued.

Name.	Position.	Place of birth.	Date of original appointment to the Philippine civil service.	Present compensation.
José de los Reyes.	First Lieutenant and inspector.	Bulacán	Apr. 1, 1902	P2,960
Juan Sulse	do	Samar	Feb. 24, 1902	2,960
Clarence H. Bowers	do	Ohio	Nov. 15, 1902	2,900
Guy O. Fort	do	Michigan	Feb. 25, 1904	2,900
Jacob S. Mohler	do	Pennsylvania	Oct. 9, 1901	2,900
William S. Tabberah	do	New York	Dec. 24, 1902	2,800
Washington Grayson	do	Oklahoma	Aug. 8, 1908	2,700
Raymond O. F. Mann	do	Germany	May 2, 1908	2,700
Howard F. Alexander	do	Virginia	May 1, 1900	2,600
William C. Boyer	do	Iowa	Dec. 10, 1901	2,600
Frank W. Cannaday	do	Virginia	Sept. 20, 1908	2,600
Mariano Castillo	do	Batangas	May 5, 1902	2,600
James Clark	do	Scotland	Aug. 15, 1902	2,600
Eugene W. Crockett	do	Tennessee	Mar. 2, 1904	2,600
Robert A. Duckworth-Ford.	do	Ceylon	Oct. 20, 1908	2,600
Sam C. Edmondson	do	Georgia	Apr. 27, 1904	2,600
Leonard Furlong	do	Pennsylvania	May 28, 1902	2,600
Guy H. Greene	do	Michigan	June 18, 1908	2,600
Charles E. Heart	do	New York	Jan. 25, 1908	2,600
Percy E. Hemmett	do	do	Feb. 27, 1904	2,600
Jean A. Jeancon	do	Kentucky	Jan. 19, 1908	2,600
John W. Lattimore	do	do	Sept. 16, 1901	2,600
Mateo Luga	do	Ilocos Norte	Jan. 1, 1902	2,600
John S. Manning	do	New York	May 28, 1902	2,600
James M. McCloud	do	California	Dec. 14, 1901	2,600
Walter S. North	do	New York	Mar. 5, 1908	2,600
George W. Read	do	Nebraska	May 2, 1904	2,600
Le Roy T. Rohrer	do	Maryland	Nov. 25, 1908	2,600
Charles Schreiner	do	Indiana	Dec. 24, 1902	2,600
Earnest Schroeder	do	Germany	Apr. 25, 1908	2,600
Clarence E. Schwebel	do	New Jersey	Feb. 21, 1901	2,600
Jeremiah Sullivan	do	Massachusetts	Mar. 12, 1904	2,600
James F. Treadaway	do	Texas	July 8, 1902	2,600
Floie A. Walker	do	Michigan	Apr. 9, 1908	2,600
Jesse D. Ward	do	Ohio	Mar. 28, 1908	2,600
James L. Wood	do	Michigan	Aug. 9, 1904	2,600
Harold B. Elarth	do	Nebraska	May 14, 1904	2,400
William A. Burrell	Second Lieutenant and inspector.	California	Dec. 6, 1904	3,400
John G. J. Knust	do	Germany	Sept. 24, 1904	3,400
Clayton H. Barnard	do	Indiana	Mar. 16, 1906	3,000
William C. Kruegel	do	Minnesota	Mar. 5, 1906	3,000
Herman F. Wogan	do	Kansas	Dec. 24, 1901	3,000
James C. Blandford	do	Maryland	Feb. 9, 1906	2,800
Benjamin L. Carroll	do	New York	Oct. 5, 1905	2,800
John P. Doak	do	Tennessee	May 12, 1905	2,800
Paul Newman	do	Turkey	Oct. 2, 1902	2,800
Francis J. Montgomery	do	Mississippi	Feb. 4, 1906	2,700
Juan Dominguez	do	Manila	July 18, 1900	2,700
José Velasquez	do	Nueva Ecija	Aug. 12, 1901	2,700
Alfred I. Harrington	do	Ohio	June 14, 1906	2,700
Charles F. Heuser	do	Germany	Aug. 1, 1905	2,600
Frank W. Sapp	do	Ohio	Apr. 6, 1906	2,600
Guy W. Burr	do	Illinois	Dec. 21, 1905	2,500
Thomas Ferguson	do	Pennsylvania	Apr. 6, 1906	2,500
Emilio S. Garcia	do	Pampanga	Dec. 24, 1904	2,500
Harry J. Hawkins	do	Missouri	July 15, 1901	2,500
Leon Puno	do	Pampanga	Sept. 25, 1903	2,500
Harvey Adams	do	Kansas	Apr. 21, 1906	2,400
Lucas Bablers	do	Batangas	Feb. 16, 1903	2,400
Lewis A. Bailey	do	Mississippi	June 5, 1905	2,400
Honorato Ballista	do	Ilocos Sur	Oct. 3, 1901	2,400
Lewis H. Britton	do	California	Jan. 7, 1906	2,400
Rufus A. Byers	do	Georgia	Mar. 3, 1906	2,400
Michael J. Byrne	do	New York	Aug. 23, 1903	2,400
Harry Davis	do	do	Aug. 31, 1905	2,400
Edgar L. Dunsworth	do	California	Oct. 9, 1900	2,400
Jeff D. Gallman	do	Mississippi	Nov. 23, 1905	2,400
Alexander M. Grady	do	do	June 1, 1905	2,400
Henry J. Haemeyer	do	Kansas	May 12, 1906	2,400
Lawrence E. Jackson	do	Norway	Mar. 25, 1904	2,400
Noah H. Jackson	do	Tennessee	Aug. 25, 1905	2,400
George S. Jones	do	Virginia	Feb. 28, 1906	2,400

Source: Elihu Root Collection, Vol. 262, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, January 1, 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), 27. A digital copy is available at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/p2?id=nyp.33433034026736;view=1up;seq=15>

APPENDIX D

Pueblos	Nombres	Destinos	Ymp ^{ta}	
			Pesos	Cent
Hagay	Ilustrano Layugan	Alguacil 1 ^o	1	25
	Marcos Cabigon	Alguacil 2 ^o	1	25
	Don Vicente Cuyala	Gobernadorcillo	2	25
	" Roque Tapadilla	Benicente 1 ^o	1	25
	Gregorio Ramos	Suez mor de Sement ^{ta}	1	25
	Salomono Alapitan	Suez mor de Policia	1	25
	" Dionisio Juregay	Suez mor de Ganados	1	25
	Vicente Salaran	Benicente 2 ^o	1	25
	" Vicente Acupan	Benicente 3 ^o	1	25
	" Matias Dumana	Suez de Sementa 2 ^o	1	25
	" Mateo Tacad	Suez de id. 3 ^o	1	25
	" Juan Gumolva	Suez de Policia 2 ^o	1	25
	" Juan Camano	Suez de Policia 3 ^o	1	25
	Gregorio Baquiran	Suez de Ganado 2 ^o	1	25
	Thomas Aguirre	Suez de Ganado 3 ^o	1	25
	Valeriano Baquiran	Alguacil 1 ^o	1	25
	Antonio Pascaran	Alguacil 2 ^o	1	25
	Antonio Supray	Alguacil 3 ^o	1	25
Tumauin	Marcos Baruaud	Alguacil 4 ^o	1	25
	Aracadio Baray	Alguacil 5 ^o	1	25
	Jacinto Camano	Alguacil 6 ^o	1	25
	Antonio Rugo	Alguacil 7 ^o	1	25
	Matias de los Santos	Alguacil 8 ^o	1	25
	Dr. Salvador Hancay	teniente Rancho Lanna	1	25
	Francisco Camano	teniente Rancho Sueda	1	25
	Santiago Moandlu	teniente Rancho Snyppill	1	25
	" Nicolas Hernandez	teniente Rancho Ragan	1	25
	Andres Bulawan	teniente Rancho Minanga	1	25
	" Vicente Bulawan	teniente Rancho Jusi	1	25
	Domingo Narag	teniente rancho Caraga	1	25
	" Federico Tajardo	teniente Colonia Serr ^{ta} Darna	1	25
	" Felipe Malajab	Suez Sement ^{ta} del mismo	1	25
	Sebastiano Campano	Alguacil del mismo	1	25
Cabo ⁿ Nuevo	Don Roman Cabautan	Gobernadorcillo	2	25
	" Felix Ramirez	Benicente 1 ^o	1	25
	" Efridio Ramirez	Suez mor Sement ^{ta} tras	1	25
S X			Suma y sigue	124 75

Source: Philippine National Archives, Bundle 36, S-24, Vicente de Soliverrey, Gobierno Civil de la Ysabela de Luzon; Relacion de los Gobernadorcillos y demas Ministros de Justicia nuevamente nombrados para el bienio de 1891 a 93 y que han satisfecho el importe de los derechos de titulos, August 5, 1891, under the bundle Cabeza de Barangay de Isabela.

NOTES

- 1 This research is a product of the author's undergraduate thesis "*Hero or Unsung? Alimokon – Mateo Noriel Luga; A Life History of a Revolutionary (1868?-1899)*" which won the 2013 Best Thesis Award of the College of Social Science, in cooperation with The Dativa Cristobal Research Grant, UP Baguio, October 18, 2012.
- 2 Vic Hurley, *Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938), 297.
- 3 The true origins of Mateo Luga and his ancestry have been surrounded with questions. The dominant idea is that he is an Ilocano as stated by the works of Resil Mojares, *The War against the Americans: Resistance and Collaboration in Cebu, 1899-1901* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999); Erlinda Kintanar-Alburo, *Sumad: Essays for the Centennial of the Revolution in Cebu* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 2001); and John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands: A Political, Geographical, Ethnological, Social and Commercial History of the Philippine Archipelago and Its Political Dependencies* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1906) while other works which place him as an Ibanag are that of Romola O. Savellon, "Mateo Luga: The Tribal Filipino as Revolutionary," *Cultural Heritage Monograph Series on Local History* (Cebu: Cebu Normal University Museum, 2003) and Sid Lactao Jr., *Isabela 88 Unknown Facts: What you should know about this Great Province* (Santiago: Kwik Copy Printing and Publishing, 2013).
- 4 Arcadio Maxilom was the "supreme chief" of the anti-American resistance in Cebu as stated by Mojares, 115.
- 5 The other chief would be Nicolas Godines as indicated in the Elihu Root Collection (ERC), Vol. 16, *Report of the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Army, Part 4, Annual Reports of the War Department for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1901* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), 14.

- 6 Aside from Mateo Noriel y Luga's interview with Celestino T. Alfafara for *Bag-ong Kusog*, trans. Brig. Gen. Emilio S. Luga Jr., 24 March 1924, another source also affirms his designation by Aguinaldo, as he was referred to as being one of Aguinaldo's emissaries by John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, 524.
- 7 The Siege of Sudlon was the last major battle to be fought openly in Cebu before the revolutionaries decided to shift to guerrilla warfare on 16 January 1899 as stated by Mojares, 51–53.
- 8 These regions were the focal area of the war because the Cebu revolutionary camps were based there as stated by Mojares, 46–47.
- 9 Foreman, 524.
- 10 Of course, skills alone are not the basis for certain promotions since other factors are also considered like desertions, capture, surrender, or death of the former leader as stated by Mojares, 57.
- 11 Assigned on 16 January 1900, John R.M. Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection against the United States: A Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), V: Exhibit 1405, 97. – See appendix A.
- 12 Assigned on December 1900, Cebuano Studies Center (CSC), Noble Papers, roll 643, no. 4717, Ejercito Filipino, Organizacion de Guerrillas. Provincias de Cebu, undated, cited by Mojares, 89.
- 13 The exact date when he was assigned as a general is not known. However, as evidenced by a letter mentioning him as one of the revolutionary forces' general in the southern region, it can be surmised that he has attained the said rank at least before May 5, 1901, National Library of the Philippines, *Philippine Insurgent Records*, roll 43, no. 0432–0433, Liberato Cui, Letter to the Respected Generals: Señors Malvar, Cailles, Vito Belarmino, Lucban, Mojica, Maxilom, Climaco, Eje, Antonio Guevara, Sison, Mateo Luga y Noriel, in the South and San Miguel (Zambales) Torres, Tecson, Morales, Lacuna, Leyba and others in the North, May 5, 1901. – See appendix B.

- 14 Hurley, 296.
- 15 Eventually, Lt. Stacey became a part of the Philippine Scouts and later was promoted to colonel during the First World War in which his unit gained the distinction of stopping the German advance at Marne River, France, acquiring the unit designation “Rock of the Marne,” as stated by Robert Laplander, *Finding the Lost Battallion: Beyond the Rumors, Myths and Legends of America’s Famous WWI Epic* (Wisconsin: Lulu Press, 2007), 116.
- 16 Celestino T. Alfafara, “The 25th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Philippine Republic: An Interview of General Mateo Luga,” *Bag-ong Kusog*, trans. Brig. Gen. Emilio S. Luga Jr., March 24, 1924, 3.
- 17 Savellon, 5.
- 18 Library of Congress, Carlock Papers, The Experiences of an American Judge in the Philippines (Ms., 1902), 3., as cited by Mojares, 109.
- 19 Ibid.; United States National Archives, Record Group 395, entry 2607, box 3, F. Rallos to Governor, 10 December 1900, as cited by Mojares, 99.
- 20 Savellon, 5.
- 21 Alfafara, 3.
- 22 An excellent article about the life history methodology is that of Maria Nela B. Florendo, “Recapturing Historic Men and Women: The Life History Methodology,” *The Journal of History* 49 (2003), 1–11.
- 23 Florendo, “Voices from the Margins: Local History and Indigenous People,” *The Journal of History* 49 (2003), 36.
- 24 Florendo, “Recapturing Historic Men and Women: The Life History Methodology,” 7.
- 25 Ibid., 5.

- 26 To see the list of oral sources used in the recreation of the life history of Mateo Luga, please see bibliography.
- 27 William McKinley Runyan, "Life History," in *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, ed. Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1985), 472–473.
- 28 M. M. Bakhtin, "The New Biography" in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. M. M. Bakhtin (Austin, University of Texas Press: 1988), 7.
- 29 Florendo, "Grassroots Reconstruction of History: Notes on Alternative Concepts of Temporality and Historical Methodologies," *History from the People: Kasaysayan mula sa Bayan* 16 (1999), 5.
- 30 Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Roy R. Luga, interview by the author, 10 July 2012; ERC, Vol, 262, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, January 1, 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), 27. – See appendix C.
- 31 Savellon, 8.
- 32 Angel Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 33 Roy R. Luga, interview by the author, 10 July 2012; Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Angel Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 34 Fernandez and Moreno, *Manual del Viajero en Filipinas* (Manila, 1875), 173–178 in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904), Vol. LII, 322.
- 35 Peter Xenos, "The Ilocos Coast since 1800: Population Pressure, the Ilocano Diaspora, and Multiphasic Response," in *Population and History: The Demographic Origins of the Modern Philippines*, ed. Daniel F. Doepfers and Peter Xenos (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998), 47.

- 36 Ibid.; Digna Balangue Apilado, "A History of Ilocos Norte Province," *Journal of History* 52 (2006): 8.
- 37 *Geography, History and Population*, Vol. I, *Census of the Philippine Islands Taken Under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903* which from here on shall be abbreviated as *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of Census, 1905), 58.
- 38 A matrix of population for these regions' inhabitants for the years of 1876, 1885–1897 are present in *Mortality, Defective Classes, Education, Families, and Dwellings*, Vol. III, *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903*, 12–16.
- 39 The Cagayan refers to the Ibanags of Isabela, *Geography, History, and Population*, Vol. I, *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903*, 449.
- 40 Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 19 July 2012; Angel Luga, interview by the author, 19 July 2012.
- 41 Savellon, 2.
- 42 Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Angel Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Gaspar Manalo, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Emiliano Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 43 Ibid.; Consolita Luga-Ugaddan, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Gaspar Manalo, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Emiliano Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 46 Consolita Luga-Ugaddan, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Emiliano Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 47 She is one of the author's sources – Consolita Luga-Ugaddan.
- 48 Consolita Luga-Ugaddan, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.

- 49 Angel Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Emiliano Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Gaspar Manalo, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 50 Gaspar Manalo, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 51 Angel Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 52 UP Diliman Main Library: Multimedia Services Section (MCF-10870B), Julian Malumbres, *Historia de Isabela* (Manila: Colegio de Sto. Tomas, 1918), 662.
- 53 Philippine National Archives, Bundle 36, S-24, Vicente de Soliverrey, *Gobierno Civil de la Ysabela de Luzon; Relacion de los Gobernadorcillos y demas Ministros de Justicia nuevamente nombrados para el bienio de 1891 a 93 y que han satisfecho el importe de los derechos de titulos*, August 5, 1891 under the bundle *Cabeza de Barangay de Isabela*. – See appendix D.
- 54 Even if this prerequisite is for candidates for the position of *gobernadorcillo*, the same can be assumed to be true for other town positions open for election, Teodoro Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People* (Quezon City: Garotech Publishing, 1990), 77.
- 55 Savellon, 8.
- 56 As late as in the 1903 census of the Philippine Islands, it was found that out of the 1,151,021 married men in the Philippines, one-fifth of them got married between the ages of 15–24, hence making it a possibility to already be father at 16 years old, *Population*, Vol. II, *Census of the Philippine Islands 1903*, 70. In effect, he may have not really died in his early sixties as previously claimed by Savellon, 8.
- 57 Expedition to Tuy, June 1, 1953, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. VIII, 251.

- 58 Julian Malumbres, *Historia de Cagayan*, 274, as cited by Pedro Salgado, *Cagayan Valley and Eastern Cordillera 1581–1898* (Quezon City: Rex Commercial, 2002), I: 66.
- 59 Ibid., 67.
- 60 Malumbres, *Historia de Isabela*, 177, as cited by Salgado, Vol. I, 69.
- 61 Ed. C. de Jesus, *Tobacco Monopoly of the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change 1766–1880* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980), 128.
- 62 Salgado, Vol. I, 130–131.
- 63 Ibid., Vol. II, 632.
- 64 Ibid., Vol. I, 102–116.
- 65 Ibid., Vol. II, 633. The tobacco ban was eventually lifted on May 1797 because of this revolt but it did not translate to the betterment of the region since the tobacco collection brought problems like the increased hardship placed on the natives to meet quotas and the rampancy of graft and corruption in the selling of tobacco, resulting in much poverty for the native farmers and the region where tobacco was originally planted. For more information on the monopoly, see Ed C. de Jesus, *Tobacco Monopoly of the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980); Pedro Salgado, *Cagayan Valley and Eastern Cordilleras 1581-1898* Volume II; and O. D. Corpuz, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation* Volume 1 (Quezon City: Aklahi Foundation, 1989).
- 66 Salgado., Vol. I, 129.
- 67 Ibid., 132.
- 68 Dean Worcester, *The Philippines: Past and Present*, Vol. I (Massachusetts: Norwood Press, 1914), 171.

- 69 Ibid., 174, 176, and 179 for the dates of these regions' surrender, respectively.
- 70 Salgado, Vol. I, 132.
- 71 National Library of the Philippines, *Historical Data Papers* for the town of Tumauni, Isabela, Roll No. 29
- 72 Angel Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Antonio Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Emiliano Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012; Gaspar Manalo, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.
- 73 All the places mentioned as part of his involvement in the Katipunan were stated in his interview with Alfafara, 4.
- 74 Teodoro Agoncillo, 173.
- 75 Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (Mandaluyong, Rizal: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969), 19–20.
- 76 Alfafara, 4.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 *Reports of Department and Division Commanders*, Vol. III, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year ended on June 30, 1903* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 406.
- 79 Kalaw mentions that a battle happened in Muntinlupa under the leadership of Edilberto Evangelista, 33; Muntinlupa was later recaptured by the Spaniards and apparently was already under the control of the Spanish Army General Galbis on 13 February 1896, as evidenced by a letter sent by Governor-General Polavieja as translated in the *Reports of Department and Division Commanders*, Vol. III, *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1903, 414. Therefore, we can argue that the battle of Muntinlupa may be estimated to have happened at least before 13 February; All the places indicated in which Mateo Luga fought were all mentioned by him in his interview with Celestino T. Alfafara,

“The 25th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Philippine Republic: An Interview of General Mateo Luga,” *Bag-ong Kusog*, trans., Brig. Gen. Emilio S. Luga Jr., March 24, 1924., 2.

80 Alfafara, 4.

81 R.A. Alger, *The Spanish-American War* (New York & London: Harper & Brothers, 1901), 364.

82 Alfafara, 2.

83 Alger, 365.

84 Originally, Savellon identified only one Luga bodyguard by name which was Manolo. But according to the oral histories in Tumauni, the other Luga cousin who might have accompanied Mateo Luga to Cebu would be his cousin Raymundo Luga who was said to be Mateo’s aide-de-camp as mentioned by Gaspar Manalo, interview by the author, 18 July 2012 and Emiliano Luga, interview by the author, 18 July 2012.

85 Alfafara, 5.

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Emiliano Luga, son of Raymundo Luga, aide-de-camp and cousin of Mateo Luga, interview by the author, Tumauni, Isabela. July 18, 2012.

Gaspar Manalo, grandson of Julia Luga-Manalo, sister of Mateo Luga, interview by the author, Tumauni, Isabela, July 18, 2012.

Roy R. Luga, great grandson of Mateo Luga from Sagay, Negros, interview by the author, Caloocan City. July 10, 2012.

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