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# **The Development of the Philippine Foreign Service During the Revolutionary Period and the Filipino- American War (1896-1906): A Story of Struggle from the Formation of Diplomatic Contacts to the Philippine Republic**

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The Philippine foreign service traces its origin to the Katipunan in the early 1890s. Revolutionary leaders knew that the establishment of foreign contacts would be vital to the success of the objectives of the organization as it struggles toward the attainment of independence. This was proven when the Katipunan leaders tried to secure the support of Japanese and German governments for a projected revolution against Spain. Some patriotic Filipinos in Hong Kong composed of exiles also supported the Philippine Revolution. The organization of these exiled Filipinos eventually formed the nucleus of the Philippine Central Committee, which later became known as the Hong Kong Junta after General Emilio Aguinaldo arrived there in December 1897.

After Aguinaldo returned to the Philippines in May 1898, he issued a decree reorganizing his government and creating four departments, one of which was the Department of Foreign Relations, Navy, and Commerce. This formed the basis of the foundation of the present Department of Foreign Affairs. Among the roles of this office was to seek recognition from foreign countries, acquire weapons and any other needs of the Philippine government, and continue lobbying for support from other countries. It likewise assigned emissaries equivalent to today's ambassadors and monitored foreign reactions to the developments in the Philippines.

The early diplomats, such as Felipe Agoncillo who was appointed as Minister Plenipotentiary of the revolutionary government, had their share of hardships as they had to make do with meager means. The greater crisis happened when the Philippines was shut off from the negotiations in the Treaty of Paris in 1898. The conditions even worsened when war broke out between the Philippines and the United States (US), and the diplomats after then were treated as enemies of the US. As the war dragged on, the Philippine foreign office became a reflection of what was happening in the Philippines: a serious division among the Filipino diplomats, with one faction favoring the autonomy under the US and the other favoring a continued struggle for independence. The chief Philippine diplomats returned home



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only when it was evident that the Republic has been lost to the United States. This article then discusses the formation of the early Philippine diplomatic service and the heroic struggle of its diplomats in the context of the Philippine Revolution and the Filipino-American War.

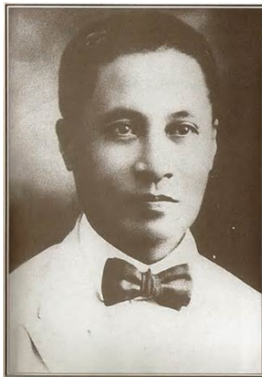
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## Introduction

### The Need for a Foreign Service

The Filipino revolutionaries recognized the need to maintain contacts with sympathetic foreign governments as well as individuals who may help them in their cause. When Jose Rizal, then an exile in Dapitan, was visited by Dr. Pio Valenzuela, he said that for a revolution to be successful, the Katipunan must have the support of a foreign power from which it can obtain arms and any other forms of aid. Dr. Valenzuela was sent by Katipunan Supremo Andres Bonifacio to seek Rizal's advice on the revolution he was contemplating. Just before the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution, the Katipunan already had a position of Secretary of State, which was equivalent to today's Secretary of Foreign Affairs. This position was held by Emilio Jacinto.



**Figure. 1**

Valenzuela: Did he ask for a Japanese protectorate for the Philippines?  
(NHCP photographs, n.d.).<sup>1</sup>

As for foreign contacts, the Katipunan already viewed Japan as a potential ally in the fight for Philippine independence. Filipino leaders believed that Japan could help the Philippines win its freedom. However, such kind of freedom was debatable. Following the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution on August 23, 1896, Dr. Valenzuela, who was one of the key Katipunan leaders, surrendered to the Spaniards on September 2. During his interrogation by the Spaniards, the Filipino rebels would declare independence and placed it under the protection of Japan. This testimony, however, was denied by Valenzuela 51 years later during an interview on October 2, 1947.

Among its Asian neighbors, Japan gained the admiration of countries under western colonization. Within 50 years after being forced open to the West, Japan shook off the unequal provisions of the Open Door Policy introduced by the United States and denied foreign powers treaty ports such as those in China. During that time, Japan transformed from a country frozen in the backwardness of its 200-year isolation that ended in 1854, and by the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, it can now stand on equal terms with the western powers. Japan also repudiated the unequal treaty ports imposed by the United States and other western powers. In 1895, Japan defeated its larger neighbor (i.e., the Chinese empire) and secured the island of Formosa.

On the night of February 28, 1895, Bonifacio gathered the leaders of the Katipunan in a house in Trozo, Santa Cruz to decide who would be sent to Japan to acquire the necessary arms to be used in a revolution against Spain. It was decided that a commission composed of Mariano Crisostomo, Jose Dizon, Mariano Jacinto, and Jose Basa should be sent as delegates to Japan. Their mission was to negotiate the

purchase of arms from Japan. The mission, however, did not push through because of lack of funds (National Historical Institute, 1996, p. 53).

Unfazed by the initial failure, high-ranking officials of the Katipunan led by Jacinto invited the officers of a Japanese navy training ship *Kongo*, then anchored in Manila Bay, to a meeting atop the Nippon Bazar in Binondo, Manila. The Japanese delegation was led by a certain Admiral Hirawa, and the committee of Katipuneros was composed of Bonfacio, Jacinto, Candido Tirona, Pio Valenzuela, and others. The interpreter for the two groups was Jose Moritaro Tagawa, the owner of the Japanese bazaar. Addressing the Japanese, Jacinto asked Japan's aid to win the independence of the Philippines. He then handed over to Admiral Hirawa a memorial he wrote to Emperor Mutsuhito imploring the Emperor for aid in the revolution that the Katipunan was planning to launch "so that the light of liberty that illumines Japan may also shed its light on the Philippines" (National Historical Institute, 1996, p. 59). Nothing came out of the meeting with the Japanese. The Spaniards also knew about this meeting, and this was documented in the files of the Spanish Secret Service.

To obtain the needed weapons, the Katipunan planned to raise money. One means was through solicitations to rich Filipinos, and another was through a company that would trade with Japan and used the proceeds to buy arms. Both schemes failed because the rich Filipinos threatened to expose the Katipunan to the authorities.

The Katipunan was not alone in seeking assistance from Japan for an armed revolution against Spain. There was a small secret organization called *La Propaganda* that was

created by Marcelo H. del Pilar and Mariano Ponce. The group was organized in 1888 just before del Pilar left for exile abroad. *La Propaganda* was led by a lawyer named Doroteo Cortez, and its members included Timoteo Paez, Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Pedro Serrano Laktao, and a certain B. Adriano. It was originally tasked to collect funds to support the Filipino propaganda movement abroad. Later, it was reorganized as the *Junta de Compromisarios* in 1894, making it more efficient to support the propaganda movement. The active members of this reorganized group included Cortez, Jose Ramos, and a certain M. Español (Retana, 1897, p. 243). Later, this group veered toward the concept of launching a revolution but was overshadowed by the Katipunan.

Three active members of *La Propaganda* consisting of Cortez, Ramos, and Español formed themselves into a committee to seek Japan's assistance. When their activities became known to the Spanish authorities, Ramos fled to Japan in August 1895 after disguising himself as an Englishman named J.A. Robertson. He hid in the house owned by Ishikawa Yasu whom he later married. While in Japan, he contacted influential Japanese officials to help in the cause of Philippine independence and acquire weapons for a projected revolution. Cortez, on the other hand, also escaped to Japan by telling the Spanish authorities that he went to the said country for recreation and for setting up an artistic shop. Cortez requested the Japanese government to make the Philippines a Japanese protectorate. The group of Ramos and Cortez was also known to the Spaniards as a "diplomatic commission," which was supported by Filipino Freemasons led by Faustino Villarruel and Juan Luna. According to the Spanish intelligence reports, the commission was said to be successful in obtaining Japanese support (Del Castillo y Jimenez, 1897).

After the execution of Jose Rizal on December 30, 1896, Cortez and his son, a certain A.G. Medina and Jose Ma. Basa visited the German consulate in Hong Kong on January 29, 1897. Their visit was noted by the German Consul, Dr. W. Knappe, who described the four men as *mestizo*-looking. They gave him a 30-page handwritten petition addressed to Kaiser Wilhelm II. The petition contained a request for German intervention in favor of the revolutionaries. Dr. Knappe looked over the document and secretly made a copy. In their next meeting, the four Filipinos said that they were speaking in behalf of the Filipino revolutionaries. A rebel emissary from Cavite was asked by its leaders to contact exiled Filipinos in Hong Kong to request the intervention of foreign powers, especially Germany. Germany was chosen because it was perceived to be sympathetic to the Filipinos. Rizal, who was considered the figurehead of the revolutionary movement, always spoke highly about Germany and lived and traveled there for 15 months. Cortez and the others said that the Filipinos were bound to either perish or become victorious in the forthcoming battles (Wionzek, 1996, p. 1).

Dr. Knappe returned the petition to the Filipinos and said that his position in the Consulate did not permit him to send such an important document, but they should send it directly to the Kaiser in Germany. The document showed that Cortez was the leader of the group and that the other signatures were those of Basa and Medina.

### **The Philippine Revolutionary Committee**

While the revolution raged in the Philippines, more exiles were coming to the

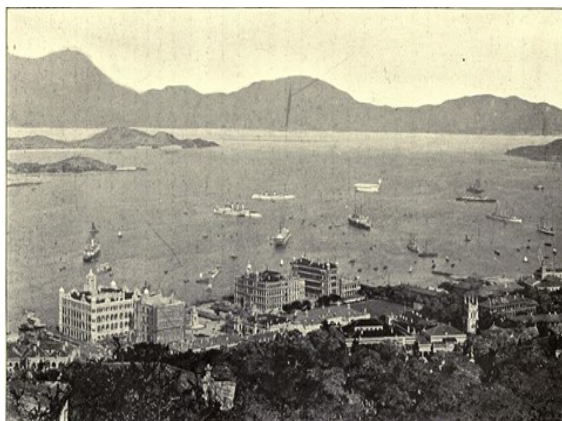


**Figure. 2**

Basa: One of those Filipinos who asked Germany's help in aiding the Revolutionaries against Spain  
(NHCP photographs, n.d.).

British Crown colony of Hong Kong. The colony became a haven of Filipinos opposed to the abuses of Spanish rule in the Philippines beginning with the arrival of Jose Ma. Basa, Balvino Mauricio, and Antonio Ma.Regidor, who were exiled to Guam as a result of the fallout of the Cavite Mutiny in 1872. The same mutiny also implicated the three Filipino secular priests, namely, Jose Burgos, Mariano Gomes, and Jacinto Zamora, who were executed by garrote that year. Basa, Mauricio, and Regidor escaped from Guam, and Basa chose to live as an exile in Hong Kong. It was through him that copies of the *Noli Me Tangere* were smuggled to the Philippines in 1888. With the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution, more Filipinos opposed to the Spanish authorities arrived in the colony. In December 1896, Felipe Agoncillo, a prominent lawyer who escaped arrest and deportation by the Spaniards in the Philippines, arrived in Hong Kong. He organized a committee that raised contributions in cash and in kind to help the Philippine revolutionaries.

Felipe Agoncillo (May 26, 1859-September 29, 1941), born in Taal, Batangas, was educated at the University of Santo Tomas where he obtained a licentiate in law. He was known for giving free legal services to poor Filipinos and was accused of being anti-Spanish and was forced to flee to Hong Kong after receiving reports that he was about to be deported to Jolo in 1896. In Hong Kong, he was joined by his wife Marcela and their children. In May 1898, Doña Marcela helped in the sewing of the first Philippine flag while staying in the Crown Colony.



**Figure. 3**

Hong Kong: The British laws of the colony protected political refugees like the Filipinos  
(Wattis Fine Art, n.d.).

Although largely organized by Agoncillo, the Committee chose Basa as its first President because of his age and seniority among the Filipino expatriates. Basa, however, gave way to the younger and more energetic Agoncillo, who led the committee until the arrival of General Emilio Aguinaldo (Kalaw, 1969, pp. 64-69).

The Philippine Revolutionary Committee was able to make contact with Filipino revolutionists and provided them with food, clothing, and medicines that were donated by Filipino residents. According to Mariano Ponce, who became its secretary, the Committee also collected arms, which it tried to smuggle to the Philippines after the Battle of Binakayan in November 1896 but was not able to do so because of lack of transportation. Later that year, the arms smuggling became successful because of the assistance of the American Consul in Hong Kong, Rounseville Wildman (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994, p. 72).



**Figure. 4**

Agoncillo: The moving force of the Philippine Revolutionary diplomats  
(NHCP photographs, n.d.).

As head of the Philippine Revolutionary Committee, Agoncillo identified himself as “a foreign agent and high commissioner” of the Philippine Revolutionary Government (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994, p. 72).

Apparently, he had the approval of Gen. Aguinaldo who was then still in the Philippines. Aguinaldo allowed his committee to operate. In October 1897, Aguinaldo and Wildman were already communicating with each other through the Philippine Revolutionary Committee in October, and in the following month, Aguinaldo offered an offensive-defensive alliance between the Filipino revolutionaries and the American government in the event of a war between the US and Spain.

Agoncillo realized that war was imminent between the two powers because of growing animosities of the Spaniards and the Americans over what was happening in Cuba that time. Agoncillo proposed that the US provide the Filipinos with 20,000 rifles with 200,000 rounds of ammunition payable upon the recognition of an independent Philippine government by the Americans. In return for such military assistance, Agoncillo promised the Manila Customs House and two provinces in the Philippines as security (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994, p. 72).

### **The Hong Kong Junta**

When Aguinaldo arrived in Hong Kong on December 29, 1897, the Philippine Revolutionary Committee was reorganized as the Hong Kong Junta. Since this new group was a mixture of civilian and military personalities, it was aptly called a junta. Its function was to make plans for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the establishment of an independent government in the Philippines. When Aguinaldo met the officials of the Philippine Revolutionary Committee in person, one member of the former committee, Galicano Apacible, became disappointed with the Filipino leader. Before joining the Hong Kong Junta,

Galicano Apacible, who was a fellow Batangueño like Agoncillo and a native of the town of Balayan (June 25, 1864-March 2, 1949), was a physician serving aboard the S.S. *Zafiro*, then owned by the British. Trained in Spain as a physician, he was active among the reformists and branded as a separatist by the Spaniards. Apacible returned to the Philippines after obtaining his medical degree in 1889. Following the outbreak of the Revolution, he received word that the Spanish authorities led by Governor Camilo de Polavieja were about to arrest him as a sympathizer of the revolutionists, so he escaped to Hong Kong in early 1897 to become the physician of the *Zafiro*. When the *Zafiro* was acquired by the Americans, he quit his position and offered his services to the *Consejo de los Revolucionarios* as the Philippine Revolutionary Committee was then called.

During his first meeting with Aguinaldo, Apacible thought that Aguinaldo was the man he imagined: a cultured man with lofty conceptions befitting a providential leader of the people. Before meeting Aguinaldo, Apacible heard fantastic tales about him. Aguinaldo seemed to be an extraordinary personality and an ideal leader of the people. Instead, Apacible found in Aguinaldo a simple man of limited education.

Aguinaldo told Apacible that he only reached first year of the secondary school and that was the only formal education he ever had. He had difficulty in conversing in Spanish, which was the language of educated Filipinos. The only language Aguinaldo really knew was Tagalog, which was his native tongue. But despite his scant education, which Apacible described as bordering on ignorance, Aguinaldo had an excessive ambition entirely out of

proportion to his intellectual capacity. At one time Aguinaldo entertained the possibility of establishing a monarchy when the Philippines becomes independent. “*Que barbaridad!*” Apacible shuddered at the idea. He learned that the adviser who put the idea in Aguinaldo’s head was Felipe Buencamino. Buencamino, according to Apacible was an acknowledged master of the art of flattery. Aguinaldo was blindly ambitious and unaware of the absurd and self-seeking flatteries of his confidant. Apacible could not refrain from telling Aguinaldo that the idea of establishing a monarchy in the Philippines was absurd and those who advised him of its suitability were not in their sound mind. Apacible’s blunt reply displeased Aguinaldo. He was probably expecting that Apacible would support him in this new phase of his ambition (Apacible, 1999, pp. 49-50).



**Figure. 4**

Agoncillo: The moving force of the Philippine Revolutionary diplomats (NHCP photographs, n.d.).



**Figure. 6**

Apacible: Aguinaldo’s idea of establishing a monarchy in the Philippines is “an idea of a person who is not of a sound mind” (Apacible, 1999).

Early in the Philippine Revolution, Aguinaldo had Andres Bonifacio, whom Apacible described as a strong contender for leadership, executed by virtue of the decision of the Council of War appointed by Aguinaldo himself. Later, another leader, Antonio Luna, who was described as a patriot of superior intelligence, was assassinated on June 5, 1899 by Aguinaldo’s bodyguards in the latter’s headquarters at Cabanatuan. Yet, Apacible later wrote that historical circumstances seemed to have favored Aguinaldo. Apacible admitted that Aguinaldo was the recognized leader of the struggle for freedom and that he succeeded to gather around him many antagonistic elements and unified the revolutionary movement. To change leadership was unwise and it might be even dangerous at that time because of historical circumstances (Apacible, 1999, p. 48).

Aguinaldo had in his possession a check for P400,000, representing the first installment of the settlement of the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. He divided the amount into two equal sums in The case against Aguinaldo, however, was

two time deposits with P200,000 deposited at the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank and the other P200,000 at the Chartered Bank of India, China, and Australia. Aguinaldo made sure that the money was not to be divided for at least a year and that the exiles were to spend only the interest of the money. Aguinaldo and his colleagues drew only \$15 monthly, so the money could be used in the event of a conflict with the US. Apacible for his part did not draw from the Revolutionist's funds but spent his own money (Apacible, 1999, p. 52).



**Figure. 7**

Aguinaldo (seated, center): Signs of division in the Hong Kong Junta erupted soon after his arrival in the British colony (NHCP photographs, n.d.).

The Hong Kong Junta was housed in two residences at Morrison Hill Road at Wanchai district in Hong Kong. These were near the house of Agoncillo, which once served as the headquarters of the Philippine Revolutionary Committee. One of these houses, the Greenmount House, was used as a meeting place where the Filipinos can discuss various matters. The Junta was presided by Aguinaldo and sometimes by Agoncillo.

There were signs of disunity among the members of the Junta soon after the arrival of Aguinaldo. One of the members, Isabelo Artacho, called a meeting which was attended by Isidoro Torres, Francisco M. Soliman, Artemio Ricarte, and Paciano Rizal. This meeting was held without the knowledge of Aguinaldo. It was decided in this meeting that the second and the third installments of the Biak-na-Bato money be divided among the rebel leaders in the Philippines. Artacho also wanted that the money under Aguinaldo's custody be equally divided among the exiles in Hong Kong. Artacho was supported by the other exiles, namely, Agustin de la Rosa and a certain Aragon. He also presented to those present a bill for P5,000 as reimbursement for expenses he disbursed from personal funds. (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Aguinaldo was dismayed to learn that the second installment of the Biak-na-Batomoney never reached him in Hong Kong. He and his two aides, Jose Leyba and Gregorio del Pilar, hurriedly left Hong Kong on April 7, 1898. They indicated that their destination was Europe. Artacho then sued Aguinaldo before the Hong Kong Supreme Court to force Aguinaldo to divide the money among his fellow exiles. The case, however, did not prosper because Aguinaldo already left for Saigon and was spared from the humiliation of explaining before the Hong Kong court about the existence of a junta, which had the objective of overthrowing the Spaniards in the Philippines.

With the help of mutual friends, Aguinaldo and Artacho were called to a reconciliation meeting on May 9, 1898 during which Artacho agreed to receive P5,000 for his services.

never dropped despite the efforts of Apacible; and even after the so-called reconciliation, the case was still in the dockets of Hong Kong for the rest of 1898. This prevented the release of money necessary to help the Filipinos when war broke out between the Philippines and the US the following year.

The members of the Hong Kong Junta became suspicious about Artacho's motives in filing the case against Aguinaldo. Some believed that he was motivated by selfish interests while others believed that there was a third party involved. It was decided that somebody should be assigned to spy on his movements in the Crown Colony. They later discovered that Artacho was making visits to the Spanish consulate at midnight and that Artacho was in cahoots with the Spaniards. A counselor at the Spanish consulate named Romero revealed that Artacho was in the employ of the Spaniards as shown in the letters of the Spanish Consul to Governor General Basilio Agustin. Narrated in these letters is the Consul's work in connivance with Artacho. Artacho's treachery was reported to Aguinaldo who ordered his arrest upon the latter's arrival in Cavite in May 1898 (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

With his true colors known, Artacho allied himself with the enemies of the Filipinos; among whom was Consul Wildman who had fallen from the graces of the Filipinos after failing to deliver the rifles ordered by Aguinaldo after receiving money amounting to P47,000. Wildman claimed that the money was already spent. He and others held meetings at the American consulate to plot the destruction of the Junta and its leaders. Before Artacho was exposed as a Spanish double agent, he was supposed to organize the landing of

arms in northern Luzon with the help of Wildman who was assigned to facilitate the delivery of the weapons. The arms landings never took place, and when the Junta demanded that he return the money paid to him, Wildman retaliated by trying to discredit Galicano Apacible who assumed the leadership of the Junta and its other members. Wildman also went to the British authorities urging them to expel the Junta from Hong Kong. Artacho later wrote that he was now working for the Americans and that he was going to serve as their guide in the Ilocos when the Americans conducted their campaign against the Filipinos. Artacho also wrote letters to his friends in Pangasinan urging them to rise against the Filipino Revolutionary Government (Apacible, 1999,). Aside from Artacho and Wildman, the other enemies of the Filipinos were Spanish spies, a wealthy Filipino living in Hong Kong named Maximo Cortez, and a discreditable arms dealer named Grimmes (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Another development which took place along with the Artacho affair was the increasing contact with the Americans. Between early March to April 6, Aguinaldo and the other members of the Hong Kong Junta had a meeting with Captain Wood of the US gunboat *Petrel*. The *Petrel* was part of the American flotilla anchored off Hong Kong. Wood was meeting with Aguinaldo on behalf of Commodore George Dewey. What exactly transpired during the talks between the Americans and the Junta was not exactly known because of the absence of a formal communiqué by both sides.

There was no dispute however, that the Filipinos were asking for America's support

to fight their common enemy —Spain. Captain Wood urged Aguinaldo to return to the Philippines to lead once more the revolution against Spain, and he assured that the Americans would supply him with the necessary arms. Wood further guaranteed Aguinaldo that the US had no need for colonies since it was already a great and rich nation. Aguinaldo demanded that Wood place the statement in black and white to which Wood said that he would have to confer with Dewey (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

When Aguinaldo fled to Singapore from Saigon while being sued by Artacho, the Americans contacted him through the Englishman Howard Bray, who was a longtime resident of the Philippines. Upon meeting with American Consul Spencer Pratt, Aguinaldo was convinced that he should return to the Philippines and resume the revolution. Pratt reiterated what he already heard in Hong Kong: “You do not need to worry about America. The American Congress and President have just made a solemn declaration disclaiming any desire to possess Cuba and promising to leave the country to the Cubans after having driven away the Spaniards and pacified the country. Cuba is at our door and while the Philippines is 10,000 miles away” (Agoncillo, 1990, p. 190).

Aguinaldo returned to Hong Kong to catch the American Asiatic Squadron, which was about to sail to Manila following the declaration of war between the US and Spain. Unfortunately, Aguinaldo missed the squadron and had to wait for the next American boat to return to Hong Kong. Following Dewey’s victory in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, the Junta reorganized itself on May 4 with Felipe Agoncillo as temporary President;

Doroteo Lopez as temporary Secretary; and Teodoro Sandico, Anastacio Francisco, Mariano Llanera, Miguel Malvar, Andres Garchitorena, Severo Buenaventura, Maximo Kabigting, Faustino Lichauco, and Antonio Montenegro as members. Aguinaldo then met with the Junta and discussed what transpired between himself and Pratt and Wildman, who, at that time, were not yet discredited. The Junta decided that Aguinaldo should return to the Philippines and resume the war against Spain. Aguinaldo then left for the Philippines on May 17 and arrived in Cavite two days later. On May 21, he issued a proclamation affirming the Filipinos’ irrevocable stand for independence. On May 24, a dictatorial government was formed as per the earlier advice of Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista and Wildman. On June 12, the independence of the Philippines was proclaimed.



**Figure. 8**

The Philippine Revolutionary Committee at work in Hong Kong (Apacible, 1999).

### Enter Mabini

Before leaving for the Philippines, the Junta saw the need to have a department that

would take charge of maintaining foreign relations if the Philippines' final victory was to be achieved and if it were to become independent. Aguinaldo also needed men of talent and wisdom who would give advice in those tumultuous times. When asked for advice, Agoncillo recommended Apolinario Mabini (1864-1903). It was during their exile in Hong Kong that Agoncillo had the chance to talk to Aguinaldo about a bright young man in the Philippines. Agoncillo believed that Mabini would be a great asset to the government that Aguinaldo would set up upon his return. In recommending Mabini, Agoncillo was said to have remarked, "*Iyan po ang may ulong ginto*" (He has a golden head).

A native of Tanauan, Batangas, Mabini was the son of poor farmers named Inocencio Mabini and Dionisia Maranan. He studied at a community school headed by Fr. Valeriano Malabanan and later at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran before finishing his law degree at the University of Santo Tomas. Twice he had to stop studying because of lack of funds and worked as a tutor in Fr. Malabanan's school. While he was still a student, he had no money to buy books and often borrowed them from his classmates. After looking over the pages once, he already memorized their contents. There was also a story that his professor in Letran, on the account of his old clothes, decided to call him for recitation and asked him a very difficult question in the hope that he would lose interest in his studies and drop out. Mabini, nevertheless, gave an excellent answer, and the professor thinking that it was just a fluke, asked a series of difficult questions with Mabini giving the correct answers. Mabini graduated from the University of Santo Tomas in 1894 with a degree of licentiate in law.

By the time Aguinaldo sent for him in Los Baños, Laguna, Mabini was already a paralytic after having been afflicted with polio just before the Philippine Revolution. This infirmity saved Mabini from being executed since all of his companions in the *Cuerpo de Compromisarios*, which was originally founded as *La Liga Filipina* by Rizal, were executed in Bagumbayan for being suspected to be revolutionaries. When Aguinaldo first met Mabini, he saw an invalid and had doubts as to his wisdom. But when this frail man began to speak, Aguinaldo became convinced of his integrity and intellectual brilliance. He took him in as his adviser, theoretician, and policy-maker —better. He became known as the Brains of the Revolution (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).



**Figure. 9**

"*Iyan po ay may ulong ginto*," Agoncillo said about Mabini to Aguinaldo (NHCP photographs, n.d.).

Mabini was not the first choice to become the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Navy, and Commerce. One of the earlier candidates

was Cayetano Arellano, who refused to accept the position, feigning ill-health. Actually, he initially did not favor the Philippine Revolutionary Government, and he was one of the more prominent pro-Spanish Filipinos. The Laws of the First Philippine Republic however, lists his name as Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the official directory of the Revolutionary Government of the Philippines 1898-1899 (Guevara, 1972). Mabini's name appeared instead as Chairman of the Council of Government. This means Arellano was given the post as Secretary of Foreign Affairs but did not assume the position. When the Americans took over, he accepted the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Another possible candidate as Aguinaldo's adviser and possible head of foreign affairs was Emilio Jacinto. However, he refused to have anything to do with Aguinaldo because he believed that the latter was responsible for the death of Andres and Procopio Bonifacio. Working with Aguinaldo would become a blot to his loyalty to Andres, who was his friend (Misa, 1972).

On June 23, Aguinaldo, acting on the advice of Mabini, abolished the Dictatorial government and replaced it with a Revolutionary Government. Aguinaldo's decree creating the Revolutionary Government was written by Mabini himself. Included in that government were four departments; one of which was the Department of Foreign Relations, Navy, and Commerce. With the passage of this decree, Mabini is considered the father of the present Department of Foreign Affairs. Foreign Affairs was one of the bureaus under the first Department, the others being the Navy and Commerce (Guevara, 1972).

On July 15, 1898, Aguinaldo appointed Mabini as the secretary of a department that included foreign affairs. The other candidate for the position, Cayetano Arellano, declined the appointment because he was opposed to the Revolution. Mabini would act in three capacities as Aguinaldo's chief adviser until he was appointed President of the Cabinet on January 2, 1899 and Secretary of Foreign Affairs, until his resignation from the cabinet on May 7, 1899 when he was replaced by the pro-autonomist Pedro Paterno.

### **The Filipino Central Committee**

Meanwhile in Hong Kong, Agoncillo asked Aguinaldo for authorization to undertake diplomatic negotiations with the US so that the Filipinos would know about its plans for the Philippines. On June 21, he wrote to Mabini that the Philippine government must address the issue of international recognition of the independence of the country. Agoncillo also believed that the Philippines must have a balanced relationship with the US. He said that it is well-known that great nations, convinced of their powers, do not extend favors to weak nations, except to eat them up or divide them; they do everything in their own interest which they unfortunately call national. "I qualify them as real pirates," he said (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994). He also mentioned the need to send representatives to France, Germany, and England.

Mabini saw that diplomatic representatives were necessary if the Philippines were to become an independent nation. Citing Article 31 of the June 23 decree, Mabini penned a decree creating a Revolutionary Committee in foreign countries on August 24, 1898. Through this decree, the Hong Kong

Junta was reconstituted as the Philippine Central Committee. The creation of the Committee was prompted by reports that Spanish and American representatives would meet in Paris to decide the fate of the Philippines. Aguinaldo instructed Agoncillo to publish the Act of the Proclamation of Independence and the Manifesto to Foreign Governments to make them understand whatever might be their intentions toward the Philippines and to let them know that it would be impossible for them to override the sentiments of the people represented by the (Philippine Revolutionary) Government (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

The Philippine Revolutionary Committee was to be composed of a board of directors, committee members, and correspondents to be named by the Revolutionary Government. These correspondents were to represent the Philippine government before foreign countries. The board of directors will conduct propaganda work abroad, lead diplomatic negotiations with foreign governments, prepare and contract expeditions necessary for the Revolution, and administer funds for the Government abroad. The committee, on the other hand, was composed of directors and the delegations; and among its duties were to hear all serious matters that take place abroad and to study and present proposals to the government regarding necessary instructions for the interior systems as well as reforms that should be adopted to raise all Philippine political institutions to a level with the more advanced nations (Mabini, 2011).

The central directorate of the Philippine Central Committee was consisted of Vicente Ilustre as President, Cipriano Kalaw as

Vice President, Teodoro Sandiko as Secretary, and Justo Lukban and Gracio Gonzaga as Councilors. Its members were Jose Ma. Basa, Galicano Apacible, Crisanto Lichauco, Luis R. Yangco, Andres Garchitorena, and Arcadio del Rosario. The correspondents were Juan Luna and Pedro Roxas for France; Antonio Ma. Regidor and Sixto Lopez, England; Felipe Agoncillo, the United States; Mariano Ponce and Faustino Lichauco, Japan; Heriverto Zarcas, Australia; Tomas Arejola, Madrid, Spain; and Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, Barcelona. Agoncillo was appointed as Minister Plenipotentiary for the Philippine Government. This designation was brought to Hong Kong on September 1, 1898 by Apacible with an urgent note for Agoncillo to proceed immediately to Washington, D.C. to inform President McKinley about the real situation in the Philippines. Agoncillo was given the following secret instructions by Aguinaldo:

1. Fight for independence of the Philippines to the extent of our powers and means. Protectorate or annexation acceptable only if all military and diplomatic efforts failed;
2. Adopt measures for friendly relations with the Washington government, and leave nothing undone that would lead to the recognition of the Filipino government;
3. Establish an alliance (with the United States) even to the extent of sacrificing the Caroline and the Mariana Islands;
4. Make the government and/or the Filipino Central Committee available for communication with the committees in London and Paris; and
5. Arrange with foreign firms for the export of Philippine products. (Kalaw, 1969, p. 119)

After seeking an audience with President McKinley, Agoncillo proceeded to Paris for the peace conference between Spain and the US.

When Agoncillo left for the US, Apacible took over as head of the Philippine Central Committee. It was housed in a modest residence in Morrison Hill Road in Wanchai, Hong Kong. Apacible found a young Filipino student named Ramon Sayyap, who served as his bookkeeper and secretary. Another Filipino of proven honesty was Crisanto Lichauco, who served as the treasurer of the Committee. Apacible did not fill up the position of Vice Chairman until the arrival of his trusted friend Dr. Isidoro de Santos (Apacible, 1999).



**Figure. 10**

Agoncillo (extreme right) after surviving the sinking of his ship in a storm in the Atlantic in 1898 (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Aside from serving as the diplomatic nerve center of the Revolutionary Government abroad, the Committee did propaganda work for the cause of the Philippines. The Hong Kong press opened their columns to what the Revolutionists wish to publish. The Hong Kong Junta, just like all political refugees from other countries, was protected by British law. Even with conflicts with American secret agents and attempts by the American Consul to expel the organization, the British government always

protected the Revolutionary Junta (Apacible, 1999).



**Figure. 11**

Agoncillo (second from the left, seated) with other Filipino leaders in Paris. Seated from left: F. de Amores, Pedro Roxas, and A. Vergel de Dios. Standing from left: B. Villanueva, Antonio Roxas, E. Brias, and P.A. Roxas. The Philippine flag and Aguinaldo's picture can be seen at the background (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

The Central Filipino Committee was the purchaser of its various needs. It purchased arms from various dealers including those brokered by Consul Wildman. Although the plans and projects of the Committee were prepared in Hong Kong, the shipment of arms and any other war materials were made at the Chinese ports and coasts, which were extensive and hardly guarded (Apacible, 1999). Two shipments were handled by Wildman: the first transaction was worth P50,000 for 2,000 rifles and 200,000 rounds of ammunition, and the second was worth P67,000. Only the first transaction was consummated, and Wildman never returned the money for the second shipment (Agoncillo, 1990).

Another source of arms was Japan. Although the Japanese were officially neutral in the Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-

American War, some Japanese officials and private citizens quietly helped the Filipinos in acquiring surplus military equipment. Weapons, such as rifles, could not be directly acquired from the Japanese government, but foreigners were allowed to buy them. This arrangement jacked up the prices. The arms purchases from Japan were handled by Mariano Ponce and Faustino Lichauco. Two hundred thousand dollars were spent for the project. (Taylor, 1971).

During the Filipino-American War, the American Consul in Japan was on the lookout for Filipino *laborantes* as the Filipino diplomats were called and reported about their activities. Often, Japanese police trailed known Filipino diplomats, like Jose Alejandrino, and kept a dossier about his activities. Two shipments from Japan were made. The first shipment was on a vessel called the *Nuno-Biki Maru*, which sank during a typhoon in 1899. Following the sinking, the Japanese government forbade the procurement of arms though a second shipment was attempted but did not reach the Philippines.<sup>2</sup>

The Committee was also the personal agent of Aguinaldo. On November 30, 1898, Apacible wrote Aguinaldo that the latter would receive “four dozen handkerchiefs, three dozen socks that he ordered ... and six carpet brushes and six first class Sebastopol (sic) helmets.” On December 8, 1898, Apacible notified Aguinaldo that he would receive 30 bolts of khaki; and on December 18, he informed him that he would send one dozen silk shirts and four reams of linen paper. The other articles ordered by Aguinaldo included telegraph wire and linen paper (Apacible, 1999, pp. 70-71).

## The “Niggardly Diplomats”

The diplomats of the Revolutionary Government lived frugally and were entitled only to an allowance of P15 a month. Many of the members of the Committee and the correspondents frequently spent from their personal funds. Because of their extreme thriftiness, Jose Ma. Basa derided the diplomats calling them “niggardly” (Apacible, 1999, pp. 70-71).

The committee however, held millions of pesos in funds remitted from the Philippines. Although there was no exact number on the amount of these funds, documents from the Philippine Insurgent Records showed the received 1.5 million Mexican dollars in 1898. Apacible’s memoirs acknowledged that he received 50,000 pesos from Agoncillo and Vito Belarmino. This was one half of the P100,000 received which would be spent for diplomatic efforts for the service of the motherland (Apacible, 1999).

Apacible maintained an orderly record of the Committee’s money and paid for from his own pocket whatever missing balances that would come up. He never took money from the Revolutionary funds but supported himself with his medical practice. Shortly before his capture by the Americans on March 23, 1901, Aguinaldo asked Apacible about the money he had given to distinguished personages. Some of them were Pablo Ocampo, P176,000; Benito Legarda, P160,000; Lorenzo del Rosario, P80,000; and Felipe Buencamino, P35,000. Aguinaldo asked Apacible to collect these sums since these were the money of the Philippine Republic. As of 1903, these funds remained



**Figure. 12**  
Ocampo: The money he received now belonged to a defunct government.

uncollected, and the ones who held these funds remained unpunished (Apacible, 1999).

Since the Committee was involved in potentially dangerous activities because of the ongoing war against Spain and a potential one with the United States, the Filipino revolutionary diplomats and even Aguinaldo developed a special code for their communications and assumed false names. Aguinaldo was known as Rost; Agoncillo was Respe, Kita, or William Jones; Apacible used the names Dr. C.A. Castillo; Jose Alejandrino was E. Collantes and Elorante; and Rafael del Pan was Raff and R.D. Fontela. Other names in the Committee documents were Kant, F. Rivero and others. The letters from the committee bore no addresses of origin, but one letter showed that it was No. 27 Morrison Hill Road, Hong Kong (Philippine Revolutionary Records, Reel No. 23, n.d.).

While in the United States, the Americans knew that Agoncillo was a diplomatic agent of an insurgent country. President McKinley refused to meet him in an official capacity, and he was trailed by American agents. He hurriedly left for neutral Canada wearing a disguise consisting of a false

moustache and whiskers. Even in Canada, American agents trailed him and there was a rumor of an assassination plot. He boarded a steamer at Halifax, Nova Scotia for Paris, France. While crossing the Atlantic, his ship was overtaken by a terrible storm and sank. Agoncillo arrived in London wearing only the clothes on his back and a small bag containing his precious documents. Upon arrival in the French capital, the Spanish and the Americans refused to allow him to participate in the discussions.

There were also differences in the official position among diplomatic representatives. Antonio Ma. Regidor, the representative in London, cabled Agoncillo in July 28, 1898 urging Agoncillo to request the US not to abandon the Philippines, for “to return (the Philippines) to Spain would mean annihilation and anarchy.” He also asked Agoncillo to make Aguinaldo “accept the American flag.” Agoncillo replied to Regidor’s



**Figure. 13**  
Regidor begged Agoncillo to keep the Philippines under U.S. control.

cable with sarcasm: "Provisional government's aspiration is independence. Make this (your) campaign" (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994, p. 82).

Regidor was reacting to news reports that the United States might return the islands to Spain. In the face of such a development, Agoncillo asked Aguinaldo three fundamental questions:

1. Do we have sufficient arms to maintain the war against Spain in order to secure our independence?
2. If other nations are opposed to our independence and wish that we should continue under Spanish sovereignty, have we sufficient strength to wage war and obtain victory over Spain and over them in the future?
3. If you think we have not sufficient strength to fight against them, should we accept independence under the American protectorate? If so, what conditions or advantages should we give the United States? (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994, p. 82)

Agoncillo also asked Mabini if the Filipinos should enter into diplomatic negotiations with the commander of American troops in the Philippines. Undoubtedly, he had instructions from his own government. Will the Filipinos postpone negotiations until the fall of Manila? Agoncillo's questions were overtaken by developments on the Spanish side. On July 27, 1898, Spain sued for peace. This news was kept from the Filipinos who offered the Spanish forces under Governor General Basilio Agustin an honorable surrender. His successor Fermin Jaudenes negotiated with the Americans for a farcical battle to save Spanish honor on August 13, 1898.

After that mock battle in Manila, the Filipinos were not allowed to enter Manila. Agoncillo was not allowed to participate in the negotiations between Spain and the US. The negotiations lasted until December 10, 1898 with the Americans taking all of the Philippines while leaving out the Carolines and the Marianas, which were eventually sold to Germany.

When war broke out between the Philippines and the US on February 4, 1899, the job of the diplomats became more dangerous. From the committee headquarters in Hong Kong, Apacible embarked on a mission for the dual purpose of negotiating with the US for the cessation of hostilities and with the Vatican on the question of Church properties in the Philippines. Before leaving Hong Kong, he left the Chairmanship of the Central Philippine Committee to Gen. Emiliano Riego de Dios. Apacible was the Chairman of the mission while his sole member was Rafael del Pan, a Spanish lawyer who sided with the revolutionists.

The secretary of the committee was Cayetano Lukban. Del Pan went ahead to pick up Antonio Villa-real in Japan. Villa-real was recommended by Mariano Ponce. The two groups met in Toronto, Canada before going to Halifax and crossing the Atlantic to France to meet with Agoncillo. While in Paris, they met with the Papal Nuncio who was unwilling to negotiate with the Filipinos because of the then ongoing war with the United States. The attitude of the Vatican led Apacible to conclude that the American government already influenced the Vatican, that the United States would win the war against the Filipinos, and

that it should not deal with the Revolutionary Government there (Apacible, 1999).



**Figure. 14**

Apacible (right) with Rafael Del Pan (left)  
(Apacible, 1999).

Since war erupted, the Filipino diplomats kept a low profile and often wore disguises. They could be arrested since they were now enemy aliens. Apacible became a master of disguise. Sometimes, he posed as a wealthy Mexican trying to learn American business practices. He also posed as a Chinese or Japanese, and as a Greek immigrant looking for work. At times, he wore a moustache, sideburns, and sometimes, none at all. He revealed his true name only to very few people and stayed at the cheapest hotels usually paying 25 cents a day. As the danger of him being arrested or harmed was great, his friends in London and Paris tried to dissuade him from danger of traveling, especially in America. He might be identified as the revolutionist responsible for supplying the Philippine Revolutionary Army with arms from Hong Kong. He would reply: "I know this and I did have some misgivings. However, I am obeying superior orders at a time when our brothers were risking their lives in the battlefields. I

would not evade my duty, and despite all the risks, I went ahead to carry out the mission entrusted to me" (Apacible, 1999, p. 84).

Amusing moments, on the other hand, happened during those dark times. When Apacible, accompanied by Lukban arrived in Paris in 1899, the French customs inspector took Apacible for the Prince of Siam and repeatedly addressed him as *Son Altesse* (His Royal Highness). The people who heard him turned around and lifted their hats, saluting him. Apacible probably resembled the Prince of Siam and Filipinos being unfamiliar to ordinary Frenchmen, mistook him and Lukban as Siamese. Apacible did not identify himself accepting the error with dignity. For being the "Prince of Siam," his baggage was not opened, and the cigars that he carried with him were not confiscated or taxed. However, when he took a carriage and directed the coachman to a hotel, which was of the third class, those who heard him eyed him suspiciously as if they realized their mistake. He could not be the Prince of Siam, they must be thinking (Apacible, 1999, p. 83).

Apacible's disguises were so effective that these fooled even his fellow diplomats. Upon his arrival in Paris, Apacible and Lukban were not recognized by Agoncillo's secretary, Felix Roxas. He said that Apacible was a Japanese agent who spoke only English (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Apacible remarked that their mission was arduous causing him continuous moral and physical tension. "This continuous pretense fleeing like a criminal from pleasant company when we see some danger to the Cause; shunning snares set by friends and what snares!-very beautiful women thus appearing rude and

foolish; changing hastily our residence, moving from one district or city to another sometimes crossing by foot the United States-Canadian border in freezing weather, 24 degrees below zero” (Apacible, 1999, p. 84).



**Figure. 15**  
Apacible and Del Pan at the Niagara Falls,  
New York (Apacible, 1999).

The Filipino revolutionary diplomats, at times, also exposed themselves. Agoncillo directed all Filipino diplomatic activities in Europe from Paris. He, together with Juan Luna, went to Leitmeritz in Austria to attend the wedding of Dolores, the daughter of Ferdinand Blumentritt. Agoncillo gave a monetary gift while Luna presented her with one of his paintings. The Filipino Revolutionary Committee also searched for opportunities to gain public exposure. When Felix Faure, the

President of the French Republic, died, Agoncillo sent a wreath with the name of the Filipino Revolutionary Committee. Along with it was a letter of condolences by Agoncillo as Minister Plenipotentiary of the First Philippine Republic. On another occasion, Agoncillo personally called on the Austrian embassy to condole with the royal family of Austria as the Empress of that country was assassinated. He left at the embassy his official calling card and a message of condolences. His efforts were not without rewards as Agoncillo received the Order of the Green Button with the rank of Knight Commander of the Red Cross by the Spanish Red Cross for the release of Spanish prisoners of war in the Philippines (Roxas, 1970)



**Figure. 16**  
Adverse events including the assassination of  
Antonio Luna affected the Filipino diplo-  
mats, especially his brother, Juan.

## Contacts with the Anti-Imperialists

What could be the last hope for Philippine independence lay within the United States itself. The opposition Democratic Party did not favor the annexation of the Philippines. In a meeting with Apacible, it voiced its opposition to the American colonization of the Philippines saying that the war in the Islands was an unnecessary war which sacrificed the lives of many Americans; that the Filipinos could not be citizens of the US without endangering its (America's) civilization; that such annexation would imperil their form of government; and that the Americans were not willing to convert their Republic into an Empire. The statement also argued that greedy commercialism dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican Administration. While the Democrats were not opposed to territorial expansion when America took in desirable territories that could be incorporated into the Union, it must be done through peaceful and legitimate needs. The Democrats said that they favored extending America's influence among other nations, but such influence should be extended not by force or violence but through persuasive power of a high and honorable example.<sup>3</sup>

Apacible replied to the Democratic position with a lengthy appeal to the American People. It said that Imperial arms have been claiming his unfortunate country, and its honest American patriots should understand the truth and that they should weigh the statements of the Filipinos against the misrepresentations which Imperialism wished to conceal its designs. It said that the Filipinos were civilized and capable of improvement, and the Philippines was not a primitive country the Imperialists wanted it to be seen. The appeal also mentioned that the love of peace caused the Filipinos to rebel

against the Spaniards to win their legitimate rights. This was the same for the Americans who revolted against the British to win their freedom from oppression. The statement also explained the alliance between the Americans and the Filipinos against Spain in the hope of winning the latter's independence, but such resulted in a war that killed old women and children. The war in the Philippines was unjustified because the Philippines was not a threat to the US, and it was un-American to crush with military force their former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.<sup>4</sup>

The appeal called on the Americans to influence their legislators to grant the Filipinos self-government, and it assured that peace would be restored immediately. It proposed the following:

First. We (the Philippines) will pay back to the United States the twenty million dollars it paid to Spain;

Second. That the most amicable and irrevocable commercial relations shall exist between the Philippines for its mutual benefit for its greater progress;

Third. That the Philippines shall grant to the United States sites within its coasts, outside of its existing cities, that are necessary for coaling stations;

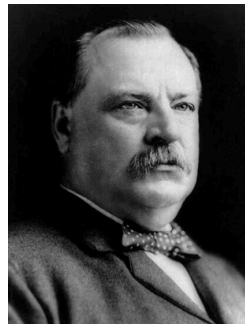
Fourth. That the Philippines will not allow monopolies of any kind in the Islands and that it will give to American citizens all guarantees and protection accorded to its own citizens for the security of life and property; and

Fifth. That the Philippines will be ready to entertain whatever terms the U.S. may desire for itself as long as these do not infringe upon the individual and political liberties of the Filipinos or upon the integrity of their nationality.

(Apacible, 1999, pp. 91-103)

Along with the Democratic Party, other Americans who opposed their country's annexation of the Philippines were members of the Anti-Imperialist League. Among its members were influential Americans such as former President Grover Cleveland, the billionaire and steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, Senator George Hoar, Jacob G. Schurman, William D. Howells, David Starr Jordan, George, Jane Addams, Moorfield Storey, and William Jennings Bryan. Bryan was the Democratic candidate for President in 1895 but lost to McKinley. He would challenge again McKinley for the American presidency in 1900 with the added platform of anti-imperialism. The Anti-Imperialist League was active in the cities of Washington, D.C.; Cincinnati; New York; Philadelphia; Springfield; Chicago; and Los Angeles (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Apacible met with the League members from time to time and sneaked back to Canada. Often, he crossed the US-Canadian border on foot in freezing snow. While in the US, he was trailed by US government agents and was in constant danger of being arrested or assassinated because of the ongoing war with the US. The struggle against the Imperialists was bleak as McKinley was supported by big business and military interests, which have a lot to gain by acquiring the Philippines. In the 1900 presidential elections, President McKinley was reelected over William Jennings Bryan sealing the fate of the islands.



**Figure. 17**

Prominent American anti-imperialists: Democratic Presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, former president Grover Cleveland, and billionaire Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie was said to have offered \$20 million to compensate the US government what it paid to Spain.

### **Mabini as Foreign Secretary**

Meanwhile in the Philippines, Mabini endeavored to have the Revolutionary Government recognized by foreign governments. For this purpose, he drafted on August 6, 1898 a manifesto addressed to the governments of other countries. He said that the Revolutionary government was in control

of several provinces and the Revolutionary forces have besieged Manila, and that there were local governments in place in the territories under the Revolutionary government, and these were receiving instructions from the same. It also said that the Revolutionary Government was in possession of 9,000 Spanish prisoners of war who were being fairly treated according to the rules of war that govern civilized countries. This appeal for recognition was not replied to, and this was attributed earlier to the influence of the US (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Mabini realized the need for a diplomatic service that would represent the country's cause abroad. This allowed Agoncillo to form the Central Philippine Committee in Hong Kong. Mabini thought that the state of Philippine foreign relations was changing. Aside from the United States, Germany and other powers may also come into the picture. Mabini saw the need to let the American people know the real situation of the Philippines; that is, the Filipinos then were capable of self-government and assuming other responsibilities that come with independence. Another function of the foreign service was to acquire arms for the Revolutionary Government. By having arms, the Filipinos would earn the respect of foreign powers. He also wanted to have foreign officers to train and shape up the Philippine armed forces.

Mabini urged Aguinaldo to issue assignments to those who would work for the country's cause abroad. This was necessary to unify those people abroad. These personnel should be able to speak other languages so that they may be aware of all that was going on abroad. They should also know what was happening within the government, so they can

adapt themselves to different circumstances. He also said that the head of the office (in Hong Kong) should have the absolute freedom of action once he has received Aguinaldo's approval. He should issue orders, inform the others who were sent abroad of what was happening; receive all telegrams from other places; and keep the President of the Revolutionary Government informed in the same manner that a general has freedom to execute a combat plan according to his best judgment. Mabini was aware that the Americans were offering positions to prominent Filipinos including those in the diplomatic service. Teodoro Sandiko was offered the position of Chief (Director) of Police with a salary of 200 pesos. It was however, necessary for him to remain in the Philippine diplomatic service. In the face of American offers to entice Filipino officials to defect to their side, Mabini saw it necessary to properly inform its officials about the plans of the Revolutionary Government and prevent laxity among other Filipinos (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

What saddened Mabini was the fact that many members of the Aguinaldo government were actually double-dealing opportunists. While many of them were serving as officials of the Revolutionary Government and later the Philippine Republic, it was evident that they were favoring American rule. Among them was Pedro Paterno who was the President of the Philippine Congress. Together with Felipe Buencamino, Paterno was favoring a protectorate under the Americans. That time, Mabini was earning the jealousy of many prominent Filipinos who called him the *Camara Negra* or Dark Chamber of the President. His enemies, which included the two and others like Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, lobbied against him after he was nominated to be the

Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by Aguinaldo. Mabini's opponents spread ugly rumors that his paralysis was caused by venereal disease and that he would be unfit to become the Chief Magistrate of the Islands. Mabini replied that his disability was not caused by the said disease and that his inability to walk has not affected his intellectual capacities. The opposition caused Aguinaldo to withdraw his nomination. The post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Republic went instead to Gracio Gonzaga (Guevara, 1972). When Mabini proposed that those traitors dealing with the Americans should be arrested by the Philippine Army, his enemies increased their vilification campaign. Finally, the autonomists in the Cabinet won over Mabini who was forced to resign from all his positions in the Philippine Republic on May 7, 1899.

Even after he left the government, Mabini continued advocating for Philippine independence. He opposed Paterno's proposal for a US protectorate for the Philippines. Even Paterno's proposal for a protectorate was not entertained by the US government, which insisted that the Philippine Republic should surrender first before any negotiations can be undertaken.

A protectorate according to Mabini was nothing more than an agreement between one that gives protection and one that receives it. Thus, it often leads to wars; the protector, abusing his power, and cares little for treaties. Besides, a protectorate itself is a greater encumbrance than an advantage. He cited the case of Egypt that used to be a protectorate of the British. But it was subjected to complete inspection and financial control. Egypt later

became a full British colony after being invaded by British troops (Mabini, 2011, p. 87).

Instead, Mabini said that the Philippines must aspire for nothing less than independence. His views were sent as a plan to the Committee in Hong Kong. He said that the Philippines should be a republic because this was the political form perfect for a people living their own lives. If the US were to recognize the independence of the Philippines, the Filipino people for their part will recognize and proclaim the Republic of the United States as their liberator for their admirable Constitution that would make them the champion of the oppressed and responsible for the regeneration of the world (Mabini, 2011). Mabini offered a practical solution to the cession of the Philippines to the US and the payment of \$20 million to Spain. He said that the amount as well as other lesser costs incurred in the acquisition of the Philippines should be treated as a loan of the Philippines to be paid by the Filipino people.

The Filipino people should not allow any foreign government to have the sole privilege of tapping the mines, railways, and any other industries of the Philippines, but the Philippines would charge the products of Germany, Japan, and Cataluña the lowest tariffs next to the US. In return for their magnanimity, the Philippines would allow duty-free importation of American products into the islands, collecting fees only for personnel and supply expenses, proportional to the quantity of other foreign imports until the debt to the US is paid off.

Another solution to the Philippine problem was the neutralization of the islands.

The US, Germany, and Japan must guarantee their neutrality on sea until the Philippine government could acquire ships indispensable for the guarding of the coasts of the archipelago. The Philippines may allow its resources, such as mines and utilities railways, for exploitation by private companies of the US, Japan, and Germany provided that the Philippines should be given a loan to acquire the ships necessary for the defense of the islands. The Filipino government would negotiate for a maximum duration of four months with the Congress and Government of the US the recognition of Philippine independence under these bases. Once Philippine independence is secured, the US, Japan, and Germany would guarantee the national security of the Philippines against foreign invasion. Upon the authorization of the German government, the Krupp company and any other important German firms would supply the Filipino Army free of charge 60,000 rifles, and the Filipino Army would be patterned with that of Germany. In exchange, the Germans would be granted the privilege of providing all of the arms that may be needed by the Philippine government provided that the products are of equal price and quality (Mabini, 2011).

Mabini wanted that the meetings and the formalization of the Peace Treaty with the U.S. and other countries should be held in Manila. He also recommended that the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines should be patterned after that of the US (Mabini, 2011).

Mabini foresaw that the Americans might demand naval bases as part of any treaty with them. The matter of granting a naval base should be studied well because if these bases were located between other islands, the

Americans could use them as nuclei or centers to foment discord and rebellions so as to justify their intervention and carry out a military occupation under a pretext of preserving peace. "I could only give them one base, in the Batanes Islands," he wrote (Mabini, 2011, p. 87).

Mabini's stance on independence was unwavering. Even after the victory of the autonomists and the assassination of Antonio Luna who was a fierce advocate of independence, Mabini remained steadfast in his conviction that the Philippines should get nothing less than independence. Even when he was out of power, he continued to write manifestos and letters all in defense of Philippine independence. He kept the fire of resistance alive by writing manifestos urging the Filipinos to continue the fight against the American invaders.

Because of this reason, the Americans wanted him captured as soon as possible. In December 1899, Mabini hid in the house of Zacarias Flores in Cuyapo, Nueva Ecija. On November 18, 1899, the Americans entered the town, but they could not find Mabini. Aside from the Americans, there were strangers standing around doing nothing. An eyewitness to Mabini's later capture suspected that these were Filipino spies in the payroll of the Americans. After Mabini was captured, these strangers disappeared "like ghosts" (Aguila, 1941, pp. 16-17). Across the street from the house of Flores was the residence of Damian Pascual, who had a store which sold *basi*, a popular native drink. Pascual observed that two men would sneak into the house and leave it several minutes later as if in a hurry in order not to be seen. Pascual's father told him that the two men must have brought Mabini a message and that Mabini was one of the big men

conducting the revolution against the Americans. "If the Americans capture him," Pascual's father said, "the revolution would be lost. We must do our part" (Aguila, 1941, pp. 16-17).

The Americans did not immediately find Mabini. They loitered around the town and even came to Damian's store to while the time away. One day, an American sergeant dropped by the house. He saw the coffee-brown liquid in a glass jar and asked what it was. "It is a delicious home-made brew from sugarcane," Damian's father replied (Aguila, 1941, pp. 16-17). He was referring to the *basi* sold at the store. There was a certain frankness around him that made him admirable to Pascual. The sergeant ordered one glass followed by a second and a third. The next day, the sergeant went back to the store, but this time with soldiers. As these Americans got drunk, Pascual noticed that they would occasionally stare around the neighborhood for tell-tale signs of Mabini. A week later, the American sergeant returned. He did not come to drink *basi*. He grabbed Pascual by the arm and said "Hey boy, Mabini *aqui*?" He then pointed to Zacarias Flores' house and repeated the question, Mabini *aqui*? (Aguila, 1941, p. 17).

The sergeant shook the boy violently, and Pascual remembered his father's admonition never to reveal Mabini's location; but his facial expression must have given him away. The sergeant then bellowed to a squad of soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets. They entered the yard of Flores' house using the boy as a human shield just in case somebody from the house would shoot. They entered the living room and found it empty, but they found several shotguns under the beams. They

entered a room at the right, and they saw a pale-faced man sitting on an easy chair. It was Mabini himself. Mabini saw Pascual and asked him if he had betrayed him to the Americans. Pascual shook his head and explained what had happened. Mabini seemed to have been satisfied with his explanation. Apparently, he expected to be captured anytime. Then Mabini was transported out of Cuyapo in a manner befitting the rank and dignity of a high official. He had a full military escort and the people of Cuyapo lined up the road acclaiming him "*Mabuhay si Mabini! Mabuhay si Mabini!*" Even the American soldiers guarding him did not stop the people from cheering but joined them in their boisterous cheering and hat-tossing. They, too, wanted to show to the people of Cuyapo that they, too, were friends of Mabini. In spite of that, the people did not attempt to rescue him (Aguila, 1941, p. 17).

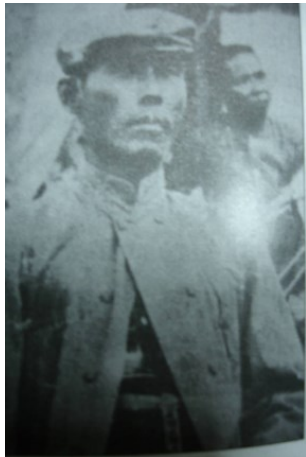


**Figure. 18**

Mabini captured: He was hounded by Filipino spies (NHCP photographs, n.d.).

Mabini was later placed in a house at Anda Street in Intramuros, and later he was allowed to return to the residence of his brother in Nagtahan, Sampaloc, Manila. He did not swear allegiance to the Americans and instead continued to write articles assailing the Americans for their annexation of the Philippines and continued his defense for Philippine independence. His articles to the

view of the Americans were sustaining the continued resistance against them. On January 6, 1901 Mabini was returned to his old quarters at Anda Street in preparation for his deportation to Guam as an “undesirable Filipino” (Mabini, 2011, p. 193). In his report to the American Senate Governor, General Arthur MacArthur said that “Mabini was a most active agitator persistently and defiantly refusing amnesty and maintaining extensive correspondence with insurgents in the field while living in Manila under the protection of the United States. Also for offensive statement in regard to recent proclamation enforcing laws of war. His deportation was absolutely essential” (Mabini, 2011, p. 193). MacArthur described Mabini as the “Brains of the Insurrection.” This tag later evolved into what Filipinos has called Mabini as the “Brains of the Revolution.”



**Figure. 19**

Mabini aboard the *Rosecreans*: Deported to Guam for being the “Brains of the Insurrection” (Photograph courtesy of Dr. Dirk Ballendorf).

On January 15, 1901, Mabini boarded the transport *Rosecrans* to begin his exile as one

of the irreconcilable Filipinos. He joined 56 others including the Vice President of the Philippines, Mariano Trias, Gen. Artemio Ricarte, Mariano Llanera, and Pablo Ocampo. They were exiled to Guam in order to curtail their influence over the Filipinos. Mabini was well-treated during his exile and was invited to live outside the presidio but refused to do so saying that he did not want to become a burden. He used the time to learn English and to write his account of the Philippine Revolution entitled *La Revolucion Filipina* in which he analyzed the causes of the fall of the Philippine Republic.



**Figure. 20**

Some of Mabini’s fellow exiles in Guam (left to right) Pablo Ocampo, Gen. Artemio Ricarte, Gen. Mariano Llanera, and Gen. Mariano Trias.

On July 4, 1901, the exiles were allowed to return to the Philippines provided they swore the oath of allegiance to the US. Mabini, General Ricarte, and a certain Aquilino Randeza refused to swear the oath while the rest had done so and went home. Mabini refused to swear the oath saying that it was against his conscience to do so. According to him, to swear an oath of allegiance is a serious obligation, and he wanted to know first the laws and policy of the US toward the Philippines. However, his health was deteriorating, and he feared that he might die in a foreign land. Mabini finally decided to take the oath of allegiance to the United States but he said that he would swear his loyalty to the US only if he stepped on Philippine soil. He swore his oath in Manila upon his arrival from Guam on February 26, 1903 in front of Customs Collector J. Morgan Shuster.

The Americans offered him the position of Registrar of Deeds, but he refused to accept the position as it might send a message that he was already co-opted by the new colonizer. He returned to his old residence in Nagtahan, Manila. He had barely settled in the city when the American authorities questioned him about a note found with the body of Gen. Luciano San Miguel who was killed in Pugad Baboy in present-day Rizal province in March 1903. It turned out that Mabini was communicating with Gen. San Miguel who continued fighting the Americans. San Miguel asked Mabini whether he should continue fighting or should lay down his arms. Mabini's reply was that he had just arrived from Guam and that it was too early for him to comment, for he still had to study the existing situation. At that time, a cholera epidemic was seeping Manila, and Mabini became one of its victims. He died on May 13, 1903. Mabini

lived in Manila only for two months and 13 days since his arrival from Guam.

### **The End, Division, Defeat, and Pride**

Unfavorable events following the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris in December 1898 began to seal the fate of the Filipinos. The worst enemies of Mabini and the Filipino diplomats working for the recognition of Philippine independence and the Philippine Republic were not the Americans but fellow Filipinos themselves.

There were dissensions within the Committee in Hong Kong because of bickering among its members. As early as 1898, Teodoro Sandiko returned to Manila not only to work for Aguinaldo but also for the Americans; Teodoro R. Yangco left the Committee to devote more time to his business interests; Pedro Roxas and Jose Ma. Basa openly advocated the annexation of the Philippines to the US; while Doroteo Cortez wanted to become an American citizen. Apacible reorganized the group, which was divided into pro-independence and pro-annexationist camps. The former was composed of



**Figure. 21**

Aguinaldo aboard the *Vicksburg* after his capture in Palanan, Isabela: His defeat hastened the surrender of many military leaders in the field (NHCP photographs).

Agoncillo, Apacible, and Jose Alejandrino while the latter included Basa, Cortez, Roxas, and others (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

The continued military defeats of Filipinos did not help lift morale. General Aguinaldo himself was captured by the Americans on March 23, 1901. Following his capture, many Filipino generals surrendered. Among them were Generals Natividad, Tinio, Sandiko, Capistrano, Mascardo, and Mojica. One general, Juan Cailles, immediately affiliated with the pro-American Federal Party. Aguinaldo, a month after his capture, swore his oath of allegiance to the Americans and implored the others, who were still fighting, to cease their resistance. Foreigners to whom Apacible talked to expressed their surprise and disappointment at the surrenders of Filipino generals. Even Americans asked Apacible if these generals were ignorant or shameless. They were also surprised to find out that after surrendering, they belittled the Cause they defended for a long time and then humbled themselves before their former enemy, so they could be given some kind of an employment no matter how lowly it was. Apacible later wrote: "The history of other nations does not record how many instances of this kind (of shameless behavior) as that of our dear country." He continued: "The situation was bleak as most of the leaders of the Revolution deserted the Cause, and the remaining revolutionary fighters were encircled (by the enemy); they lacked arms and were hounded by traitors" (Apacible, 1999, p. 127).

There was one victory that lifted the spirits of the Filipino diplomats. In September 1901, Gen. Vicente Lukban's forces annihilated an entire American company in Balangiga, Samar. The Americans, however returned and

wreaked vengeance turning the island of Samar a howling wilderness. In July, the Committee received a proclamation from General Miguel Malvar that he was assuming the leadership of the Revolutionary Government. This proclamation was greeted with a letter of congratulations from the Committee (Apacible, 1999).

As Malvar took over the Revolutionary Government his forces now turned guerillas kept the Americans busy in fighting the lingering insurgency. They responded by destroying crops and livestock, causing famine in large areas of the country. To ease the suffering of the people, Malvar surrendered to the Americans on April 16, 1902. General Simeon Ola fought the Americans longer than Malvar. He surrendered to the Americans on September 25, 1903, making him the last Filipino revolutionary general to surrender to the Americans.

While the Filipino Central Committee was engaged in propaganda work for the cause of Philippine independence, other Filipinos were working for the annexation of the Philippines to the US or the establishment of an autonomous government or protectorate under the Americans. In 1900, Pedro Paterno proposed the establishment of a Free State of the Philippines under the protection of the United States to which Apacible wrote to his friend Isidoro de los Santos that what he was proposing was "An Autonomous Colonial Administration" and that Paterno's proposal was a 'national suicide' (Apacible, 1999, p. 106).

Apacible also said that Paterno was an "unbalanced, a dangerous man to our cause, for the reason that a great part of our people (the Filipinos) still respect and believe in him." His



**Figure. 22**

Paterno: A dangerous man to our cause –  
Apacible  
(NHCP photographs).

proposal clearly demonstrates that he was a traitor, if his role in Biak-na-Bato was not a sufficient proof. At the same time, Paterno, according to Apacible, “insults us, in trying to make us believe that he is proposing a protectorate, instead of colonization.” This fraud and his present attitude proved that he was an agent of the Yankee imperialists in Manila (Apacible, 1999, p. 106).

There were also groups, like the *Asosacion de Paz*, which did damage to the work of the Committee by swaying public opinion against the ones working for Philippine independence. Its President and Vice President were Leon Ma. Guerrero and Pedro Paterno, respectively, and its officers were well-known citizens such as Pascual Poblete (auditor), Joaquin Luna (treasurer), and Rafael Palma (secretary). Apacible considered these people as nothing but turncoats. He informed Aguinaldo that they were very much sought by

these Manila *Americanistas*. “They sent letters and special envoys, entreating us with hollow promises if they surrender unconditionally. The instructions given to these *Americanistas* were to persuade the Committee members to cease their agitation and take the oath of allegiance to the American government, and these would contribute to the restoration of peace in the Islands” (Apacible, 1999, pp. 132-133).

“The work of the *Americanistas*,” Apacible wrote, “was so damaging to the revolutionary diplomats.. they were the ones who hurt us most – much more than the Yankee cannons” (Apacible, 1999, p. 110).

Since the Committee still held substantial sums of money, Apacible and his companions were approached by all sorts of racketeers who proposed dubious deals. One of them was a former revolutionary general who was now working for the Americans. He asked the revolutionary diplomats to take the oath of allegiance to the Americans and to work for the surrender of other revolutionaries still in the field. He also wanted Apacible to invest the remaining sums of the Committee in a business venture he proposed. Apacible asked the general to put his plan into writing and pretended to study his proposal. When Apacible received the document, he reproached him for his crooked scheme. Since then, the said general hated him. Years later, the same general landed in jail for causing the collapse of the Philippine National Bank in 1921. His case, according to Apacible, shocked the country, and it was a blow to Filipino participation in the government. According to the Wood-Forbes Report, the story of the Philippine National Bank was one of the most

unfortunate and darkest days in Philippine history (Apacible, 1999, p. 80).



**Figure. 23**

Concepcion: According to Apacible, Concepcion tried to convince him to invest the money of the Revolutionary Committee into his business schemes.

Apacible was referring to Gen. Venancio Concepcion who, despite the absence of a banking experience in violation of the Bank's charter, was appointed President of the Philippine National Bank because of his closeness to Sergio Osmeña whose life he saved during the Revolution. According to Apacible, Concepcion's career ended in the cells of Bilibid Prison. If he was consulted before, he would not have been president of the Philippine National Bank (Apacible, 1999, p. 80).

With less money coming from the Philippines, Apacible recommended that only four members of the Committee remain in Hong Kong while the rest may devote themselves to their private businesses. He also wished to give up the house in Morrison Hill Road and move to a cheaper one to save the budget. The Filipino delegation in Japan was

recalled earlier in March 1901 because it was already useless as there was difficulty of sending arms from that country to the Philippines and also because of heavy American pressure on the Japanese. On July 31, 1903, the Central Filipino Committee was finally dissolved. This development was announced by Apacible's Secretary, Cayetano Lukban, and it was announced in the newspaper *El Renacimiento*. The remaining funds, archives, library, and any other properties were placed in charge of Mariano Ponce. Apacible resumed his medical practice in Hong Kong; and on December 12, 1903, he arrived in Manila. Before he took the oath of office, Apacible was surrounded by a group of men who turned out to be police detectives who were instructed to take a good look at him. They were told that they should watch over him because he was the Chairman of the Central Filipino Committee who sent several shipments of arms to the revolutionists. Apacible was given the special privilege of not having to take a qualifying examination to practice medicine in the Philippines, so he would not have to return to Hong Kong to resume his revolutionary activities (Apacible, 1999).



**Figure. 24**

Agoncillo's official photograph as a member of the First Philippine Assembly (De Ocampo & Saulo, 1994).

Agoncillo, on the other hand, returned to the Philippines in 1905. He was a financially impoverished man after spending his fortune for the cause of the Philippines. Later, both Apacible and Agoncillo rejoined the political mainstream as founders of the Nacionalista Party whose candidates ran on the platform of complete, absolute, and immediate independence.

Both Apacible and Agoncillo helped form the Nacionalista Party, which had a platform of seeking immediate and absolute independence for the Philippines. Agoncillo was persuaded to run for a seat in the First Philippine Assembly and served as Representative for the First District of Batangas from 1907 to 1909. He served as chief defense counsel for Teodoro M. Kalaw and the writers of *El Renacimiento* during the celebrated *Aves de Rapiña* libel case. He later became Secretary of the Interior during the Wood Administration from February 11, 1924 to October 1, 1925. His nomination to the post was not challenged in the Philippine Senate, which was at odds with Governor General Leonard Wood because of the Ray Conley affair back in 1923.



**Figure. 25**  
Apacible with his wife Concepcion and their daughter, Catalina (Apacible, 1999).

Apacible helped in setting up the medical department of the University of the Philippines. He was later elected as Governor of Batangas province and served from 1908 to 1909H. In 1910, he ran for a seat in the Philippine Assembly and was elected representative for the First District of Batangas for which he served from 1910 to 1916. From 1917 to 1922, Apacible served as Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

## Conclusion

The experience of the Philippine Revolution showed the need for a foreign service in order for the revolutionists to achieve their goal. The purpose of a foreign service was to establish and maintain foreign contacts that may spell the success or failure of the revolutionary objectives. These objectives were the following: contact entities abroad that maybe sympathetic to the cause of the revolutionists; solicit their material and moral support; and send a message to the outside world of their existence and their need to be recognized as a legitimate and legal personality. The need for a foreign service was conceived even during the prerevolutionary era as seen in the efforts of the Katipunan and organizations, like La Propaganda, to assign some of their members to contact powers that may help in the struggle, like Japan and Germany, and may help change the outcome of the negotiations of the Treaty of Paris.

Having a foreign service is not the only formula for success. It also depends on the dedication of the people serving in it. The personalities who served in the revolutionary foreign service may be classified into two categories. The first included the well-meaning

individuals who were true to the ideals of the Philippine Revolution and its goal of independence. Jacinto, Mabini, Apacible, and Agoncillo belong to this category. These people are true patriots of the Foreign Service. The second includes those who joined the fight for independence but later changed their goals because of personal interests and the belief that the Philippines still needed some kind of guidance from a foreign power. In this category belong the likes of Jose Ma. Basa, Doroteo Cortez, and Antonio Ma. Regidor. Originally, they were part of the pro-independence struggle but decided to favor colonialism under a new power. These people may have been pragmatists who saw that the Philippines would not be able to fulfill its duties as an independent nation or they may have been driven by selfish motives. A foreign service, especially in a time of crisis such as the Philippine Revolution and the Filipino-American War, demands people of the highest form of patriotism and integrity. Opportunists and demagogues have no place in the foreign service or any branch of the government service.

Another cause of the failure to pursue the goal of total independence and the recognition by other countries was the divisiveness of the Philippine Revolutionary Government from which the Filipino diplomats received instructions. The revolutionary government was divided into pro-independence and one that favored autonomy under the US. So serious was the division that it contributed to an assassination; that of Antonio Luna and it directly led to the ouster of pro-independence officials like Mabini from the Filipino cabinet. The main cause of the failure of the Philippine Revolution, therefore, was not the superior arms of the Americans but the lack of unity in the Revolutionary Government, which was

aggravated by opportunism and lack of patriotism from its officials.

Even outside of political power, Mabini, Apacible, and Agoncillo staunchly advocated Philippine independence and proposed practical solutions for obtaining it. The quest for independence was not an end in itself. When writing his notes in Rosales, Pangasinan on September 6, 1899, Mabini said that the goal of the Philippine Revolution was independence. But he said "Independence was not enough, a moral government is also indispensable. It must be very moral, that it should govern with truth, without deceit, complying with the laws and its promises to the people; a government (that is) appropriately progressive" (Mabini, 2011, p. 48). Mabini said that the Filipinos needed a government that is patriotic, that is one that seeks the general welfare not of the individual or a privileged class. Filipinos must also get rid of their vices because these are the ones that they inherited from a decrepit society. Mabini said that the Philippine government must be a republic not a monarchy because a republic is one that represents the people while a monarchy only glorifies a family or a group of families.

Mabini rejected the idea of protectorate under the US, for it is not an independent entity. To him a protectorate is just another name for a colony. If the US takes the Philippines as its protectorate, the latter will just be exchanging one colonizer (Spain) and replacing it with another (the United States). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, "protectorates" were actually colonies. Examples of these are Laos and Cambodia, which were protectorates under France. Egypt became a protectorate of Great Britain, which stood to control the Suez Canal. The Philippines, according to Mabini, must be

independent because it is only through independence the Filipino people can achieve their highest aspiration, which is impossible under a protectorate or as a colony.

Apacible and Agoncillo for their part remained with the Revolutionary diplomatic service to the grim end. Surrounded by spies and foreign enemies, they remained firm in their conviction that the Philippines should be independent, not a protectorate or a colony of another power. What hurt them most was their fellow Filipinos who were in the payroll of the new colonizers. Many of them served as high officials and generals of the Philippine government and after capitulating to the Americans, shamelessly belittled the Cause they fought for so long. These Filipinos likewise willingly took lowliest jobs under the Americans just to sustain themselves. The Filipino diplomats on the other hand, faced many temptations around them. They could have decided to live as immigrants in countries they have been to or, as in the case of Apacible fallen into the wiles of friends and beautiful women. The Filipino diplomats were also custodians of considerable sums of money and were approached by all sorts of racketeers, but they remained firm. Apacible and Agoncillo could have abandoned the cause and went back to their profitable businesses, i.e., the former, being a medical doctor, and the latter, a brilliant lawyer. When they returned to the Philippines they were financially impoverished but they had what American persuasion and temptation could never overcome, which is honor. These men were not mere heroes of the diplomatic service of the First Philippine Republic; they were true Filipino patriots.

## Endnotes

1 NHCP is an abbreviation for the National Historical Commission of the Philippines.

2 For additional information about the involvement of Japan in the smuggling of arms in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War, refer to "The Truth about the Nuno-Biki Maru Affair" [Manila: National Historical Institute, 1999].

3 For a full text of the Democratic Party's position refer to Apacible, 1999, pp. 89-90.

4 For a full text of Apacible's Appeal, refer to Apacible, 1999, pp. 91-103.

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