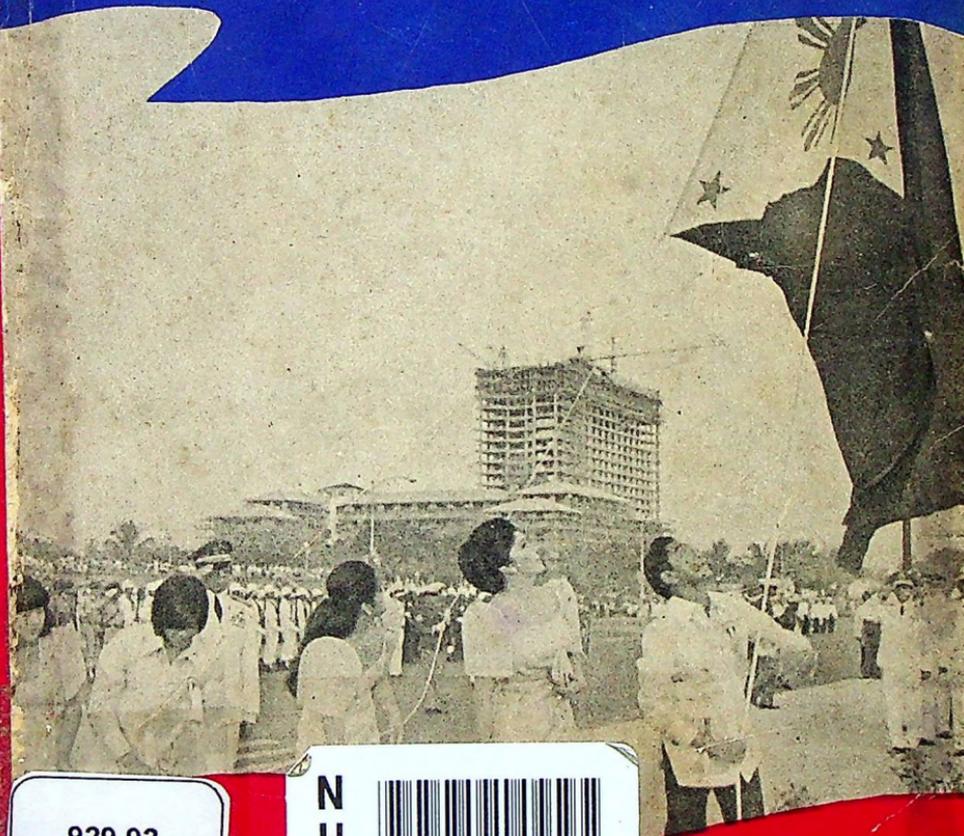


The Flag of our Fathers

DOMINGO ABELLA



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A summary of the historical evolution
of the Philippine standard based on
documented sources and archival research

**To His Excellency
The President of the Republic
of the Philippines
Ferdinand E. Marcos
on his
58th Birthday Anniversary
September 11, 1976**



Contents

Foreword	1
Shorthand of History	2
First Phase: From Balintawak to Biyak-na-Bato	
(a) The Supremo's Flag:	
In the province of Manila (1896)	4
Source of Misinformation	5
"First Philippine Flag"?.	8
A "Mestizo" Flag	9
"First Philippine Flag Reformed"	13
"Naik Conference on March 17, 1897"?.	14
A Third Flag?	15
Was There a "Katipunan War Standard"?.	16
Aguinaldo's Personal Seal 1896	18
Magdiwang Flag: In the province of Cavite (1896-1897)	19
Flag at Biyak-na-Bato	21
Culpable Omission	23
Llanera's Skull Flag	26
Other Unit Banners	27
From Balintawak to Biyak-na-Bato	28
Second Phase: (1898-1936)	30
Under the American Rule: Confusion in the Details of the Flag	35
Under the Commonwealth Government	39
Executive Order No. 23	41
Appendices	53

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FOREWORD

This is a preliminary study of the published works on the evolution of our national flag and an attempt to straighten out certain inconsistencies in the record from a strictly historical perspective.

In the reconstruction of past events in the history of our people, direct documentary evidence cannot always be resorted to because such evidence is most of the time fragmentary; many loopholes would remain unfilled and incomplete. Our forefathers wrote very little; in general their education under the Spanish regime left much to be desired; they were doers more than they were writers. Even those who had left memoirs seldom wrote them themselves; they dictated their recollections at a later time, depending much on the faithfulness of their memory and that of their amanuenses.

It has thus become the work of later historians to fill in gaps and complete unfinished narratives, not with their fancy, but with research on the circumstantial evidence which either confirms or contradicts narrations from memory.

Similarly, enemy records help to straighten out the narration of a contending party when this is incomplete or inaccurate.

The Spaniards wrote in detail on their campaign against the Filipino rebels. Aside from the official chroniclers of the armed forces there were individual observers and commentators among the officers and men, in addition to the correspondents of Manila and Madrid newspapers. Their written records done on the scene of action, published or in manuscript, may be found in the various public and private depositories in Madrid, among them the Hemeroteca Municipal, Biblioteca Nacional, Museo del Ejército, Biblioteca Militar, and Museo Naval.

SHORTHAND OF HISTORY

Flags, emblems, escutcheons, and coat of arms belong to an academic discipline called Heraldry. Since the Middle Ages, European monarchs had their heralds assigned not only to publicize royal proclamations but to emblazon seals and other emblems for people of rank based on their family achievements and service to country. As new states were born, Heraldry designed emblems expressing the traditions and ideals of their respective peoples by means of symbols and colors, so that at a glance and *in a nutshell*, as it were, the emblems would identify the nations to which they belonged.

Thus, Heraldry has been called the "shorthand of history", and the pictorial representation of the nation. As such, a national emblem, such as a flag, should be a faithful reproduction of its official and acknowledged design; like a "shorthand manuscript" every dot and dash therein carries meaning, the shade of the colors should be preserved, and the arrangement of the symbols should be shown as in a photographic reproduction, unaltered—unless decreed otherwise by competent authority.

It appears that these elementary rules of Heraldry have been unwittingly violated by some of our textbook writers. Before these lapses acquire permanence in our national annals they should be corrected.

To simplify the subject and facilitate understanding of our study, we propose to set the following criteria.

Firstly, two phases of our struggle for freedom from 1896 to 1936 must be clearly demarcated, insofar as the evolution of our National Flag is concerned, namely from Balintawak to Biyak-na-Bato (1896-1897) and from Kawit to the Commonwealth government (1898-1936).

Secondly, we must set aside the banners or emblems designed for, and used at, the secret meetings of the *Katipunan* prior to Balintawak, including the alleged "War Standard" bearing the well-known "K. K. K." at the center in white on a red field. They were organizational and

ceremonial in nature, and no record shows that they had ever been used in major combats.

We must also set aside the flags designed by commanding generals such as Pio del Pilar, Gregorio del Pilar, Mariano Llanera and others. While this is not to deny their participation in our war effort, their flags belong to the class of unit or regimental flags and were never accorded widespread recognition by other units as emblems of the whole revolutionary movement.

Fig. 1

First Phase: From Balintawak to Biyak-na-Bato

(a) *The Supremo's Flag*: in the province of Manila.
(1896)

Our national flag was born in the field of battle at the cry of rebellion in the morning of August 23, 1896, in Pugadlawin as the more than 1,000 *Katipuneros* unsheathed their *bolos*, tore their *cedulas*, and rallied around Andres Bonifacio crying "Long Live the Philippines" in open defiance of the authority of the Spaniards, then the rulers in our motherland. Shortly thereafter, on August 25, some rebels were felled by the rifles of the *Guardia Civil* in Pasong-Tamo, Caloocan, and more than 130 of them shed their blood in San Juan del Monte five days later in frontal and bloody combat with the Spanish regular army under General Echaluze, Vice Governor General of the Philippines (Figs. 2 and 3).

Personifying the *Supremo* of the K. K. K. as the rallying point of the rebels was his personal flag. It was the symbol of Bonifacio's acknowledged leadership, supreme authority, and national aspiration for freedom from foreign domination (Fig. 1).

This flag consisted of a sunburst with an indefinite number of rays and three letter K's below it, all in white, at the center of a red field.

The authenticity of the design of this banner no one can deny. It is attested to in writing by Pio Valenzuela, one of Bonifacio's close associates, who took part in the said combats.

Confirming Valenzuela's statement, from the Spanish front is Emilio Reverter Delmas, who wrote with reference to the San Juan del Monte encounter that: "Through Santa Mesa had passed numerous bands of combatants, [who] although poorly armed, carried many small red flags

like the color of the cotton trousers of the insurgents . . . shouting "Death to Spain. Advance. Advance."¹

Although the writer did not describe the allegorical symbol on the "red flags", it may be surmised that whatever their designs they were patterned after the K. K. K. insignias or Bonifacio's emblems according to the concept of the group leaders, without uniformity. Hence, the various types of banners claimed to have been used by the insurgents (Fig. 18).

But over and above all, was the personal flag of Bonifacio who was in command of the revolutionists in that first frontal encounter with the Spanish troops (Fig. 1).

Following the criterion we have set above for this study, we feel justified, therefore, in considering this banner as the first stage in the evolution of our national flag.

In searching for the second stage, we have not seen any document of evidential value showing an amendment to the flag described above, until December 1896 when *Supremo* Bonifacio moved his headquarters to the province of Cavite from Montalban.

It was at this period of the Revolution that two (others say three) different designs of rebel banners appeared on the scene, according to the published versions of present-day writers. There seems to be no valid documentation to support the historicity of this claim, as we shall see below.

SOURCE OF MISINFORMATION

Available to us are several published works by well-known textbook writers and reputable scholars on the evolution of the Philippine flag, some of them going as far back as the middle of the regime. Except for some minor details and variations the basic uniformity of their claims indicates unanimity of concept. Because there has not been a dissenting voice the published accounts acquired popular acceptance and are now well on the way to

¹ *La Insurreccion de Filipina*, Barcelona, 1889, Vol. I, p. 36

perpetuity. This has culminated in the issuance by the Bureau of Posts not long ago of a series of commemorative postage stamps depicting the "Evolution of the Philippine Flag" based on the published versions mentioned (Fig. 4).

Tracing the source of information of present-day writers to ascertain the veracity of their accounts, one cannot go farther back than the book *Our Country's Flag and Anthem* by Emanuel A. Baja, first published in Manila in 1928 (2nd ed., 1930; 3rd ed., 1936). All subsequent writers on the subject of our national flag have followed the basic lines traced by Mr. Baja and have used this author's book as the main authority for their studies.

Mr. Baja was not an eye-witness, much less a participant of the events of the Revolution he wrote about.

What then were Baja's sources of information for his narrative?

Baja's book being the authority consistently used by subsequent writers must, therefore, be closely scrutinized as to the historicity of the author's claims. We have not found any book review of Baja's *opus* to this date during the nearly half a century since its appearance, much less a historical analysis of its sources of information to entitle it to the stature accorded to it. It is indeed strange that none of our historians, specialists on the Philippine Revolution, have thought of analyzing Baja's book before blindly incorporating its claims into their own studies.

It is the purpose of the present paper to make a preliminary study of Baja's claims regarding the evolution of our "National Flag"² to verify their truthfulness in the light of documentary evidence and, in its absence, circumstantial evidence.

Resulting from this study several undocumented claims and circumstantial incongruities have been found to be glaring, even to the ordinary observer. Until and unless these observations are authoritatively contradicted, we shall maintain the theory that the claims referred to are fanciful.

² All references to author Baja in this paper are from his *Philippine National Flag and Anthem*, Manila, 1936.

Since the appearance of Baja's book in 1928, most if not all the textbook writers have invariably included *two* banners in their series of designs depicting the evolution of our national flag which we shall now analyze.

If we are to believe author Baja and those who copied from him, these two flags, one after the other, represented the Revolution during the entire period of the bloody events of 1896 to 1897, from its inception to the Pact of Biyak-na-Eato.

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"FIRST PHILIPPINE FLAG"?

According to Mr. Baja, one of them (Fig. 5) was "the first Philippine flag . . . as adopted and approved [without saying by whom and where] a few weeks after the war had started", that is, sometime in September, 1896.³

On this banner Mr. Baja further commented as follows:

One of the many results of the first period of the war for independence against Spain was the creation of the First Philippine Flag . . . it became the country's true flag a few days after the outbreak of hostilities. Approved and adopted as the symbol of Filipino statehood . . . it finally became a recognized and fitting symbol of the *de facto* government . . .⁴

Of the other flag (Fig. 6), Mr. Baja said that it was the "next authorized change in the first flag . . . at the Naic Conference on March 17, 1897".

Presumably this second flag was unchanged until the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato in December of that year, because Mr. Baja did not present a third flag after this.

Inferentially, therefore, during that period there were no other flags emblematic of the insurgent movement in Cavite than these two flags (Figs. 5 and 6).

Historically analyzed, Mr. Baja's contention is not tenable. In fact, in the light of documentary and circumstantial evidence, neither of the said flags existed, as we shall show below.

³ Some historians claim (without any documentary proof) that it was on "August 30, 1896" that "the Section Council of Sangguniang Balangay of the Katipunercs in the town of Kawit, Cavite held a meeting. The members decided to make a change in the flag they were using. Instead of the three K's, they placed an ancient Tagalog K (ꝲ) within the figure of a sun with eight rays." (P. A. Gagelonia, *Our Nation's Emblem and Anthem*, Manila, 1969, p. 84)

⁴ Baja, *op. cit.*, p. 44

The two banners referred to here are:

(a) that bearing a design which looks like a mariner's steering wheel to represent the sun with 8 rays with the symbol \approx in the center, all in white on a red field (Fig. 5) which author Baja called "the First Philippine Flag". For reasons stated below we prefer to call it here a "Mestizo" flag, and

(b) that bearing a mythological sun (with eyes, eyebrows, nose, and mouth, in red) and 8 major rays, each with 2 minor rays, all in white on a red field (Fig. 6) which author Baja called "the first flag reformed".

A "MESTIZO" FLAG

We have not found any documentary evidence to show that this flag (Fig. 5) had ever existed. Our search for evidence included not only the documentary sources available locally but also those in the *Museo del Ejército* (Museum of the Army) and the *Museo Naval* (Naval Museum), both in Madrid, where a large assortment of memorabilia of our armed rebellion against Spain at the end of the last century are on exhibit. In the former museum, in addition to bladed weapons, firearms and other war equipments, can be found an assortment of Filipino rebel flags, all claimed to have been captured from the Cavite dissidents. None of them appears to be anywhere near the flag under our consideration.

Now let us look at the circumstantial evidence of our case. It is significant to know at this point, that in any study of the evolution of our national flag two things stand out in bold relief, and they are:

(1) the design of the letter K in ancient Tagalog script (\approx), undoubtedly copied from the insignia worn by the *Kawal* (second degree) members of the *Katipunan*, was a symbol used by the *Katipuneros* of Cavite, irrespective of their *Sangguniang* affiliation since August 31, 1896. It appears that it was since the reorganization meeting of both councils in September 1896, that the *Magdalo* council leaders began using the Roman K in the center of a multirayed

sunburst in their insignia, perhaps to differentiate it from that of the *Magdiwang* council which continued to use the old insignia with the Tagalog script (☉). When Bonifacio established his headquarters at the *Magdiwang* Council in Cavite in December 1896 he must have adopted the *Magdiwang* insignia as the emblem of the Revolution, for it later appeared in all insignia that had to do with Bonifacio; and

(2) the design of the 8 rays of the sunburst, together with the mythological sun was a brain-child of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, and had been consistently identified with him since *Biyak-na-Bato*.

It appears from our studies of the documents of the time that Bonifacio never used 8 rays for the sun of his personal flag (Fig. 1), not even in the design of his personal seal as *Supremo* of the *Katipunan* (Fig. 7). Bonifacio's sun bore an indefinite number of rays. This he kept to the end (Appendix A). On the other hand, we do not know of any design in the preparation of which General Aguinaldo had a hand, wherein he used the Tagalog script for K. See for instance, his personal seal as Captain General of the *Magdalo* troops (Fig. 8). He used the Roman K rather than the Tagalog script for that letter. Later, Aguinaldo changed the K for the mythological sun, similar to the sun appearing in the national flags of Argentina and Uruguay (Figs. 9 and 10). Aguinaldo kept this design consistently, from the seals of the Philippine Republic under him in *Biyak-na-Bato* (Figs. 11 and 12) to his Hongkong-designed flag of 1898 and the seals of the second phase of our Revolution. (Appendix H)

In view of the foregoing distinction between the two fundamental designs in the evolution of our National Flag it appears inconceivable, in the absence of any evidential record, that both designs should appear in *one* flag such as the one under our scrutiny. For this reason we have dubbed this flag as a "Mestizo" flag, that is, half Bonifacio (the ☉ symbol) and half Aguinaldo (the eight rays).

In the light of the bitter struggle for supremacy between these two revolutionary leaders, which began to surface at

the Imus Conference of December 1896 and openly flared up at the Tejeros Convention, one cannot easily admit that there ever existed a "Mestizo" flag such as the one represented as the "first Philippine flag."

Mr. Baja wrote during the American regime. Although he could have interviewed Generals Aguinaldo, Ricarte, and other surviving revolutionary leaders, it is strange that he failed to document the following remarks.

. . . To perpetuate the belligerency of these eight provinces where it was said that the uprising started almost simultaneously, and to show that the entire country was in accord with the Katipunan decision of settling the issue by force of arms, the Magdalo revolutionary leaders, then the moving and active mainstay of the war, abolished the three K's in the middle of the red rectangular flag. In its place was substituted the old Tagalog letter with eight rays, the former retaining its original meaning of Katipunan, and the latter emblematic of the first eight provinces to revolt. Since that modification was adopted, it ceased to be the Katipunan war standard; because the Katipunan, as a society, having completed its mission in starting the war for independence, and its work having been taken up by the people as a whole, was for all intents and purposes replaced by the organized military government. The reformed flag, therefore, became the official flag of the established *de facto* Philippine government and its armed forces. Its adoption was solemnized in public during an open-air mass which was celebrated and held in the town plaza of Imus. After the benediction of the new flag, the revolutionary troops, in imitation of the Spanish custom, took allegiance to this first official Philippine flag.⁵

The foregoing statement cannot be accepted without comment.

(a) In a footnote (No. 31), Baja cited Ricarte as his authority for his description of the new flag. His footnote reads:

⁵ Baja, *ibid.*, pp. 31-32

On the first page of Ricarte's *The Hispano-Philippine Revolution* appears the picture of what was purported to be a Katipunan flag. It is almost square with a sunburst of major rays and 8 smaller ones; in the center of the sun is the Malayan alphabet \approx (K).

We would like to see what flag Baja was talking about, because the only copy we have seen of Ricarte's *Hispano Philippine* . . . is that extant in the Filipiniana Division, the National Library (F 991.4026, R 357 hi) the first page of which is filled with text and no picture of a flag is anywhere to be found except on page 92 where the scene of the lowering of the insurgent flag at Biyak-na-Bato is illustrated. The insurgent flag shown here (Fig. 13) is not the flag ("Mestizo" flag) referred to by Mr. Baja.

(b) Mr. Baja described the solemn ceremonies held at Imus (no date) on the occasion of the official "adoption" of the "reformed flag" (the so-called "First Philippine Flag").

Despite the absence of any documentary support to the truth of the above statement by Mr. Baja, and despite negative testimony of Aguinaldo and Ricarte in their respective *Memoirs*, Mr. Baja's narration has been admitted unquestioningly by present-day writers.

(c) Nowhere in any documentation relating to our revolutionary flags can we find the sun depicted as a circle, or a ring. Moreover, it has been customary in Heraldry to depict the sun as a solid ball, not just a ring.

For example, General Artemio Ricarte in his *Memoirs* describes the insurgent banner as "similar to that of Japan, differing from it only in that instead of having a red sun with rays on a white ground, it had a white sun . . ." ⁶ that is, a solid white ball, not just a white ring on a red background, as Mr. Baja presents it to us now.

⁶ *Memoirs* . . . , p. 5

“FIRST PHILIPPINE FLAG REFORMED”

Mr. Baja, speaking of the flag bearing a mythological sun, said as follows:

The next authorized change in the first flag took place at the Naic Conference on March 17, 1897 . . . it was ordered that thereafter the official flag of the government and its forces was to be the same as that used by *Magdalo* with the addition of a sun . . . the sun as agreed and authorized in the Naic Assembly was to be mythologically represented; that is, with two eyes, nose and mouth.⁷

“The next authorized change in the *first flag*”, *Baja* stated. What was the “first flag”? Previously he had claimed that the “first Philippine flag” was his design of the “Mestizo” flag above discussed. Therefore, the one he described as “reformed” in the “conference at Naik, Cavite on March 17, 1897” was the *second* flag. This implies that from “the few weeks after the war had started” in 1896 to March 17, 1897, the revolutionary flag was the “Mestizo” flag. That this claim is not borne out by the historical facts will be shown below.

In addition, under *Baja*’s illustration of this flag, the caption reads as follows:

The same flag as it was again reformed during the conference at Naic, Cavite, on March 17, 1897. The mythological sun shown at the center was often referred to as the ‘Sun of Liberty!’⁸

⁷ *Baja*, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35

⁸ *Baja*, *ibid.*, p. 32

“NAIK CONFERENCE on March 17, 1897”?

In the first place, was there a “Naic Conference on March 17, 1897” as alleged? Who called or presided over it? Only one of the two leaders could have done it—Bonifacio or Aguinaldo. Neither of them, however, mentions it in any of the writings available to us today. Besides, one who knows the whereabouts of Aguinaldo and Bonifacio then, will have to conclude that neither of them was in Naic on March 17, 1897. Not even General Ricarte mentions the holding of that conference in his *Memoirs*. No one, besides copying the claim, has proven its veracity with documentary evidence. A lot more things could be said to support our stand, but we reserve them for a paper on this subject exclusively. Suffice it now to say that our studies at this stage have led us to the conclusion that there was *no military conference at Naik on that date*. (For further reading on this subject see Appendix E).

Mr. Baja's authority for the alleged Naik Conference was Carlos Ronquillo's letter. But a close reading of this letter, written on September 8, 1926, *twenty one years* after the event, will reveal that it had nothing to do with the supposed Naic Conference. (*Vide Appendix B*).

With reference to Baja's illustration of the so-called “Magdalo” flag the design of the 8 *rays* of the sun is not the same as that drawn by Aguinaldo in his letter to Director Luis Montilla of the National Library, dated January 10, 1953. (Appendix C) While Baja's illustration shows 8 major rays and 2 minor ones for every major ray, Aguinaldo's drawing shows no minor rays at all. (Appendix D).

Of course Aguinaldo's letter mentioned above refers to the flag that he designed in Hongkong in 1898, but his

design of the sun and 8 rays is significant as to how these emblems should be represented in the Philippine flag. We repeat, it was Aguinaldo who conceived the symbol of the *mythological sun and 8 rays* for the emblems of the Philippine Republic from Biyak-na-Bato onwards. Aguinaldo's letter further corrects Baja's mistake insofar as "the color of the lines forming the eyebrows, the eyes, the nose and the mouth is not red as appears in Baja's illustration, but black".

A THIRD FLAG?

We now turn to a statement made in a textbook that the design of the reformed Philippine flag was changed "after Easter day" [April 18, 1897] in Naic at the meeting called and presided over by now President Aguinaldo of the Revolutionary Government.⁹ No documentary proof had been advanced to support this claim. Although Ricarte, writing about that meeting, said that in the reorganization of the Government "the insignia used by the officers of the army" was reformed,¹⁰ he did not mention any change made on the insurgent flag. Apparently none was made in the light of Ricarte's illustration of the flag which he ordered to be lowered at Biyak-na-Bato in December 1897 (Fig. 13).

It is, therefore, our considered opinion that, in view of the reasons enumerated above and unless documentation to the contrary be produced, author Baja's illustrations of these two flags (Figs. 5 and 6) should be eliminated from all accounts on the evolution of the Philippine national flag.

If we are to bind ourselves to the records as revealed in the "shorthand of history" we must do away with the undocumented and fanciful distortions of our national symbols as originally designed by those who fought under them.

⁹ Gagelonia, *op. cit.*, (pp. 87, 89)

¹⁰ *Memoirs*, p. 47

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WAS THERE A "KATIPUNAN WAR STANDARD"?

There are three other designs of flags which have been included in the series depicting the evolution of our national flag which are based on hearsay evidence (Fig. 14). Baja in his book called them variations of the "Katipunan War Standard". He wrote:

The Katipunan War Standard—A red rectangular field with the well-known letters K.K.K. at the center was, therefore, adopted, used and sanctioned as the Katipunan War Standard" . . .¹¹

Without saying *when* and *where* it was "adopted and sanctioned" (supposedly by the Katipunan), the author left the reader bereft of documentation. But Mr. Baja himself wrote on the variations of the alleged "War Standard" as follows:

The three K's . . . were placed in a row, but in some instances were arranged so as to form the corners of an equilateral triangle in the center of the red field. Which of the two was the correct or original design cannot be proven with any degree of certainty because there are no documentary evidences to support either one or the other. Old pictures, evidences and relics of the revolutionary period show the unrestricted use of both arrangements . . . In some localities the flag had only one K.¹²

Despite this uncertainty, Mr. Baja went on to claim that the so-called "First Philippine Flag" (Fig. 5) was a modification of the "Katipunan War Standard".

We do not wish to say that the so-called Katipunan War Standard and its variations never existed. They might have been unfurled by some unknown rebel leaders as

¹¹ Baja, *op. cit.*, p. 19

¹² *Ibid*, p. 20

their regimental or unit banner. What we dispute is the official designation of "Katipunan War Standard", which is not documented.

If, according to Baja, the "First Philippine Flag" (with the Tagalog script and eight rays.—Fig. 5) was "reformed during the conference at Naic, Cavite, on March 17, 1897", and replaced by the one bearing the mythological sun (Fig. 6), why was it that the letter from the Magdiwang President dated 15 April 1897 still bore the seal with Tagalog script on the multirayed sunburst? (Fig. 7 and Appendix A)

Without any documentary or eyewitness testimony of an official assignment by the Katipunan of a War Standard, it appears that the alleged "Katipunan War Standard" was merely one of those which were unfurled by some rebel leaders for their groups for lack of uniformity in designs. In fact, Mr. Baja himself pointed out that

the original design cannot be proven with any degree of certainty because there are no documentary evidences to support (it).¹³

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

AGUINALDO'S PERSONAL SEAL

1896

If we were to scrutinize closely the seal which Aguinaldo must have devised and was used in his proclamation of October 31, 1896 (Fig. 8), it will be found to reveal "in shorthand" four things, namely:

a) that the incorporation of the multirayed sunburst of Bonifacio's personal flag showed Aguinaldo's adherence to the former's leadership, as a loyal and disciplined field commander at the time;

b) that the Roman letter K in the center of the sun, besides showing adherence to Bonifacio's *Katipunan* organization, was designed as an identifying mark for his personal emblem. Note the departure from the Tagalog script \approx for K in the center of the sunburst as displayed in the customary rebel flag in Cavite;

c) that Aguinaldo, who was later to conceive the use of the 8 rays to symbolize the first eight provinces declared under martial law by the Spanish government, did not think of this until after October 31, 1896; witness his use of the multirayed sunburst of Bonifacio for the *Magdalo* seal; and

d) that, had the symbol " \approx " in the center of the sunburst been used by Bonifacio before October 31, 1896, perhaps Aguinaldo might have copied it in the seal that he used for his proclamation in that month, not the Roman letter "K".

A new seal representing the nascent Republic was to appear in Biyak-na-Bato under President Aguinaldo (Fig. 15). Meantime the "Cavite Insurgent" flag since 1896 remained unchanged.

Gen. Ricarte's description of the "Insurgent Flag"¹⁴ which he lowered in Biyak-na-Bato was that of the Cavite rebels' flag which he knew so well, he being a top military brass in Cavite.

¹⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 5

MAGDIWANG FLAG

In the province of Cavite
(1896-1897)

Not depicted in most, if not in all, of the published works on our national flag, from that of Mr. Baja to the present, is this flag (Fig. 16). It appears that no one of our contemporary writers today has seen the likeness of it, nor read the Spanish records of our armed rebellion of 1896-97, or they would not have ignored it in their writings.

There seems to be no excuse for the historians to miss this flag, because an account of a conflict cannot be complete and balanced without reference to the records of each contending party. In the case of the particular rebel flag referred to above, the Spaniards had published it as early as 1898, in a chronicle of the campaign of the Lachambre Division during 1897—Entitled *La Division Lachambre* by Federico de Monteverde (Madrid, 1898), the book is undoubtedly a day-by-day account of the Spanish mighty offensive against the *indio* dissidents, especially those entrenched in the province of Cavite from 13 February to 6 April, 1897. The period covered by this chronicle coincided with that in which crucial events, political in nature, were transpiring behind the lines in the rebel camp, particularly in Tejeros and Naik.

In the entire 600-page book mentioned above which published insurgent fortifications, arms, weapons, and other implements of war captured by the Spaniards, only one rebel flag is illustrated, the Magdiwang flag (p. 591), despite the fact that the Lachambre Division captured towns under the Magdalo as well as Magdiwang jurisdictions. This implies that the two *sanggunians*, though under separate leadership, displayed one common flag.

ACCESSION NO. 2087

On the other hand, from the rebel camp, we have the testimony of Gen. Ricarte who was an eyewitness to the events he wrote about. We know that *Víbora's* participation in the first phase of the revolutionary movement was confined to the province of Cavite since the outbreak of the uprising in this province on August 31, 1896 in San Francisco de Malabon (*Mapagtuís*). He did not take part in any action outside of Cavite before that date. However, he was with the top brass of the insurgent forces throughout the revolution in Cavite, until the end of the year 1897 at Biyak-na-Bato.

Gen. Ricarte in all his writings described only one "Insurgent Flag" he knew of that was displayed by the *Katipuneros* in Cavite "until the last few days of December 1897, when it was lowered from the government headquarters and the barracks in Biyak-na-Bato . . ." ¹⁵

What was this banner referred to by Gen. Ricarte as the "Insurgent Flag"? Not only did *Víbora* give a word picture of it ¹⁶ but profusely illustrated it in his *Himagsikan* and *Hispano Philippine Revolution* (Figs. 13 & 16).

The flags illustrated by author Baja as the "First Philippine Flag" and "The First Philippine Flag Reformed" (Figs. 5 & 6) are nowhere near Gen. Ricarte's illustration of the insurgent flag he knew.

We use the name "Magdiwang flag" for convenience to give it identity in our study, not because it was known as such at the time, which it was not.

We know that Aguinaldo was elected in Tejeros (March 22, 1897) as president of the Philippine Republic, took his oath of office the following day, reasserted his leadership by presiding over a top level military conference in Naik "after Easter day" (April 18, 1897) which he had convoked, and issued his first official instructions as President at Naik six days later. ¹⁷ Aguinaldo could have changed the rebel

¹⁵ *Memoirs . . .*, p. 5

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5

¹⁷ Vide T. A. Agoncillo, *Revolt . . .* Appendix D, pp. 390-392.

flag at this period. Although the record speaks of changes made on the designs of the military insignia at the above mentioned Naik conference¹⁸ there is no record that the revolutionary flag was likewise amended. A further significant negative evidence is in Aguinaldo's failure to mention in his *Memoirs* any change ordered by him of the rebel flag that may contradict Ricarte's negative testimony. We may, therefore, assume that the "Magdiwang" flag continued to be used until Biyak-na-Bato, and this assumption is firm by Ricarte's illustration (Fig. 13), as pointed out above.

FLAG AT BIYAK-NA-BATO

Which insurgent flag was lowered at Biyak-na-Bato at the conclusion of the peace treaty with the Spanish authorities on December 27, 1897?

Mr. Baja claimed with definitive assurance that it was "the First Philippine Flag". He said:

"The First Philippine Flag" Goes Down at Biak-na-Bato

The first flag to represent the Filipino people waved and floated during the most bloody days of the war, but did not live long because the Spanish authorities offered honorable terms of peace which were accepted by the Filipinos and their leaders. On December 27, 1897, the Treaty of Biak-na-Bato was signed . . . the First Philippine Flag, gained in war and hoisted at a priceless cost of the lives of Filipino hosts, was officially hauled down.

In our analysis above we have shown that this author gave in his book the name "First Philippine Flag" to the banner that we here call "Mestizo" flag (Fig. 5). It was this "flag of the insurrection", Baja wrote, that "Vibora ordered . . . lowered¹⁹ in Biyak-na-Bato."

Baja must! have missed Vibora's published accounts in 1926 and 1927, otherwise he (Baja) would not have made

¹⁸ Ricarte, *Memoirs* . . . p. 47

¹⁹ Baja, *op. cit.*, p. 39

his bold assertion in 1928, because Vibora himself pointed out therein an illustration which we here reproduce (Fig. 13) the kind of flag—the “Magdiwang” flag—that he ordered lowered at Biyak-na-Bato. An illustration, like a photo, is said to be worth a thousand words.

Moreover, while Mr. Baja spoke of the “First Philippine Flag” (or the “Mestizo” flag) flown at Biyak-na-Bato, he forgot that he had previously said that this flag was superseded by the “Magdalo” flag (Fig. 6) at the “Naik Conference,” nine months before, on March 17, 1897. If the first had been replaced by the second, how could the former still be there on December 27, 1897? A contradiction that no one had noticed before.

Between Baja’s second-hand version and Vibora’s first-hand illustrated account we would prefer the latter, unhesitatingly.

Lastly, a final comment on the period of the existence of the “insurgent flag” in Cavite as described by Vibora, we said above that Ricarte wrote about the events of the revolution in Cavite which he witnessed since its outbreak on August 31, 1896.

He wrote that it was that same flag he ordered lowered at Biyak-na-Bato on December 27, 1897.

The above two dates (August 31, 1896) and (December 27, 1897) could be taken as the inclusive dates when the “Magdiwang” flag was the symbol of the revolution in Cavite.

These dates were later confirmed by President Aguinaldo in his message to the Congress at Malolos on the occasion of the ratification of the Proclamation of Independence. Speaking of the tricolor national flag, he said:

Look at it; behold it; it has three colors, three stars, and a sun . . . the red color is symbolic of Filipino courage which is second to none, and was the color used during the war in the province of Cavite since the 31st day of August, 1896, until the Peace of Biak-na-Bato. . . .²⁰

²⁰Baja, *ibid.*, p. 69

We are of the conviction that, unless the contrary is proven documentarily, President Aguinaldo referred to the "Magdiwang" flag which was used in the province of Cavite without alteration "since the 31st day of August, 1896, until the Peace of Biyak-na-Bato".

If there was only one insurgent flag—the "Magdiwang" flag—displayed and recognized by all as representing the Philippine Revolution in Cavite from August 31, 1896 to December 27, 1897, where would we insert the two flags (Figs. 5 and 6) which author Baja and others called "First Philippine Flag" and "The First Philippine Flag Reformed" respectively, and supposed to have been adopted by the Cavite rebels during that period?

CULPABLE OMISSION

If the textbook writers are guilty of the sin of commission for designing supposed revolutionary banners that never existed they are no less culpable for omitting in their accounts one flag, the "Magdiwang" flag (Fig. 16), precisely that which suffered the impact of the Spanish mighty offensive during 1897 under Governors Polavieja and Primo de Rivera, successively, the one that saw the election of Gen. Aguinaldo to the presidency of the nascent Philippine Republic and the execution of *Supremo* Bonifacio, and the one that was hauled down by Gen. Ricarte at Biyak-na-Bato at the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with the Spanish authorities on December 27, 1897.

On the meaning of the symbol "Ƶ"

As we know, the ancient Tagalog script "Ƶ" stood for the Roman letter "K", the initial letter of *Katipunan*. The Tagalog symbol first appeared in the insignia of the second degree (*kawal*) member of the *Katipunan* long before the outbreak of the armed rebellion in 1896. Except for this insignia, the *Katipunan* organizers seem to have had preference for the Roman letter "K" to indicate their secret organization in their emblems. Bonifacio's own personal flag (Fig. 1) had the Roman letters "K. K. K."

Moreover, Aguinaldo himself in designing the seal of his office as Commanding General of the *Magdalo* forces used the Roman letter "K". (Fig. 8) to indicate adherence to the *Katipunan*.

It appears, therefore, that during the first three or four months of the Revolution the Roman letter "K" gained popularity as the symbol of the *Katipunan* movement. However, the *Magdiwang* Council must have unfurled the "Magdiwang" banner (with the Tagalog script "≈" (Fig. 16) since the beginning, if we are to believe Gen. Ricarte's testimony. This latter flag must have been adopted by the *Supremo* as the official flag of the Revolution when he established his headquarters at the *Magdiwang* capital in Cavite late in December, 1869.

No one that we know of had inquired from the surviving leaders of the armed rebellion as to the precise date or period when such adoption took place. All we know is that at the Tejeros Convention (March 22, 1897) the flag that was the subject of Bonifacio's speech was the "Magdiwang" flag.

Author Baja dwelt at length on the meaning of the symbol "≈" (or "K") in the emblem, whether it stood for *Katipunan* or for *Kalayaan* (Liberty), as maintained by Gen. Ricarte in his writings.

Mr. Baja concluded on the bases of written testimonies of surviving revolutionaries that the symbol stood for *Katipunan*.

There is no denying the fact that the letter "K" (in Roman or Tagalog character) stood for *Katipunan*—since the beginning of that secret society's organization.

But not reckoned with by those in favor of this version is the fact that at the Tejeros Convention on March 22, 1897, Andres Bonifacio "called the attention of those assembled to the *Katipunan* flag with a K in the middle which embodied the ideal of the revolutionists, namely, liberty [—*kalayaan*]."*

* Agoncillo, *op. cit.*, p. 210

Bonifacio, at the time he said those words, was still the *Supremo* of the *Katipunan*, and was therefore in authority to give a new meaning to the symbol “*Ƶ*” in the Revolution’s emblem.

It must have been this definition that was in the mind of Ricarte, who was present in Tejeros, to insist that the symbol meant *Kalayaan*, contrary to the version of others who had in mind the *original* meaning of the letter “K”.

We, therefore, believe that Ricarte’s version cannot easily be discarded as erroneous, as Baja did, for it had a solid historical ground to stand on.

Hence, we are of the opinion that while it is true that the letter “K” (or “*Ƶ*”) in the rebel flag meant *Katipunan* from the beginning, it meant *Kalayaan* from the Tejeros convention onward.

LLANERA'S SKULL FLAG

One unit or regimental banner found on exhibit at the *Museo del Ejército* in Madrid among the memorabilia of the Philippine Revolution is the so-called "Skull flag" (Fig. 17) designed by Gen. Mariano Llanera for the troops under his command.

Author Baja illustrated this flag in his book (Fig. 18) and captioned it as follows:

Llanera's Skull flag used by his battalion in Nueva Ecija at the beginning of the Revolution in 1896.²¹

Apart from giving his personal interpretation of the allegorical meaning of the devices used by Gen Llanera,²² nowhere did author Baja point out the source from which he drew his information, nor the sample or model from which he copied his illustration.

That Baja's illustration differs in the arrangement of the devices on the flag from that found in Madrid is clear, although both of them contain the same elements: the skull and crossed bones, the "K" of the *Katipunán*, the black color of the field and the white color for the symbolic devices.

Which of the two *arrangements* shall we consider as the correct one?

Both may be correct, considering that uniformity in the flag design at the time, for obvious reasons, was hard to attain.

However, we are inclined to favor the banner on exhibit in Madrid. Historically, we consider it as a *primary* evidence, a genuine piece of document, it being among the war trophies captured by the Spanish troops. Moreover, there is similarity in the arrangement of the symbolic devices in

²¹ Baja, *ibid.*, p. 22

²² Baja, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20

the Llanera banner with that in Bonifacio's personal flag (Fig. 1) used by the *Supremo* a few days before the Llanera attack in San Isidro, Nueva Ecija on September 3, 1896. The arrangement of the three "K's" in a row below the device of the skull and bones in the Llanera flag suggests that perhaps it was patterned after Bonifacio's, only replacing the latter's sun and rays with the skull and bones, and the red field with black.

On the other hand, Baja was silent on his documentation, or even the source of the sample from which his illustration was drawn.

Was it from a genuine sample that he actually saw held by one of the veterans of the Llanera unit, or was it from a **word-picture** as related to him from memory by the former? Baja is silent on this point.

Lastly, Heraldry demands not only that all the elements should be depicted in an emblem, but also that their correct arrangement should be faithfully observed.

OTHER UNIT BANNERS

If one were to incorporate in the narrative of the evolution of our national flag the assorted banners supposed to have been captured from the Filipino rebels (Fig. 19) and preserved in the Army Museum in Madrid, as well as those which local groups of rebels claim to have used but were not captured by the Spaniards (Fig. 20), the number of banners would indeed be a large one.

Some of these banners have never been seen by present-day historians, and are here illustrated for the first time.

But because, as already said, they did not acquire widespread acceptance outside of their respective units as symbolizing the national revolutionary movement, and because they did not represent either of the national leaders, Bonifacio or Aguinaldo, we feel that they do not properly form part of the evolution of our *national* flag.

FROM BALINTAWAK TO BIYAK-NA-BATO

Our studies of the first phase of the evolution of our National Flag from Balintawak to Biyak-na-Bato led us to the conviction that there were only two flags which were universally recognized as representing the national revolutionary effort by those who fought under them, namely:

(a) Bonifacio's personal emblem which was used outside of Cavite since Balintawak in August 1896 to the transfer of Bonifacio's headquarters to Cavite in December of that year (Fig. 1);

(b) We all know that while Bonifacio was campaigning against the Spaniards in the province of Manila, shortly after his debacle in San Juan del Monte, the rebels of Cavite rose up in arms and started their own campaign against the enemy. It appears that from the beginning of this campaign the Caviteños unfurled their own rebel flag (Fig. 16). As their war effort progressed it stayed aloft until Biyak-na-Bato. It appears further that this flag (which we here call "Magdiwang" flag) was given recognition by the *Supremo* when he established his headquarters at San Francisco de Malabon, Cavite, where it must have been flying at the *Magdiwang* headquarters long before Bonifacio's arrival there. There is no record that the *Supremo* had supplanted it with his own personal flag (Fig. 1), nor of any order of his amending the said flag. On the other hand three significant data are found to show that this flag continued to be held as the overall revolutionary flag, namely:

1) Bonifacio's adoption of the flag's multirayed sun with the letter \approx in the center for his personal seal as *Supremo* (Fig. 7);

2) The record made by Federico de Monteverde of the "Magdiwang" flag (*La Division Lachambre*, Madrid, 1898, p. 591) as the "Insurgent Flag" recognized by the Spaniards; and

3) The testimony of Gen. Ricarte who ordered the hauling down of the insurgent flag at Biyak-na-Bato on Dec-

ember 27, 1897.²³ Ricarte's illustration of the ceremony shows that it was the "Magdiwang" flag that was lowered on that occasion. (Fig. 13)

In fact, Gen. Ricarte, whose martial activities during the Revolution were confined to the province of Cavite up to Biyak-na-Bato, did not know of any other flag outside of that used in Cavite. In his pamphlet²⁴ he recognized only the "Magdiwang" flag as the revolutionary flag which he captioned "Unang Watawat nang Republika Pilipina (Tatag sa Teheros, Mapagtiis)".

Therefore, we are of the conviction that any other designs of banners inserted in the record since August 31, 1896 to December 27, 1897 as having been adopted by the Revolution are spurious. Insofar as the Cavite rebellion was concerned there was only one flag—the "Magdiwang" flag—that represented the Filipino aspiration for freedom.

In this study we are including the Bonifacio personal flag (Fig. 1) as the precursor of the "Magdiwang" flag for it was under this flag that the spark of the Revolution was first lighted in Balintawak, and it was under this banner that Filipino blood flowed freely in San Juan del Monte and other places *outside of Cavite* from August to December, 1896. We believe that this flag which represented the *Katipunan* and its *Supremo*, the acknowledged initiators and organizers of the Revolution, must have the premier position in the evolution of the Philippine National Flag.

²³ *Memoirs . . .*, p. 5

²⁴ Ricarte, *Himagsikan . . .*, p. 5

SECOND PHASE (1898-1936)

The first phase of the Revolution (1896-1897) having been thoroughly scrutinized insofar as the available records and readings on our national emblem are concerned, we believe we have helped to some extent in clarifying the existing confusion in the mind of our scholars with this modest paper.

The second phase in the story of the evolution of our national flag does not seem so confusing as the first, except for some minor details which naturally came about in the absence of an authorized statute prescribing uniform specifications for the emblematic design of our national flag.

Baja is to be commended for his thorough research work on the second phase of the evolution of our National Flag, a period which was contemporary with him.

✓ The second phase of the evolution of our National Flag began with the Proclamation of Independence in Kawit in the afternoon of June 12, 1898, when Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Judge Advocate General, unfurled the tricolor flag that had been adopted by the *Junta Patriótica* in Hongkong as the emblem of the renewed revolutionary movement against Spain, and brought by Aguinaldo with him on May 17, 1898.

The new flag consisted of 2 horizontal stripes, blue on top and red below; a white equilateral triangle at the hoist; within the triangle at its center a mythological sun was depicted (with eyebrows, eyes, nose and mouth in black) bearing 8 rays (without any minor rays for each), and 3 five-pointed stars, one at each angle of the triangle. All these devices were in gold, or yellow color.

This brief and very broad word picture of the new flag left many details undescribed which later caused confusion

and lack of uniformity in the designs by flag-makers, as we shall see below.

✓ The equilateral triangle which was a popular symbol used by the *Katipunan* since its foundation (patterned after Masonic insignias), was reminiscent of that secret society which had initiated the revolutionary movement. The mythological sun with eight rays was definitely Aguinaldo's contribution, as attested by the General's secretary, Carlos Ronquillo, who wrote that "I drew the design myself by order and instruction of the President, General Aguinaldo" (Appendix B). The symbol signified the "Sun of Liberty" and the eight provinces first to be declared under martial law as insurrectionists by the Spanish governor-general in 1896. The symbol was a carry-over of the seal of the Philippine Republic with seat in Biyak-na-Bato. The three stars were likewise carried over from the seals of the Filipino government at Biyak-na-Bato to represent the three large geographical regions of the Philippines and give the emblem a national character and scope.

✓ Retained in the new flag was the *Red* of the predecessor flags of 1896-1897 (Figs. 1 and 16). General Aguinaldo explained the significance of the red, white and blue of our flag as follows:

✓ The red color is symbolic of Filipino courage which is second to none, and was the color used during the war in the province of Cavite since the 31st day of August, 1896, until the Peace of Biak-na-Bato; the blue carries an allegorical meaning that all the Filipinos will prefer to die before submitting themselves to the invader whoever he may be; the white conveys the idea that, like other nations, the Filipinos know how to govern themselves, and that they do not recede from observation of foreign powers because their actions, which these may observe, are indeed peaceful.²⁵

It was this Hongkong-designed flag that Aguinaldo brought with him from his exile on board the U.S. dispatch boat *McCulloch*. He disembarked in Cavite in the morning of May 19, 1898. It was this "Flag of Liberty" which re-

²⁵ Baja, *op. cit.*, p. 69

presented the nascent Filipino nation which was unfurled by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, Judge Advocate General, in Kawit, Cavite, at the ceremonial Proclamation of Independence on June 12, 1898. (Appendix K)

It was this flag, before which the signers of the Proclamation of Independence took their oath of allegiance, saying: "The undersigned solemnly swear allegiance to the flag and will defend it to the last drop of their blood."

But even before the new tricolor was officially consecrated as our national flag in Kawit, between its landing on Philippine soil on May 19 and June 12, 1898, it saw baptism of fire and blood in several combats with the Spanish colonial troops.

Baja summarized these bloody encounters from Aguinaldo's narrative in *True Version of the Philippine Revolution*, (Tarlac, 23rd September, 1899; see also Appendix F), and Felipe Calderon's *Mis memorias sobre la Revolución Filipina*, (Manila, Islas Filipinas, 1907), as follows:

Early Successes Under the Philippine Flag.—May 30 was set by the military leaders to begin hostilities. Two days before this date, however, on May 28, a Spanish force engaged the Filipinos at Alapan. A pitched battle was fought resulting in the capture of 270 Spanish soldiers. "There it was that the first engagement of the Revolution of 1898 (which may be rightly styled a continuation of the campaign of 1896-97) took place", wrote General Aguinaldo. The battle raged from ten in the morning to three in the afternoon, when the Spaniards ran out of ammunition and surrendered, with all their arms, to the Filipino revolutionists, who took their prisoners to Cavite. In commemoration of this glorious achievement I hoisted our National Flag in the presence of a great crowd, who greeted it with tremendous applause and loud, spontaneous and prolonged cheers for independence.

This victory was closely followed by the surrender of the garrison at Polvorin, Binakayan, which consisted of 250 men of the Spanish infantry. "I again availed

myself of the opportunity to hoist our National Flag and did so from an upper story of the Polvorin facing the sea, with the object of causing the sacred ensign of our Liberty and Independence to be seen fluttering in the breeze by the warships, representing all the great and civilized nations of the world, which were congregated in the harbor observing the providential evolution going on in the Philippines after upwards of three hundred years of Spanish domination," said General Aguinaldo.

In the wake of this second victory at Binakayan came a third one at Bacoor which resulted in the capture of 300 Spanish troops of all arms. Of this event General Aguinaldo said, "Scarcely had an hour elapsed before another flag was seen flying over the steeple of the Church at Bacoor—which is also in full view of the vessels in the harbor—being the signal of another triumph of our troops over the Spanish forces which held that town. The garrison consisted of about 300 men, who surrendered to the Revolutionary Army when their ammunition was exhausted."²⁶

It was this national tricolor to which Aguinaldo referred when, in a speech in Angeles, Pampanga, on the occasion of the first anniversary celebration of the Proclamation of Independence even as the Filipino-American War raged in all its fury, he said:

On June 12, 1898, Cavite, Bataan, Batangas, Morong, and Laguna succeeded in declaring themselves independent from the Spanish sovereignty; and it is high time that this be known, proclaiming to that end our independence, and raising for the first time the tricolor flag which is gently and majestically waving in the air, as an emblem of liberty, as the symbol of our redemption, and as the token of our faith which is constantly focused for the attainment of our ideal for independence.

Lo! it is there! It waves with the resplendent furls on which the rays of the sun of liberty are shining

²⁶ Baja, *ibid.*, pp. 53-54

bright. Look at it! Behold it! How lovely it is! It emblazons the virtues of our men of science, the courage of our brave soldiers, and the peace of the hearth and the home.

The flag which was hailed by a people, anxious of freedom and deserving a better fate, made our independence a reality; it obliges us to preserve and defend it until death. It imparts in us valor and unlimited endurance, it therefore requires sacrifices, and now that we are provoked and compelled to fight, let us go forward with eyes fixed on that Flag of the sun and three stars which cheers us up and guides us in the pursuit of our dearest ideals.²⁷

It was the same National Flag that General Aguinaldo brought with him to Malolos, was carried in the parade that accompanied him on his way to inaugurate the Congress on September 15, 1898, and was installed in the Hall of Congress during its deliberations at the Barasoain church. As the General himself related later:

. . . it was the flag I took with me to Cavite when I returned from my exile and the same one from which copies were made by the Gomez family of Bacoor. It was the same flag (the flag brought from Hongkong) which was taken to Malolos and used there in the Hall of Congress."²⁸ (Appendix K)

²⁷ Baja, *ibid.*, p. 60

²⁸ Baja, *ibid.*, p. 68

UNDER THE AMERICAN RULE

Confusion in the Details of the Flag

During the early years of the American regime the Filipinos were free to display their tricolor national flag in their private capacity even as the Stars and Stripes of the United States flew over government installations as a sign of sovereignty.

But, certain political events in 1907 caused the proscription of the display of the Filipino Flag by the "Flag Law" (Act No. 1696 approved and made effective by the Philippine Commission on Sept. 6, 1907). The proscription lasted for 12 years during which the old veterans of the Revolution slowly faded away and a new generation, born under the aegis of the new dispensation, grew up under an Americanized educational system; the old flag of Aguinaldo was all but forgotten. The few samples that survived, kept at the bottom of grandfathers' trunks, were tattered or termite-eaten.

When in 1919 the ban was officially lifted by the Philippine Legislature (Act No. 2871, October 22, 1919, implemented by Executive Proclamation of the governor general No. 18, October 24, 1919) and October 30 of that year was declared as "Philippine Flag Day," the rejoicing was countrywide; civic-religious festivities and parades were held, arches erected and homes decorated with the Philippine flag (Fig. 22).

There was no attempt at uniformity of the design of the Filipino flag. Any tricolor with or without a sunburst device and 3 stars within a white triangle was *the* Filipino flag. Such a design was clearly distinguishable from that of the Stars and Stripes of the U. S., the only other flag that could be flown in the country.

HISTORICAL DATA BANK
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On this occasion Gen. Aguinaldo stated to the press his satisfaction, as follows:

The passage of the bill restoring the use of our flag is merely a local recognition, and I hope that in the not distant future this recognition will become universal.²⁹

In the excitement of the occasion and the need for thousands of Philippine flags, there surfaced confusion in the details of the national emblem.

An early conflict revolved on the position of the 2 stripes of the banner—which of them will be on top and which below.

Baja reported that there being “no picture evidence or written record to show as to how the Flag was displayed” in the past, the verbal testimony of the surviving veterans was sought. “Many of the older generation,” Baja continued, “who are still living today and saw it hoisted at Alapan, Polvorin, and Bacoor church, or carried by troops during the early battles, assert that the red stripe was up.” Others, however, said that it was the blue stripe that was on top.

Fortunately, Gen. Aguinaldo was there in person to solve the problem with authority. He wrote:

“Several press representatives called on me to inquire as to how the Flag should be flown. I answered them that it should be always hoisted with the blue stripe up in the time of peace. But on the battle fields and in camps during the past war, first with Spain and then with the United States of America later, our National Flag had been hoisted with the red stripe up.”³⁰

It is interesting to note that this rule of reversing the normal position of the flag in time of war is unique among the flags of the world.

²⁹ Baja, *ibid.*, p. 146

³⁰ Baja, *ibid.*, p. 68

Then there were other minor discrepancies in the details of the flag displayed. There was no uniformity in the size of the white triangle, in the shade of the blue color of that stripe, and in the design of the sun (some bearing the mythological symbol, others without the eyebrows, eyes, nose and mouth) and rays (some bearing multiple rays instead of only 8). Each flag-maker designed these details in accordance with his fancy.

There was the detail of the shade of the blue stripe. What was the original shade of the blue color of that stripe in the Hongkong-designed national flag? Was it *dark* blue (like that of the U.S. flag), or *light* blue (like that of the Argentinian or Uruguayan flag—Figs. 9 and 10)? It seems that nobody had requested Gen. Aguinaldo, while he was living, for a definition of this detail. Author Baja skirted this point when he wrote about the “colors Blue, Red and White” of our flag saying that they “were adopted in honor of the flag of the United States as a token of appreciation of the disinterested protection that nation had extended to the Filipinos,” as claimed by some. The claim, according to Baja, cannot be substantiated historically “for the Philippine National Flag had already been designed and completed in all details before the United States flag was brought to the Philippines on May 1, 1898.”³¹

Back to our point of the shade of the blue stripe in the original Hongkong-designed Filipino flag. Without any specific documentary evidence to stand on, we opine that it was *light* blue, on the strength of an implication from Carlos Ronquillo's description with reference to the mythological sun which was patterned after “the flags of some South American republics”. It would not be far-fetched to think that the flags of these republics (Argentina and Uruguay) furnished not only the pattern of the mythological sun but also the color of the blue stripe in our original national flag.

Still on the shade of the blue stripe, the story is told that a great majority of the flags were hurriedly prepared for the Flag Day by the Quartermaster Corps, US Army. This

³¹Baja, *ibid.*, pp. 47-48

W. A. Th. ...
government agency soon ran out of the *light* blue cloth as required by the Philippine flag, but it had a large stock of *dark* blue linen used in the US flag. The substitution made, according to the informant, marked the fortuitous disappearance of Aguinaldo's *light* blue stripe from the Philippine flag.

It can truthfully be said that the intermission between the establishment of the American rule and the birth of the Commonwealth government marked a period of confusion in the details of our national flag for lack of legislation standardizing the form and details of our national emblem. Naturally the officials of the American government could not be expected to interfere in a purely domestic Filipino affair, if we are to disregard the move of a private sector of the American community sponsoring the adoption by the Philippine Legislature of a colonial flag which would embody "the emblem of the defunct Filipino Republic, quartered upon the American flag . . . no American would object to seeing such a flag shown equal honor with that of his own country, anymore than the Englishman objects to the honor afforded to the flag of the Dominion of Canada".³² The suggestion only compounded the already existing confusion. The idea did not elicit any responsive voice from the Filipino nationalists.

Apparently, neither did the Filipino participation in the government give much importance to the then prevailing disunity in the design of the Filipino flag.

³² Baja, *ibid.*, p. 148



UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT

Until the end of 1935 the chaotic disunity in the making of our national flag existed, as pointed out above. Up to that year "the government had not prescribed uniform specifications, thus resulting in the appearance of ugly-looking flags disproportionate in size, irregular in outline, and asymmetrical in the combination of colors and symbols", author Baja remarked.³³ Indeed, even the Philippine constitution which was approved on February 8 of that year had said merely that

- . . . The flag of the Philippines shall be red, white, and blue, with a sun and three stars, as consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law (Art. XIII, Sec. 1).

The basic law of the land did not go into the details and specifications of the elements of the flag. Insofar as the Constitution was concerned, any tricolor flag bearing a sun and three stars was a Filipino Flag.

The confusion might have continued had it not been for Executive Order No. 23 which was issued by President Manuel L. Quezon on March 25, 1936. In addition to setting a uniform pattern for the making of our national emblem as to size and arrangement of the symbolic elements therein, it actually made four major amendments of some of the features which had been "consecrated and honored by the people and recognized by law" until then, namely:

- 1) it caused the disappearance of the Aguinaldo-designed *mythological sun* borne by our national flag since Hongkong through Kawit and Malolos to Palanan; this was changed to "a solid golden sunburst without any markings";

³³ Baja, *ibid.*, p. 274

2) Likewise, Aguinaldo's *eight single rays* carried by the flag since Hongkong were replaced by *eight major rays with 2 minor beams* for each ray;

3) the *light blue stripe* was standardized to *dark blue color*, and

4) the size of the white equilateral triangle was made larger by making any side of it equal to the width of the flag at the hoist.

President Quezon's Executive Order No. 23 follows:³⁴

MALACAÑAN PALACE
MANILA

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

Executive Order No. 23

DESCRIPTION AND SPECIFICATIONS
OF THE FILIPINO FLAG

Whereas section one, Article XIII of the Constitution prescribed what the Philippine National Flag should be without giving description and specifications;

Whereas, Act Numbered Two thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight describes the construction of the Filipino Flag without the necessary specifications of the different elements of the flag;

Whereas compliance with this Act has not been uniformly carried out and has caused the making of Filipino flags in disproportionate sizes with incorrect proportions of the different allegorical symbols of the flag; and

Whereas, to avoid irregularities and discrepancies, it is necessary to follow the Constitutional provisions and Act Numbered Two thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight with uniformity;

Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines do hereby promulgate and order that the following specifications for the Philippine National Flag be strictly observed by all civil and military branches of the Government:

1. The maximum length of the flag is twice its width; the minimum length is twice the altitude of the equilateral triangle.

³⁴ Baja, *ibid.*, pp. 274-275

2. Any side of the equilateral triangle is as long as the width of the flag.

3. (See accompanying illustration.) Solid golden sunburst without any markings—Sun with eight rays, equally spaced; Arc x with Sun ray=Free arc y ; two opposite rays in horizontal axis and two in vertical axis; Sun's diameter $D=w/5$; Each ray has one major beam, twice as broad as the minor beam on either side; length of major beam $R=5/9D$; Length of minor beam $r=4/5 R$.

4. Three five-pointed golden stars of equal size, each star with one point directed to the vertex of the angle enclosing it; diameter of circumscribed circle of each star= $5/9D$ diameter (of inscribed circle of each star= $2/9D$; distance from each corner= $D/2$.)

5. Canvas-trimmed edge to the left of the triangle is approximately $D/5$ wide—not counted in measuring length of flag.

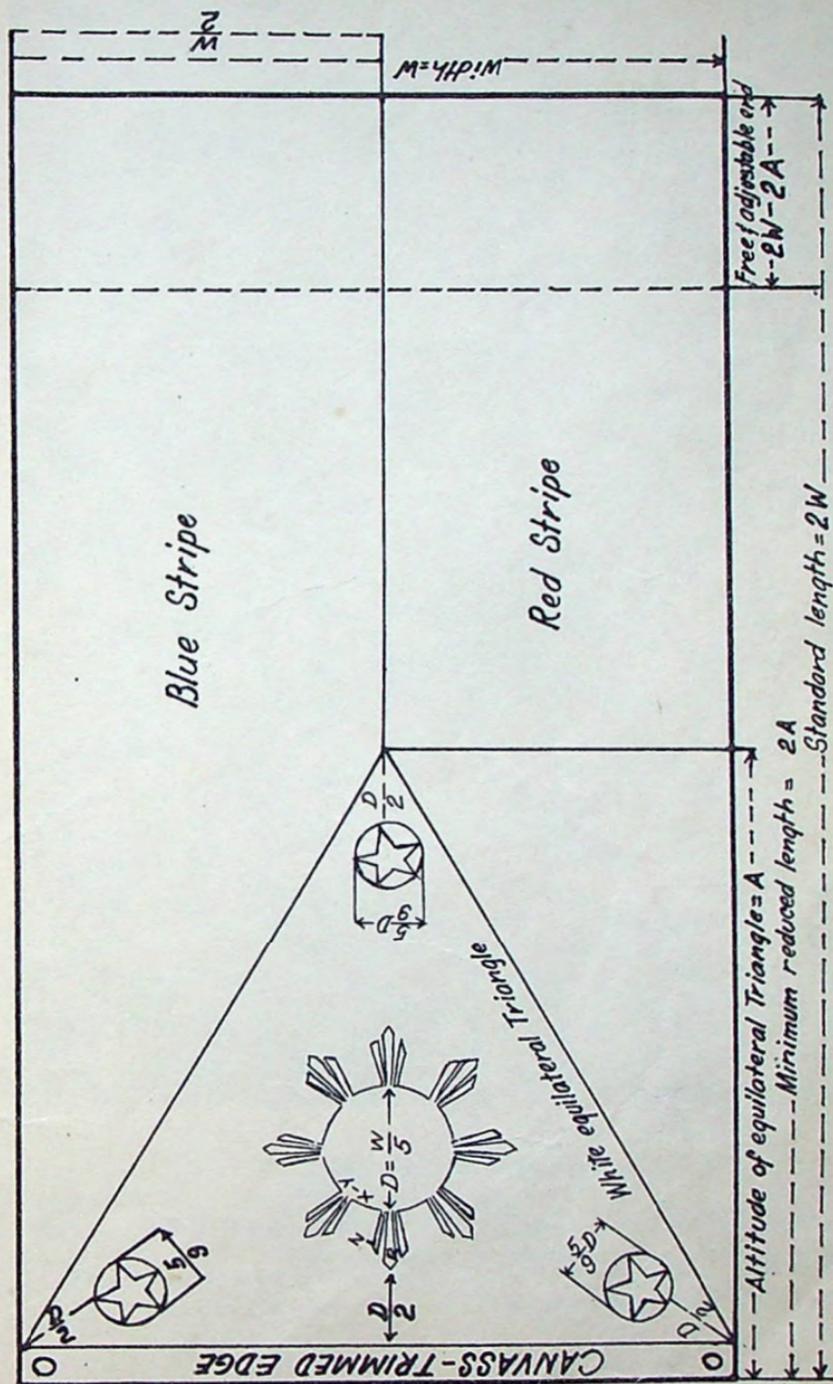
6. Flags made of silk will be trimmed on three edges with a knotted fringe of yellow silk $D/5$ wide.

Done at the City of Manila, this twenty-fifth day of March, in the year of Our Lord, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, and of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the first.

MANUEL L. QUEZON
President of the Philippines

By the President:

ELPIDIO QUIRINO
Secretary of the Interior



The Philippine National Flag showing different elements and specifications.



PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS

Wherever he delivers a speech, the Filipino flag and the Presidential Seal are displayed conspicuously.



Fig. 1. Supremo Bonifacio, and his personal flag, leading the rebels in the Province of Manila since Balintawak and San Juan del Monte.



Fig. 2. Combat with the Spanish regular troops at San Juan del Monte on August 30, 1886; the attacking rebels under the command of Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto were driven off leaving behind them more than 100 dead, according to Spanish records.

Adapted from a mural done by
National Artist Carlos Francisco

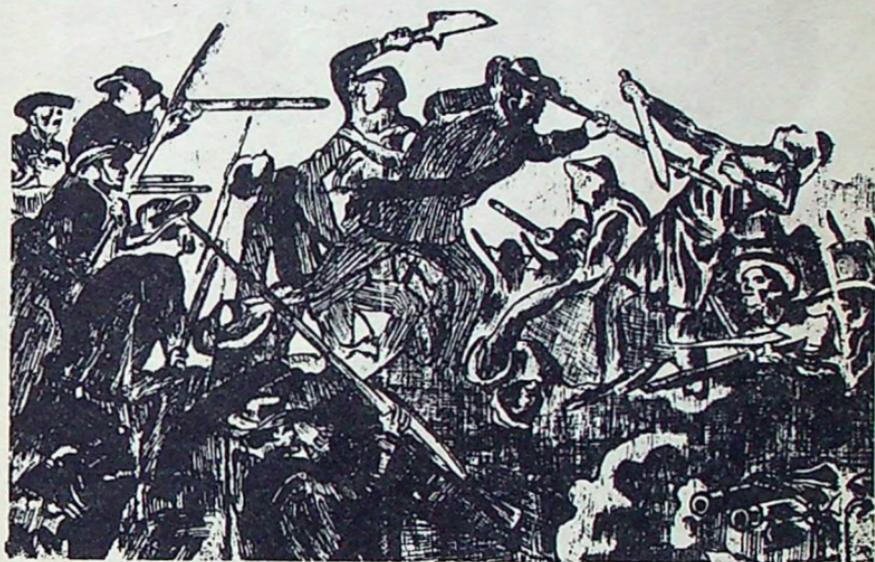


Fig. 3—Spanish version of the combat at San Juan del Monte.

HISTORICAL DATA BANK

COMMEMORATIVE POSTAGE STAMPS

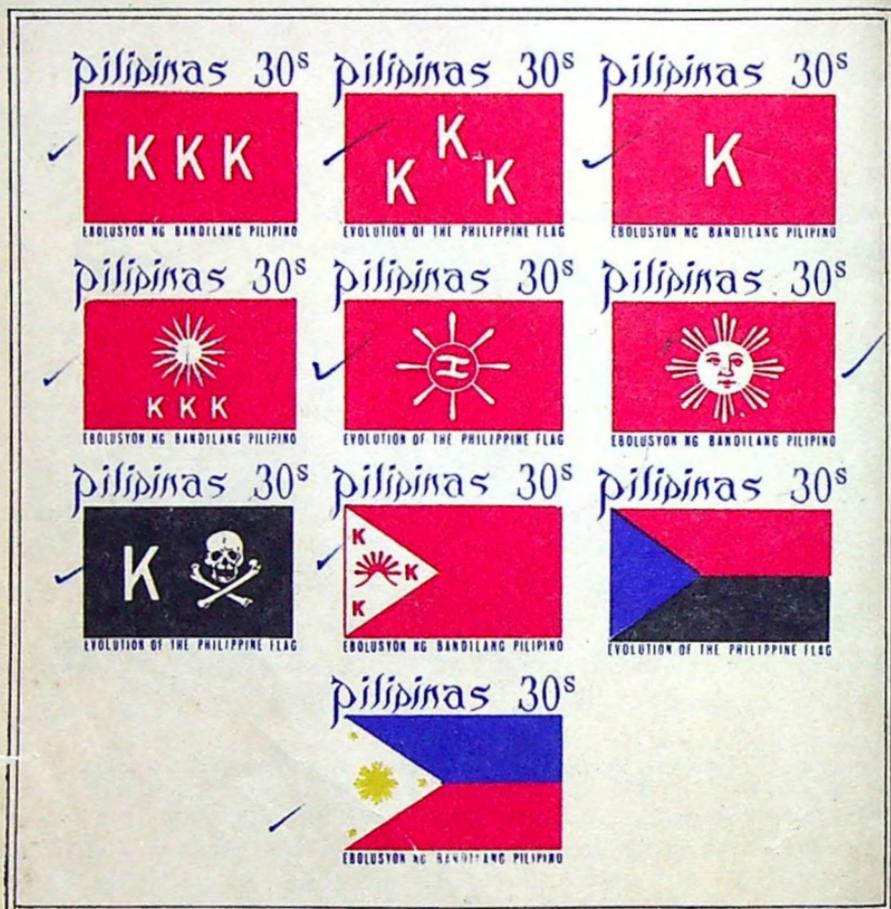


Fig. 4—Evolution of the Philippine Flag
 Bureau of Posts, Manila
 Issued June 12, 1972

FLAGS THAT NEVER WERE



Fig. 5—Is this the "First Philippine Flag"?



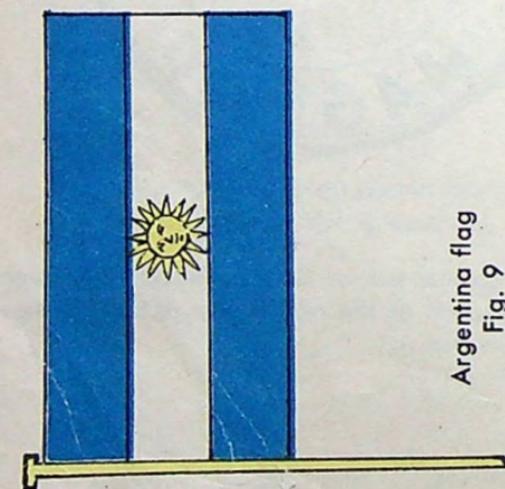
Fig. 6—Is this the "First Philippine Flag reformed"?



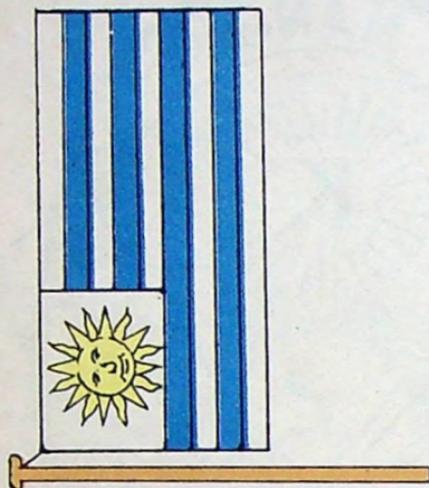
Fig. 7 — Personal seal of Andres Bonifacio as Supremo of the Katipunan.



Fig. 8 — Personal seal of Gen. Aguinaldo as Captain General of the rebel forces of the Magdalo Council.



Argentina flag
Fig. 9



Uruguay flag
Fig. 10

General Aguinaldo replaced the K with the mythological sun.



Fig. 11-12 — Seals of Philippine Republic under Aguinaldo in Biak-na-Bato.

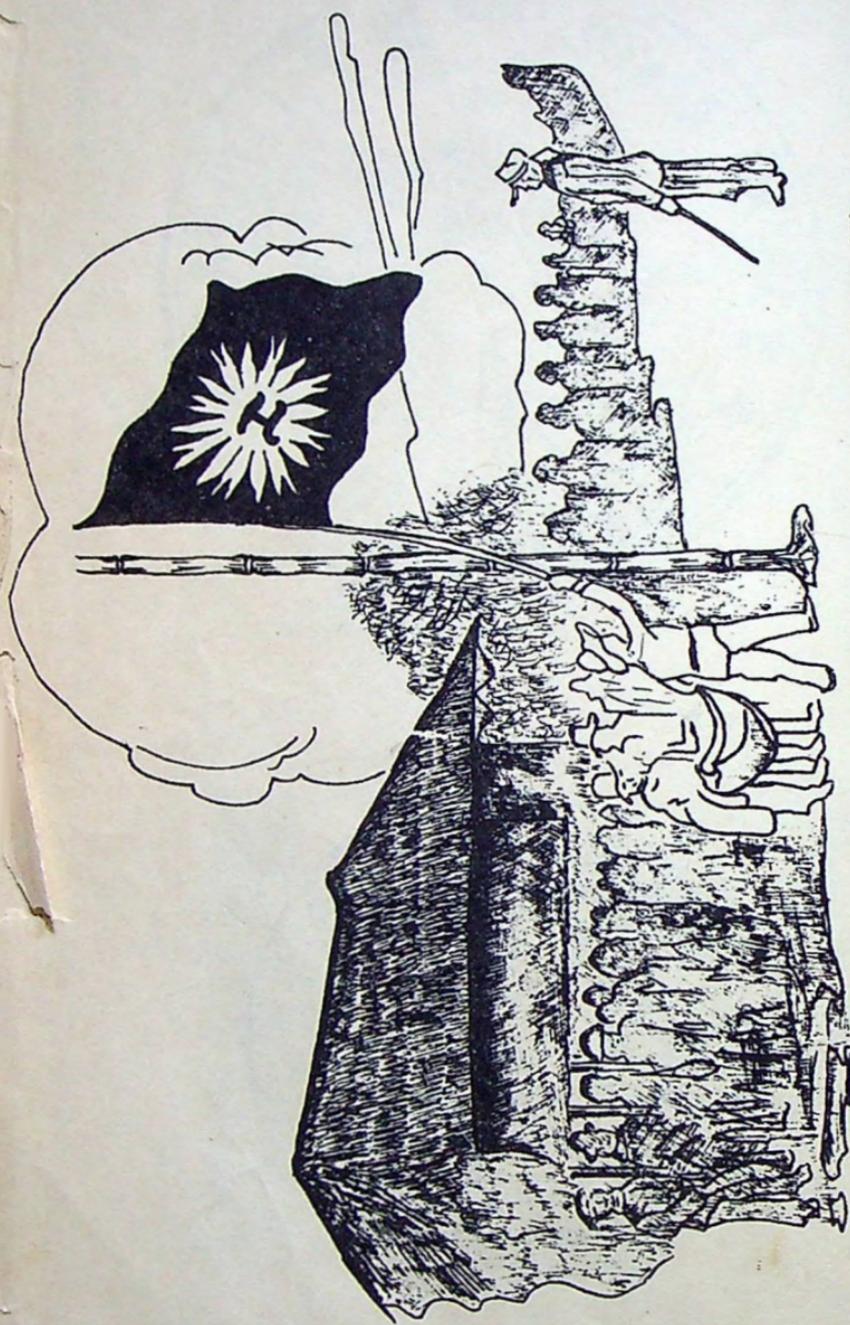


Fig. 13—Ang Pagkaloob ng Himpilan ng Biyak na Bato (From A. Ricarte Vibora, *Himagsikan . . . Laban sa Kastila, Yokohama, 1927*, p. 136; also Ricarte's *The Hispano-Philippine Revolution, Yokohama, 1926*, p. 92).

KATIPUNAN REGIMENTAL BANNERS

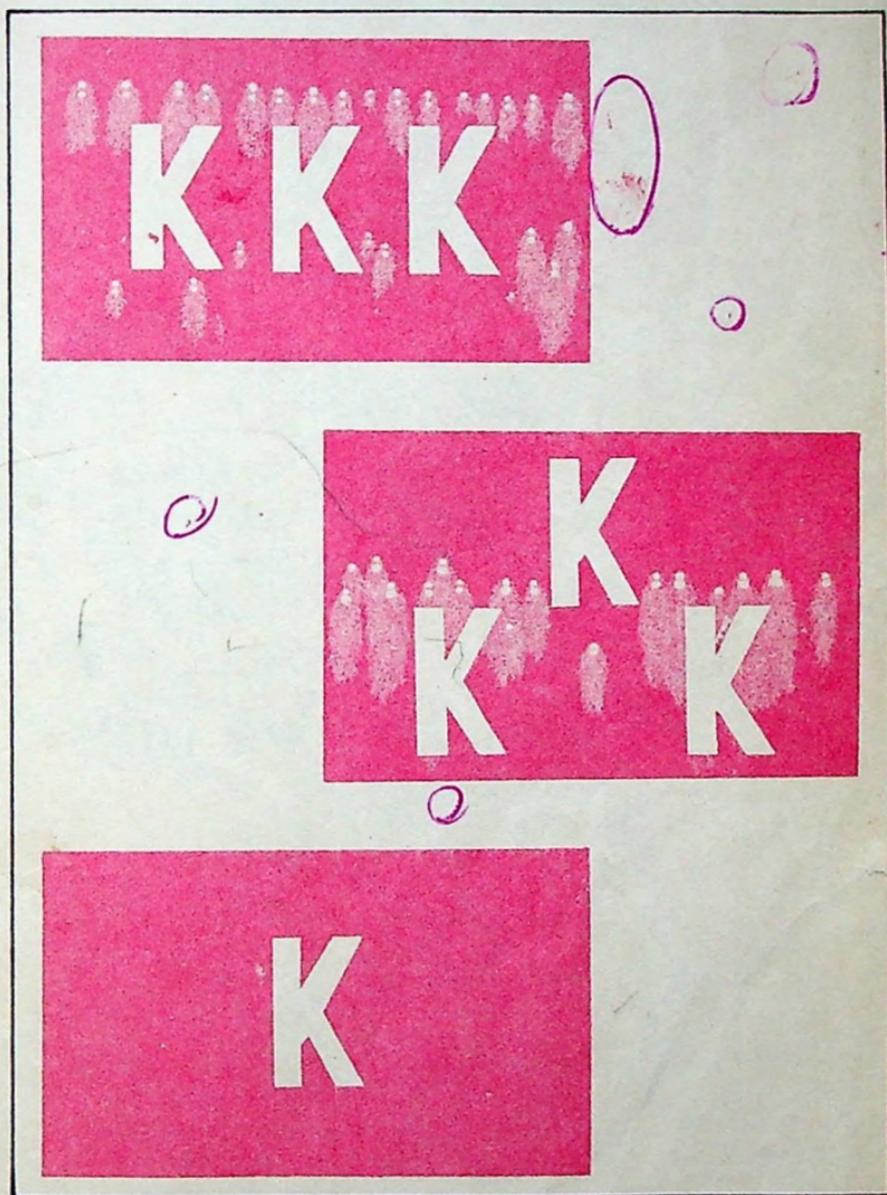


Fig. 14—Alleged variations of a "KATIPUNAN WAR STANDARD"



Fig. 15 — A new seal representing the nascent Republic was to appear in Biak-na-Bato under President Aguinaldo.

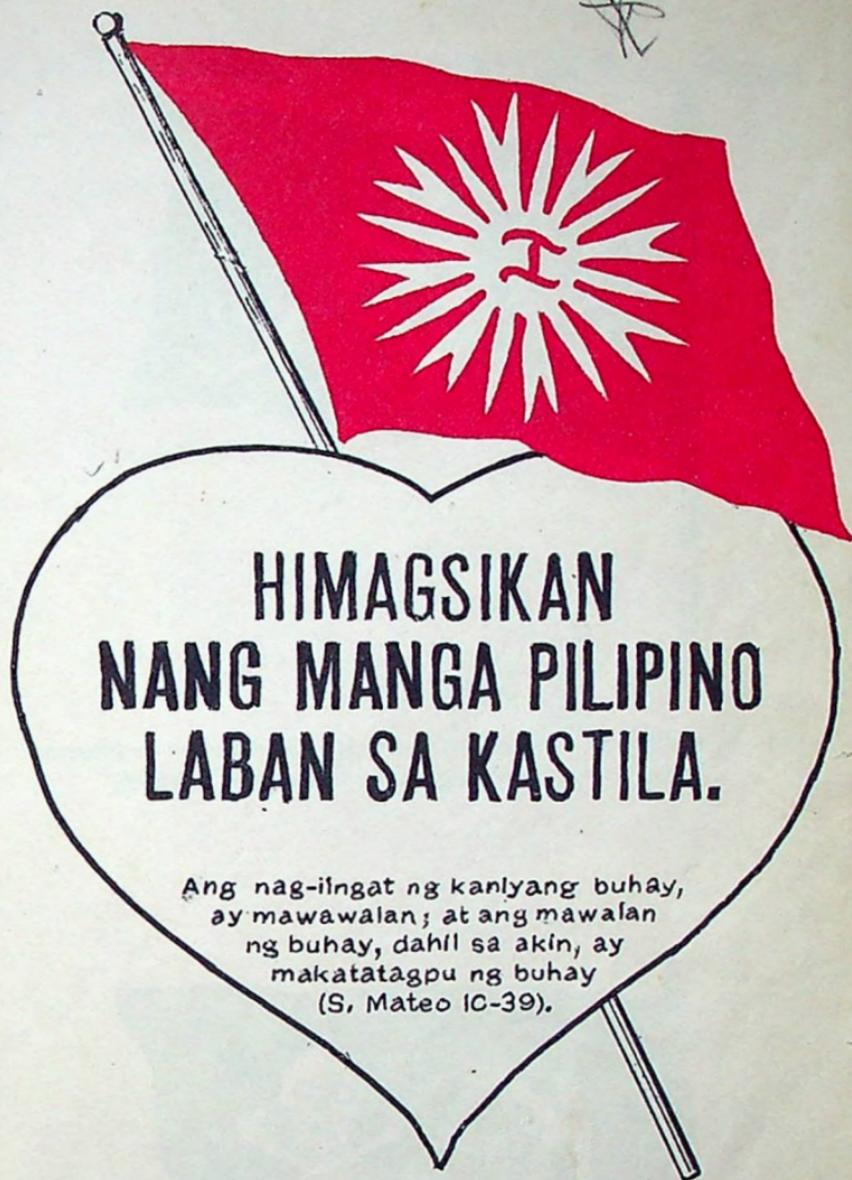


Fig. 16—1896-1897—The Flag of the Philippine Revolution in the Province of Cavite since August 31, 1896; it was adopted by Bonifacio and Aguinaldo and used until December 27, 1897 when it was lowered at Biyak-na-Bato. (Illustration 19 from A. Ricarte Vibora, *Himagsikan . . .*, Yokohama, 1927).

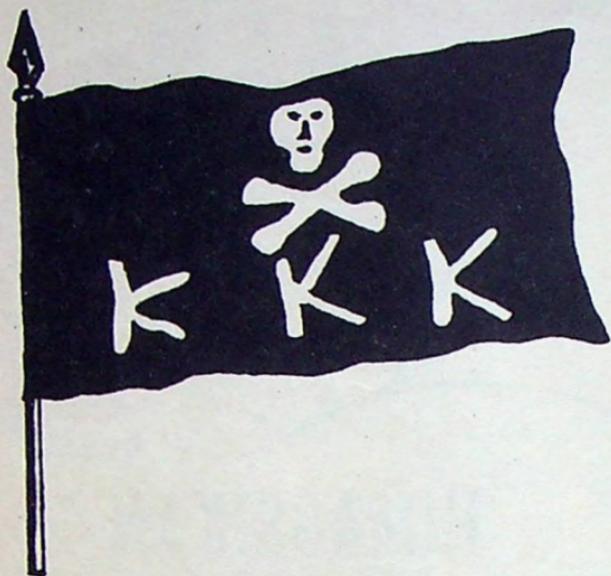


Fig. 17—Llanera's "Skull Flag" used by his battalion in Nueva Ecija at the beginning of the Revolution in 1896.

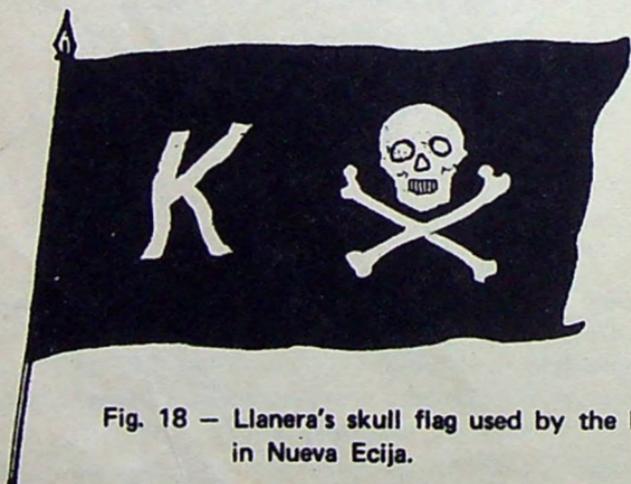


Fig. 18 — Llanera's skull flag used by the battalion in Nueva Ecija.

KATIPUNAN REGIMENTAL BANNERS

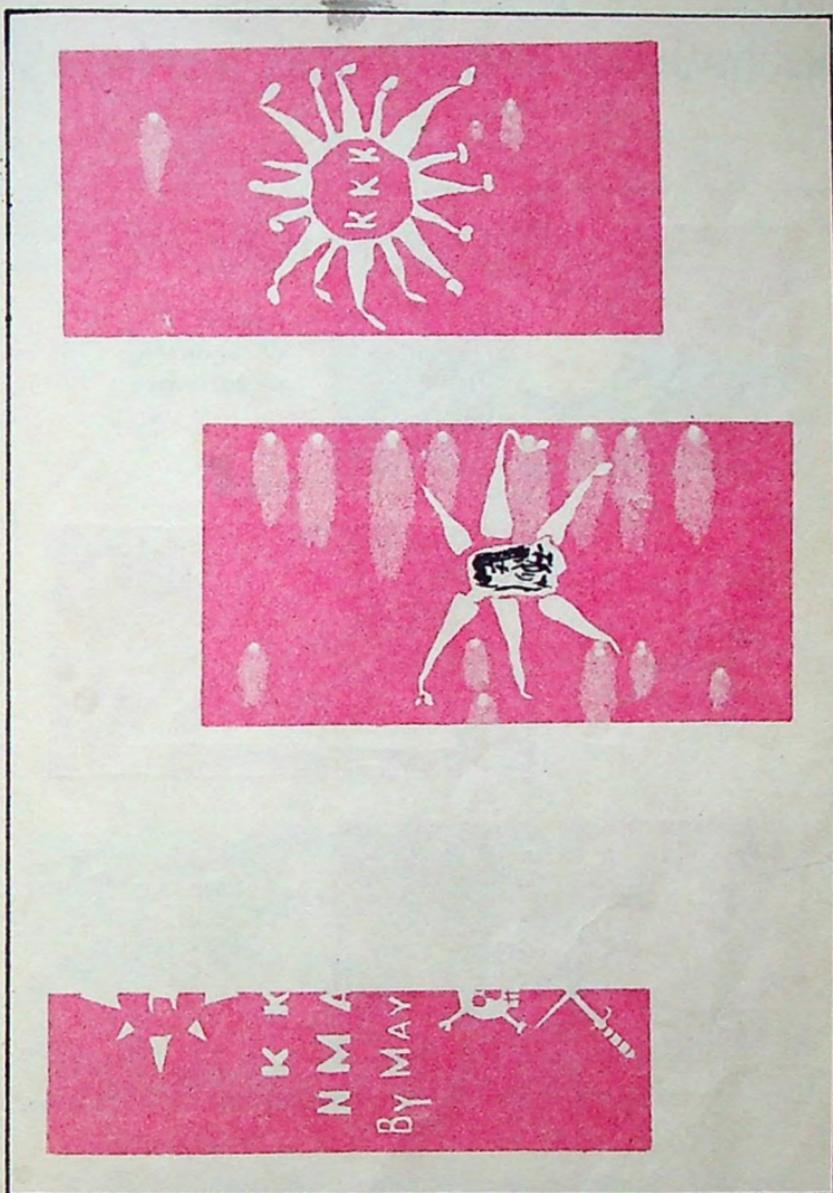


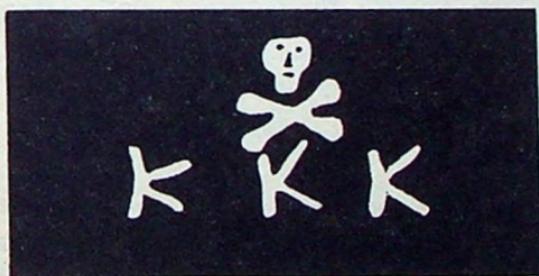
Fig. 19—Replica of some rebel banners claimed to have been captured in the field by the Spanish troops. On exhibit at the Museo del Ejercito in Madrid.



Unit banner of
Gen. Gregorio del Pilar



Unit banner of
Gen. Pio del Pilar



Unit banner of
Gen. Mariano Llanera

Fig. 21 — Unit banners of General Gregorio del Pilar,
General Pio del Pilar, and General Mariano Llanera.

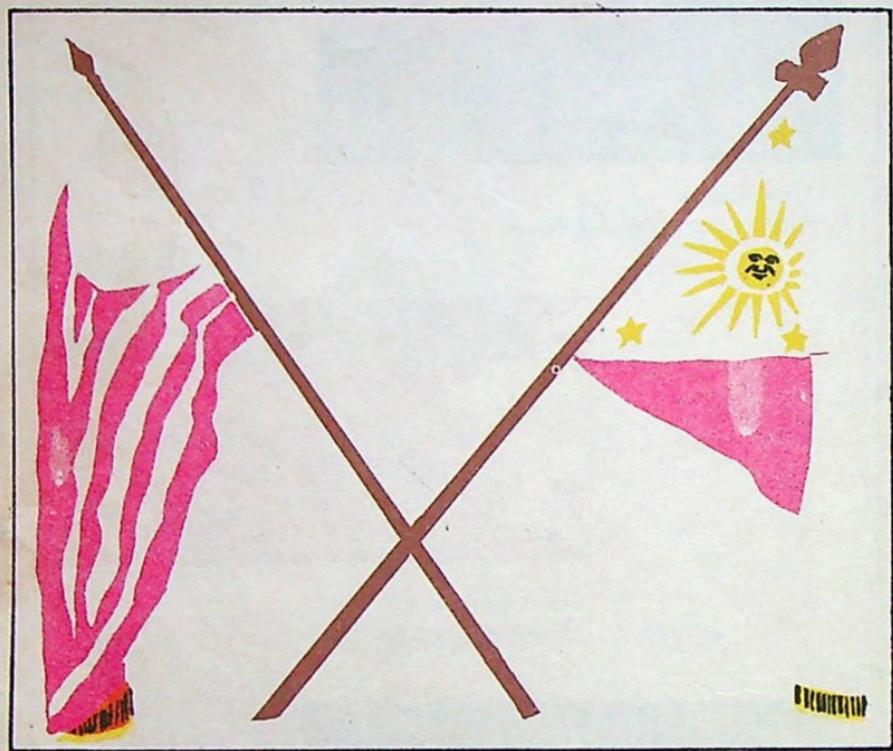
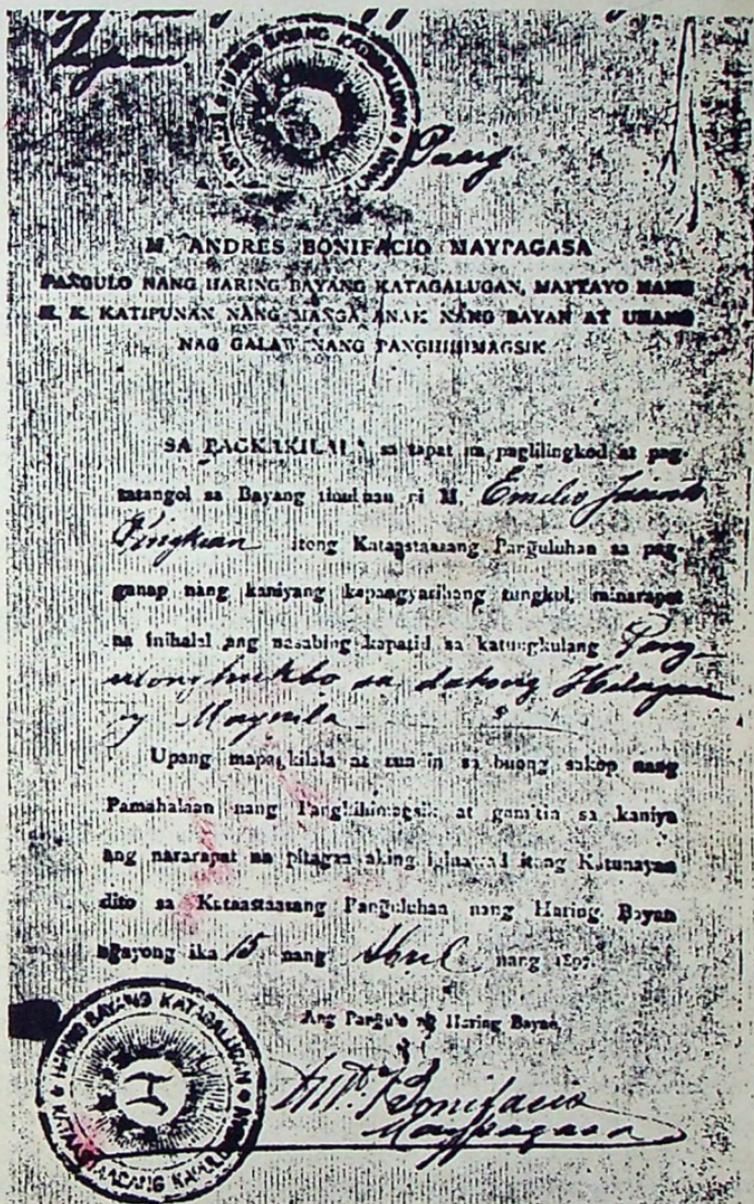


Fig. 22. "The American and Filipino Flags which were donated to Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison in the afternoon of the Philippine Flag Restoration Day, October 30, 1919, at Malacanang Palace." (From photo in *Baja*, *op. cit.*, p. 160) Note the details of the sunburst in the Philippine Flag.



Facsimile of a letter of Andres Bonifacio dated at Naik, April 15, 1897 (published in T. A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses*, Q. C., 1956, p. 187).

Note the personal seal of Bonifacio as Supremo of the K.K.K. which he still used even after the Tejeros Convention.

APPENDIX B

September 8, 1926

Mr. Emanuel A. Baja

My dear townsman and friend:

Here is my answer to your question:

—The “K” in the red flag of the 1896 Insurrection meant “Katipunan”, and not “Kalayaan”, inasmuch as it was sometimes joined by two other “K’s” to form the three historic K.K.K. (Most High, Most Venerable Association), as was the case with flags of other insurrectional groups. The “K”—sometimes in the form of “Ꝛ” of the ancient Philippine alphabet—was likewise used in the stamps and seal of the official documents of the Revolution whose sacred ideals were not only Freedom (Kalayaan) but also Independence (Kasarinlan). And has the “K” meant “Kalayaan” (Liberty), even the unified Government of the Revolution, proclaimed at Kawit, Cavite on April 19, 1897, would not have substituted it with the eight-rayed sun.

—The sun I am referring to—which is also the subject of one of your questions—was the mythological sun with eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth. It was not the artistic one nor the Japanese sun. It was the same sun which appears on the flags of some South American republics. And I can assure you of this because I drew the design myself by order and instruction of the President, General Aguinaldo.

The adoption of the sun was resolved in order that the flag of the Katipunan could be transformed into the “flag of the republic” sustained and defended heroically not only by the Katipunan men but also by the whole people who had joined the revolution which was started by the worthy “Association of the Sons of the People”. And thereafter the “Sanguniang Bayan” was abolished; in its place a government organized along modern lines, with a Republican constitution, was substituted.

A few months before the Peace of Biak-na-Bato, the Battalion of Pasong Balite, whose commander was the brave and gallant General Gregorio H. del Pilar, had adopted as their ensign a flag which resembled much the present national flag. It had a blue triangle, without a sun or stars, the upper half portion was red and the lower half was black. Like the present Philippine Flag, its general outline was inspired also by the Cuban flag.

Although no law prescribed the use of the Philippine Flag, nevertheless it was prohibited long before the Flag Act was approved by the Philippine Commission. Any individual who used any trinket, watch, button or pin with the colors or design of the Philippine flag was prosecuted and incarcerated by the Constabulary. The undersigned, together with his uncle and his brother-in-law, was detained and imprisoned at Cavite (1903) only because the number of his house was written on a tablet upon which was painted the Philippine Flag.

CARLOS RONQUILLO

(Baja, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42)

NOTE

A superficial reading of Ronquillo's letter will disclose that the writer referred to the flag designed in Hongkong drawn by him "by order and instruction of the President, General Aguinaldo".

The rest of the letter dwelt on this flag (which the writer erroneously said was "proclaimed at Kawit, Cavite, on April 19, 1897—on that date the Spaniards were entrenched firmly in Kawit), and made no reference whatsoever on the flag allegedly adopted in the "Naik Conference on March 17, 1897."

It is therefore the height of anachronism to present this letter as a supporting document for the said "Naik Conference on March 17, 1897".—D. A.

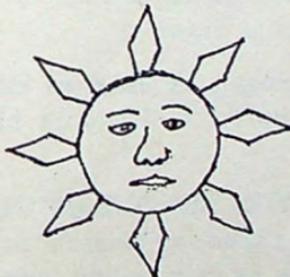
Republic of the Philippines
Department of National Defense
BOARD ON PENSIONS FOR VETERANS
(Philippine Revolution)
Manila

January 10, 1953

Director Luis Montilla
Bureau of Public Libraries
M a n i l a.

My dear Director:

In reply to your letter of the 12th instant, regarding some phases of our national flag which I brought with me from Hongkong, I wish to inform you that the position of the sun in sketch No. 1 of Baja's book is the correct one, except that the color of the lines forming the eyebrows, the eyes, the nose and the mouth is not red as appears in the illustration, but black, and except also that the eight rays of the sun with a face are as appear in the sketch below;



Very sincerely yours,

Emilio F. Aguinaldo
EMILIO F. AGUINALDO

APPENDIX D

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Education
BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Manila

Ika-17 ng Nobyembre, 1952

Kgg. Hen. Emilio Aguinaldo
Board on Pensions for Veterans
Lepanto, Manila

Kagalang-galang kong Heneral:

Kami ay napilitang lumiham sa inyo upang humingi ng paliwanag hinggil sa isang bagay na kayo lamang ang higit kaninoman na nakababatid. Sa maikling pangungusap ay hindi pa namin matiyak hanggang ngayon ang kulay ng titik na "≈" ng bandilang ginamit ng Hukbong Manghihimagsik na pinamunuan ninyo.

Ang aklat na sinulat ni Komandante Emanuel A. Baja na pinamagatan na PHILIPPINE NATIONAL FLAG AND ANTHEM ay nagsasabi na ang ating bandila ay rektanggulong pula na may titik na "≈" sa gitna at may walong silahis. Walang nababanggit si Komandante Baja ukol sa araw.

Ayon kay Ricarte na nabanggit sa aklat ni Baja, sa gitna ng araw na puti ay may titik na "≈" nguni't hindi binabanggit ang kulay ng nasabing titik.

Ayon na man sa aklat na THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES na sinulat ni Teodoro Agoncillo (Elias) ay sinasabi na pula ang kulay ng bandila nating rektanggulo na may puting araw na nagtataglay ng walong silahis. At tinitiyak ang kulay ng titik na "≈" sa gitna ng puting araw ay puti rin.

Hindi namin malaman kung aming susundan o paniniwalaan ang aklat ni Agoncillo pagka't kung puti ang kulay ng araw, ay hindi

mapapansin ang titik na “ \approx ” ng nakalagay sa gitna ng puting araw. Tangi sa roon si Agoncillo lamang ang nagsasabing puti ang titik na “ \approx ”, at ang aklat naman ni Baja ay hindi binabanggit ang kulay ng titik na “ \approx ”.

Hinihiling namin sa inyo na kung ma-aari ay malaman namin ang mga sumusunod: (1) ang tunay na kulay ng titik na “ \approx ”; (2) kung may araw sa gitna ang bandilang pula; at (3) kung mayroon pang kamalian sa kulay at anyo ng ating watawat noong panahon ng himagsikan sa nabanggit namin sa itaas ng liham na ito. Maraming salamat.

Lubos na gumagalang,

LUIS MONTILLA
Patnugot

APPENDIX D

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Education
BUREAU OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES
Manila

November 20, 1952

Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo
Board on Pensions for Veterans
Lepanto, Manila

My dear Gen. Aguinaldo:

We are asking your cooperation again in regard to the development of the Philippine Flag. The question this time refers specifically to the changes made in the Naic Conference of March 17, 1897, principally the introduction of the sun in the flag. In this respect, I quote from a letter of Carlos Ronquillo that is published in the book of Baja, thus:

"The sun I am referring to, which is also the subject of one of your questions, was the mythological sun with eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth. It was not the artistic one nor the Japanese sun. It was the same sun which appears on the flags of some South American republics. And I can assure you of this because I drew the design myself by order and instruction of the President, General Aguinaldo."

It will be noted that Ronquillo did not mention the color used for the sun, or the color of the lines that indicate the eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth. Baja, in his illustration copy of which is attached, has a white sun, and uses red lines to indicate the eyes, etc.

There is, however, another illustration, the one published in the calendar copyrighted by E. P. Montinola in 1949, copy of which is also attached. This Montinola illustration, you will note,

has a red sun, and uses white lines to indicate the eyes, etc. These two illustrations not only differ in the colors used, but also in the length and arrangement of the eight rays.

While we are inclined to give more credence to Baja's illustration, we can not entirely disregard the possibility that Montinola's may be more reliable, or the possibility that both are far from the actual design made in the Naic Conference. Hence, we are consulting you, who is the final authority on the matter, and whatever you say will serve as the official record of the evolution of our flag.

Anticipating the favor of your answer, I wish to remain

Yours very sincerely,

LUIS MONTILLA
Director

Appendix D

Diciembre 5, 1952

Director Luis Montilla
Bureau of Public Libraries
M a n i l a

Iginagalang kong Director:

Tinanggap ko po ang dalawang sulat ninyo na ang una may petsa 17 at ang ikalawa ay 20 ng Nobiembre, 1952, na kapwa may kalakip na watawat ng Hukbong Naghimagsik. Ukol sa unang tanong ninyo, o dili kaya'y ang kulay ng titik na ☽ na nakasulat sa gitna ng araw, ay natatandaan ko pong ang kulay niyon ay pula, sa gitna ng araw na puti naman ang kulay, na nalalagay sa gitna ng watawat na pula, na gaya nang makikita sa dibuho ni Ricarte; ngunit ang walong silahis ng araw ay gaya ng dibuhong sumusunod:



Ukol po naman sa ikalawang sulat ninyo na nagtatanong din kung alin sa dalawang dibuho ng araw, ang kay Baja o ang kay Montinola, ang siyang ginamit sa watawat, ay pinatutunayan ko pong ang gawa ni Baja ang siyang tama, na ang araw at ang walong silahis ay kulay puti, ngunit ang mga guhit na bumubuo sa mata, kilay, ilong at bibig ng araw, ay hindi pula na gaya ng makikita sa dibuho, kungdi itim.

Lubos na gumagalang,

EMILIO AGUINALDO

(Pansamantalang Pangulo ng Lupon)



APPENDIX E

Further Reading on the Alleged "Naic Conference on March 17, 1897"

From my readings of the accounts of the Revolution ('96-'97), both primary and secondary, I know of only *two* joint Magdiwang-Magdalo meetings or conferences in Cavite: one, that which was held in Imus on December 31, 1896, and another that in Tejeros on March 22, 1897. Both were presided over by then incumbent *Supremo* of the *Katipunan*, Andres Bonifacio.¹

My research efforts were triggered by the claim, which has acquired the semblance of truth by constant repetition by many authors, that there was a "Naic Conference, Cavite Province, on March 17, 1897", supposedly of "military leaders acting as a legislative body"² which would make it a *third* conference, but the mention of which I could not find in any of my documentary sources.

The subject of this *third* (chronologically, it would be the *second*) conference may not be of much significance to a casual reader, even to an historian whose pursuit belongs to other topics of a more general scope. But it is crucial to the topic of my study which has to do with tracing the historical evolution of our national flag—the different phases and designs, and the occasions when each was adopted, through which the flag had passed until it reached its present form.

If we are to believe what has been written and published, the *third* meeting was indeed crucial to my research because, as alleged, it was

"at the Naic Conference on March 17, 1897, when the military leaders, acting as a legislative body, adopted and approved certain modifications in the design (of the flag).

¹The Tejeros convention was first presided by Jacinto Lumbreras, acting president of the *Magdiwang* faction, before Bonifacio took over the Chair as presiding officer.

²Emanuel A. Baja, *Philippine National Flag* . . . Manila, 1936, p. 34.

It was ordered that thereafter the official flag of the government and its forces was to be the same as that used by the Magdalo . . ."³

I could have swallowed that information hook, line and sinker. After all, the author of the statement had dedicated his efforts to the subject of the flag in great detail, and had never been contradicted.

I could have lifted the information offered on a silver platter, as I have said, to avoid controversy and further study of the subject which meant spending my own time and effort. But, historical curiosity and the pursuit of knowledge compelled me to ask these questions:

1. In addition to those held in Imus and Tejeros, was there really a *third* conference in Naic?
This was news to me.
2. Who called and presided over it?
3. Who were present at the conference?
4. Besides adopting a new flag, what other matters were discussed and approved there?

SOURCE OF EVIDENCE

I began to dig into the documents of evidential value. Foremost primary sources were the Aguinaldo *Memoirs*⁴, and the two Ricarte accounts.⁵

Testimonies from these two documentary sources, while touching on the Imus and Tejeros meetings, made no mention whatsoever of the alleged *third* conference in Naic on March 17, 1897. They were testimonies of eyewitnesses and principal actors of the events they themselves narrated. Of secondary nature, but scholarly and well-documented, is Epifanio de los Santos' *Andrés Bonifacio*, first published in 1917 just two decades from the period of the Revolution.⁶

³ Emanuel Baja, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Manila, 1967.

⁵ *Hispano-Philippine Revolution*, Yokohama, Japan, 1926, and *Memoirs*, Manila, 1963; this latter work is a reprint and translation of the author's *Apuntes históricos de la insurrección*, Yokohama, 1927.

⁶ Agoncillo rates this work as a primary source by listing it in his bibliography as such. *Revolt . . .* p. 372. See also f-n 18 hereunder.

Moreover, close behind Epifanio de los Santos, chronologically, is another scholar, Teodoro M. Kalaw, who published the first edition (in Spanish) of his book, *The Philippine Revolution*, in 1924. While secondary in nature in the sense that the author was not a protagonist in the events narrated, his book on the Revolution is considered by scholars today as his major contribution to our country's history.⁷

NEGATIVE EVIDENCE

In the absence of any positive information making reference to the alleged "Naic Conference of March 17, 1897", let us read the testimonies which should have mentioned it but did not, including the circumstances under which such a "conference" might have had been called, if at all.

There were only TWO men who could have called a conference of military leaders of the Revolution on "March 17, 1897", namely, Bonifacio and Aguinaldo. Rather, only ONE man, Bonifacio, because on that date he was still the recognized *Supremo* of the Katipunan. If Aguinaldo did call a meeting at all, this would have been valid only for the men of the *Magdalo* faction of which, to all intents and purposes, he was the power behind its president, Baldomero Aguinaldo. But, did he?

AGUINALDO?

(a) We all know where Aguinaldo was before and after March 17, 1897: he was in the battlefields at Pasong Santol, Salitran, an environ of Dasmariñas, with his troops. On that very date Aguinaldo answered the letter of Fr. Pio Pi and dated it in Imus⁸, the site of his headquarters.

Already the Spaniards had taken Silang (19 February) and Dasmariñas (23 February), occupied the estate-house of Salitran (7 March) and Presa-Molino (10 March), were building bridges over the Paliparang River (on the 14th of March) for the crossing of troops, and were putting up redoubts in Palipit and Limbong

⁷ Its first English translation was published in 1925, republished in 1940, and lastly in 1969.

⁸ Vide Achutegui and Bernad, Aguinaldo . . . Manila, 1972, pp. 320-323.

(on the 16th and 17th), all within the sight of Aguinaldo at Pasong Santol, in preparation for an offensive against Anabo II⁹ (March 24 and March 25).

(b) Under such critical circumstances, how could Aguinaldo have thought of calling a "conference of military leaders on March 17" and all to have left their posts in the field where they were most needed, and of all places, why *in Naic*? Naic was a *Magdiwang* territory and, as we all know, was some 30-odd kilometers from Pasong Santol through the enemy-held territory.

(c) Moreover, let us remember that when, on March 23, Aguinaldo was notified by Col. Vicente Riego de Dios about his election as President at the Tejeros Conference and was asked to go to Tejeros to take his oath of office, he demurred at first, refusing to leave his post on the frontline.¹⁰ Tejeros which was about 1/3 the distance from Pasong Santol, Salitran, to Naic, and the reason for him to go to Tejeros was much more significant than a mere *conference*, for his *ego* and that of his followers, if not for patriotic motives, he would have gladly gone to Tejeros.

(d) On "March 17, 1897", Aguinaldo was a mere field general of the *Sangguniang Magdalo*. He, therefore, had no authority to call a joint *Magdiwang-Magdalo* conference of "military leaders" (as this is insinuated by the claim that it was called in Naic, a *Magdiwang* bailiwick), and Aguinaldo, always the disciplined soldier, knew it. Even if he did, granting the fact for the sake of argument, would it have had legal validity to justify the commentary of author Baja, to the effect that:

"The reformed flag therefore [adopted in the supposed Naic Conference on 17 March 1897] became the official flag of the established *de facto* Philippine Government and its armed forces."¹¹

⁹ Eduardo Gallego y Ramos, *Operaciones practicadas contra los insurrectos de Cavite*, Madrid, 1898, p. 45.

The previous day (16th) Aguinaldo approved, also in Imus (Haligue), the appointment of Eleno Mendoza as Major (Achutegui-Bernad, *ibid*, p. 406).

¹⁰ "At the time of the Tejeros election General Emilio Aguinaldo was at Salitran, Dasmariñas, preparing his troops for an impending battle with the Spaniards"—(Agoncillo, *The Revolutionists* fn. p. 121) More exactly, the general was at Pasong Santol, also a sitio of Dasmariñas. (Aguinaldo, *Memoirs*, p. 133)

¹¹ Baja, *op. cit.* p. 32

(e) Finally, nowhere in Aguinaldo's *Memoirs* did he mention this "Naic Conference on 17 March 1897". While the General wrote of the Imus conference (31 December 1896) and the Tejeros convention (22 March 1897)¹², how could he have missed mentioning the "Naic Conference" to which so much significance has been attached by author Baja, if it was held at all?

BONIFACIO?

On March 17, 1897, Andres Bonifacio was still the recognized Supremo of the Katipunan. Nobody, including Aguinaldo, had contested his authority as such (Tejeros was five days later). He could have had legally called a valid joint meeting in Naic, or anywhere else, if he wished, of the Magdalo and Magdiwang "military leaders" and decisions adopted there would have been legally binding for the "established *de facto* Philippine Government and its armed forces". But did he?

On account of his violent death on May 10, 1897, Bonifacio, unlike Aguinaldo, did not live to see the end of the Revolution which he initiated and to write his own memoirs. But in lieu thereof we have Ricarte's two narrations. *Vibora* was not only a faithful or a blind follower of Bonifacio; he was a "canine" sidekick of the Supremo with whom he was closely associated during the momentous events of the power struggle. Even in his writings *a posteriori*, *Vibora* showed partiality for Bonifacio and the Magdiwang faction.

Ricarte made mention of the "Big Assembly in Imus" (*Asemblea Magna*)¹³ which was presided over by Bonifacio on December 31, 1896, and of Tejeros,¹⁴ but none, as earlier stated, of the alleged "Naic Conference on March 17, 1897", which should have been held, if at all, between the assembly in Imus and the convention in Tejeros. No such meeting was reported by *Vibora* in all his revolutionary accounts.¹⁵

(a) Indeed, what would have been the purpose of Bonifacio in calling a meeting in Naic on March 17, 1897, when the Mag-

¹² *Memoirs*, pp. 116-118; 133-138.

¹³ *Memoirs*, pp. 25-27

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 36-42

¹⁵ In Tagalog or English translations.

diwang government, which was a pro-Bonifacio faction, had already called a convention in Tejeros which took place FIVE days later (March 22)? Present-day preliminary caucuses to organize tactical maneuvers on the floor of assemblies were yet unknown at the time. That there was no such pre-convention meet in Naic, clandestine or otherwise, was proven by the rout suffered by the Magdiwang partisans on the floor of Tejeros—by means of a simple expedient of the Magdalos, who though outnumbered 10 to 1, nominated two Magdiwangs (Bonifacio and Mariano Trias) for the presidency, thus splitting the latter's votes, as against one Magdalo—Aguinaldo.

(b) Where was Bonifacio on March 17, 1897? According to Ricarte, the Supremo, after moving from Imus to Noveleta and to San Francisco de Malabon, stayed in the last town until it was re-taken by the Spaniards on April 6, 1897.¹⁶ This is confirmed by Artigas.¹⁷ Why convoke a meeting in Naic, some 30 km. away, if ever he did call that Conference on 17 March when the Tejeros estate-house was only about two kilometers from San Francisco de Malabon, and was in a Magdiwang territory? In fact it was there where he convened the revolutionary leaders five days later.

(c) We have said that owing to Bonifacio's tragic death in Mt. Buntis on 10 May 1897, he did not live to record his own memoirs, unlike Aguinaldo and Ricarte. Luckily, we have still the testimony direct from the horse's mouth, so to speak, touching on the problem we are now concerned with. It was contained in a letter of Bonifacio to Emilio Jacinto Pedernal, dated in Limbon, Indang, April 24, 1897, and published for the first time by Epifanio de los Santos in *Revista Filipina* in 1917.¹⁸

In that letter Bonifacio made reference to the "Imus convention" (of 31 December 1896) and the Tejeros convention (of 22 March 1897)¹⁹ and absolutely failed to mention the alleged "Naic Military Conference" (of 17 March 1897) if ever there was such which was supposed to have taken place between the first two named

¹⁶ *Hispano-Philippine Revolution*, pp. 32-33

¹⁷ Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Andres Bonifacio y el "Katipunan"*, Manila, 1911, p. 92.

¹⁸ E. de los Santos, *The Revolutionists*, Manila, 1973, pp. 114-118 which is a reprint in English from the original Spanish in *Revista Filipina*, Vol. II, No. 11 (English trans.) (November 1917).

¹⁹ Vide: T. A. Agoncillo *Revolt . . .* pp. 414-419 (orig. Tagalog).

conferences. In the light of the importance which author Baja attached to the "Naic Conference" by describing it as a meeting of "military leaders acting as a legislative body", Bonifacio could have specified it—had he convened and/or presided over that alleged conference.

Bonifacio, as the Supremo, could have convoked that meeting because, according to Ricarte, Bonifacio in the Imus conference was made "the President of the Legislative Body, that he should frame it with a certain number of persons worthy of membership of the mentioned Chamber of Laws of the New Born Nation".²⁰ If any such Chamber of Laws was ever convened, the above-mentioned primary sources did not elaborate nor clarify the matter.

The foregoing does away with Bonifacio as a possible source of authority in convening the alleged "Naic Conference".

Epifanio de los Santos himself in the text of his above-cited monograph on "Andrés Bonifacio" mentioned the "Imus Convention"²¹ and the Tejeros assembly²² but said not a word about the "Naic assembly" alleged to have taken place during the period between the Imus and Tejeros meetings.

The same is true of the book of T. M. Kalaw. This scholar likewise mentioned "The Revolutionary Assembly in Imus"²³ and "Another Assembly in Tejeros"²⁴ but was significantly silent on the alleged "Naic Assembly of March 17, 1897".²⁵

IRRELEVANT EVIDENCE

If all the primary sources are silent on the so-called "Naic Assembly of March 17, 1897", what then was the basis of author Baja's allegation that such a "Conference" was held? The claim was anchored on one documentary evidence alone, namely, "Carlos

²⁰ Ricarte, *Hispano-Philippine Revolution*, p. 36.

²¹ *The Revolutionists*, p. 138, from the testimonies of "Clemente J. Zulueta, Teodoro Gonzales, Cipriano Pacheco, and others", all participants in the conference.

²² *Loc cit.*

²³ p. 47-49

²⁴ p. 50-51

²⁵ A recent work on the documents of the Revolution by Frs. Achutegui and Bernad, *ibid*, likewise makes mention of the Imus and Tejeros meetings but is significantly silent on the "Naic Assembly of March 17, 1897", pp. 326-327.

Ronquillo's letter (to Baja) of September 8, 1926",²⁶ written 29 years after the event in question. See attached Exh. 1.

The authority of Baja has been admitted in the works of all the scholars that I know of. Prof. Agoncillo has consecrated it in his book with the following statement:

"Pertinent data on the *Katipunán* flags are taken from Emanuel Baja's *Our Country's Flag and Anthem* . . .²⁷

If we subjected the Ronquillo letter, short as it is, to a close scrutiny, we would discover its unreliability. For instance, having been written close to three decades after the event referred to, it must now be subjected to the memory of the author.

(a) In this connection, the first to notice a certain flaw in Ronquillo's memory was Prof. Agoncillo himself when he observed as follows:

Carlos Ronquillo, at the time he wrote the letter, was thinking in terms of General Aguinaldo's later position as President of the Republic and not as a mere general of the army at the time referred to—a *mistake that should be corrected for historical purposes*. General Aguinaldo did not become President of the Revolutionary Government until March 22, 1897 when he was elected to that position at Tejeros. Ronquillo was probably referring to the *latter date* when he was asked to draw an illustration of the flag²⁸ (Underscoring supplied).

Prof. Agoncillo is right; in fact I might add that Ronquillo, in his letter referred to Aguinaldo as "the President" which means that it was *after* the Tejeros Assembly (March 22, 1897) when he was asked by "the President" to draw an illustration of the new flag. Before Tejeros Aguinaldo was not yet "the President".

Therefore, the Ronquillo letter is irrelevant, immaterial, and impertinent to an event (March 17, 1897) which is alleged to have occurred *before* the Tejeros convention.

(b) Another proof of the lapse of memory of Carlos Ronquillo which has escaped the analytical scalpel of Prof. Agoncillo lies in

²⁶ Baja, *ibid.*, pp. 41-42 (1936 edition).

²⁷ Revolt . . . p. 325

²⁸ Revolt, p. 326

the former's allegation made in the same letter, that "the unified government of the Revolution (was) proclaimed at Kawit, Cavite, on April 19, 1897". To this date, only Aguinaldo, now "the President" could have made the alleged proclamation. But the primary and positive evidence shows that Ronquillo was talking through his hat.

- first, because Aguinaldo himself in his *Memoirs* says that on that very date (April 19) he was in Naik nipping in the bud the plot being laid at a "mysterious meeting" (in his words²⁹, the secessionist gathering called by Bonifacio in the former Dominican estate-house in that town, and
- second, because on that date Kawit (Cavite Viejo) was in the hands of the Spaniards, having been captured by the Lachambre troops since April 2, 1897.³⁰

How then could it be possible for "the unified government of the Revolution" to be proclaimed in that town on that date?

Or was Ronquillo referring to the Proclamation of Independence in Kawit on June 12, 1898? I am inclined to believe that the latter event meant only a case of lapse of memory on the part of Ronquillo.³¹

This mistake, too, "should be corrected for historical purposes" lest it be a source of another confusion among our students of history. For one thing, it involves a very significant date, that of our present *Independence Day*, and for another thing, the allegation comes from a primary and positive testimony of no less than Aguinaldo's secretary who was supposed to be an eye-witness to the event in question.

Therefore, far from clarifying a controversial point, the Ronquillo letter has compounded an already confused situation with new historical heresies which needed elucidation.

²⁹ *Memoirs*, pp. 145-150; on that day "I was still weak, for I had barely recovered from fever"—Aguinaldo.

³⁰ Federico de Monteverde, *La division Lachambre*, Madrid, 1898, pp. 533, 537; Eduardo Gallego, *op cit.* p. 51.

³¹ Apparently, Prof. Agoncillo has unsuspectingly reposed blind faith on informant Ronquillo as shown on his statement that "a first hand information on the Revolution (1896-1898) is found in Carlos Ronquillo's *Pag-hihimagsik nang 1896-1897*, still in manuscript form" (*History*, p. 695).

No Bearing on the Subject

(c) But the most grievous sin committed against historical methodology has escaped detection by scholars. It has to do with the presentation of an evidence (by author Baja) which has no bearing whatsoever on the matter which it is supposed to prove and support.

A cursory reading of the Ronquillo letter, copy of which is hereto attached (Appendix B), will show our point. Even granting the soundness of the memory of Ronquillo, where, for heaven's sake, does his letter make reference to the "Naic Conference on March 17, 1897", at least to establish its relevance to this event?

It appears that the scholars have been completely taken in. Nobody to this date has questioned the materiality of the Ronquillo letter to the event that it was supposed to bear witness to. Prof. Agoncillo virtually gave his stamp of approval to the claim when he expanded on it and wrote:

In the Naik Assembly of March 17, 1897, the Military leaders again decided to make certain changes in the design of the Katipunan flag . . . Carlos Ronquillo, then secretary to General Emilio Aguinaldo, clarified this point³² (Underscoring supplied).

SUMMARIZING

Was there, or was there not, a "Naic Assembly of March 17, 1897"?

(a) The primary sources of documentation (Bonifacio, Aguinaldo, and Ricarte) *all show negative evidence*, as discussed above.

(b) On the other hand, author Emanuel A. Baja, the first to make a positive claim, based it on a letter to him from Carlos

³² *Revolt* . . . p. 58; moreover, he captions the illustration of the new flag (in color)—p. 72 thus: "The rebel flag approved in the *Naic Conference*, Cavite Province, on *March 17, 1897*." (Italics supplied). In almost identical words, Prof. Agoncillo repeats this paragraph in the six editions of his *History of the Filipino People* (Q. C., 1967, p. 187). But in this word Prof. Agoncillo, while he describes what happened in the Imus assembly of December 31, 1896 (pp. 212-213) and in the Tejeros convention of March 22-23, 1897 (p. 213-214), is silent about the alleged Naic Conference of *March 17, 1897*.

Ronquillo, secretary to Aguinaldo, dated on September 8, 1926. I have discovered that the Ronquillo letter is irrelevant and immaterial to the purpose for which it was advanced.

However, Prof. Agoncillo has expressed agreement with the Baja claim and appears to hold the view that there was a "Naik Assembly of March 17, 1897". He joins Profs. Zaide and Gagelonia³³, and all those who to this date have published anything concerning the evolution of the Philippine Flag, and have considered that "Assembly" as the birthplace of a new flag. On the authority of the said historians, the researchers of the National Media Production Center³⁴, and the Bureau of Posts³⁵ published and disseminated to the public as gospel truth that March 17, 1897" or "Naik Conference of March 17, 1897" was a milestone in the evolution of our National Flag in the sense that that alleged occasion marked the passing of one design of the revolutionary flag and the birth of another.

It now seems to me that the said occasion or event, as first reported in the book of Emanuel A. Baja with its appended Ronquillo letter as supporting evidence, started a confusion in our annals of the Revolution. All historical writers before the Baja opus ignored the existence of a "Naik Assembly of March 17, 1897". Those written after Baja allowed themselves to be lured unquestioningly by this author's claim supported by an anachronistic document.

It is to be regretted that none of our young generation of historians specializing on the subject of the Revolution, perhaps for not having detected the novelty of the Baja claim, or for not having given importance to it, has inquired direct from Aguinaldo, or Ricarte, or discussed the subject with T. M. Kalaw. All of them lived long enough after Baja had first made his claim in 1928.

³³ Vide: Gregorio F. Zaide "The History of the Filipino Flag", *Sunday Tribune Magazine*, Manila, Oct. 29, 1933; Pedro A. Gagelonia, *The Philippine National Flag*, Manila, 1963; Genaro G. Armas, "The Story of the Filipino Flag", *Sunday Tribune Magazine*, Manila, October 26, 1930; Eulogio Rodriguez, "History of the Filipino Flag", *Woman's Home Journal*, Manila, August, 1938.

³⁴ *The Flag*, Manila, 1974, a pamphlet; before this a predecessor of this office, The Philippine Information Council, published *Our Flag*, Manila, 1951, also a pamphlet.

³⁵ Commemorative stamps (set), Filipino Flag, Bureau of Posts, Manila.

Moreover, in the six editions of his otherwise magnificent work, *History of the Filipino People*, Prof. Agoncillo repeatedly concurred with the Baja claim when he stated that

"In the Naik Assembly of March 17, 1897, the Katipunan military leaders decided to adopt a flag with a new design. It consisted of a red rectangular cloth with a white sun and rays in the middle. The sun was the mythological sun with eyes, eyebrows, nose, and mouth. The flag superseded the flag of the Magdalo faction and became the symbol of the Filipino nationality until the signing of the Truce of Biyak-na-Bato on December 14-15, 1897, when it was hauled down from the pole of the revolutionary headquarters at Biyak-na-Bato".³⁶

This is what I mean when I said that constant repetition of a claim—which may be unfounded—will give it a semblance of truth.

What has added to the confusion in my mind (excuse me if I am naive) and in that of other readers who, like me, are not familiar with the events of the Revolution, is the fact that while Prof. Agoncillo clearly gives the *date* of the supposed "Naik Assembly" (March 17, 1897), as above quoted, he is silent about the *date* of "The Naik Military Agreement" which he talks about several pages later in his book, as follows:

"*The Naik Military Agreement*—Bonifacio's anger over what he considered the anomalous election and the insult heaped on him by Daniel Tirona, a *Magdalo*, rankled for long. At Naik, he and his men drew up another document in which they resolved to establish a government independent of, and separate from, that established in Tejeros . . . Among the forty-one men who signed it were Bonifacio, Artemio Ricarte, Pio del Pilar, and Severino de las Alas . . ."³⁷

Here lies the confusion. The "military agreement" above-quoted (without date) would be taken to refer to the previously

³⁶ pp. 187-188; the statement being a reiteration of the author's previous pronouncement in *Revolt*.

³⁷ *History*, *ibid*, p. 215; "the substance of this chapter [Chapter X] has been culled from Agoncillo's *Revolt* . . ." (*History*, *ibid*, p. 694). Prof. Agoncillo (in a footnote in *The Revolutionists*, *ibid*, p. 123) wrote, with reference to the "Naik Military Agreement" that "this document may be called the Naik Agreement because it was prepared and signed in the estate-house of Naik, Cavite". See also Ricarte's *Memoirs*, *ibid*, Appendix c, p. 99 (also no date).

mentioned "assembly of March 17, 1897", both of which had taken place in Naik.

This confusion must be cleared. From no less than Aguinaldo's testimony we know the date when the "military agreement" was signed in Naik: "April 19, 1897"³⁸. The point is that it **was an** altogether different meeting from the alleged "Naik Assembly of March 17, 1897". Aguinaldo's date coincides with Ricarte's account of the event which according to him happened "after Easter Day, 1897", that is, *after* the "incident" when the "military agreement" was signed in Naik.³⁹ April 18, 1897 was Easter Day that year⁴⁰—definitely NOT March 17, 1897.

³⁸ *Memoirs*, p. 145.

³⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 46.

⁴⁰ *Guia Oficial*, Manila, 1897, pp. 14-15.

APPENDIX F

THE FIRST TRIUMPHS

The next day (28th May, 1898), just when we were distributing arms to the revolutionists of Kawit, in the above mentioned district [Alapang, a barrio of Kawit] a column, composed of over 270 Spanish Naval Infantry, appeared in sight. They were sent out by the Spanish General, Sr. Pena, for the purpose of seizing the said consignment of arms.

Then it was that the first engagement of the Revolution of 1898 (which may be rightly styled a continuation of the campaign of 1896-97) took place. The battle raged from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., when the Spaniards ran out of ammunition and surrendered, with all their arms, to the Filipino Revolutionists, who took their prisoners to Cavite. In commemoration of this glorious achievement I hoisted our national flag in the presence of a great crowd, who greeted it with tremendous applause and loud, spontaneous and prolonged cheers for "Independent Philippines" and for "the generous nation"—the United States of America. Several officers and Marines from the American fleet who witnessed the ceremony evinced sympathy with the Filipino cause by joining in the natural and popular rejoicings of the people.

This glorious triumph was merely the prelude to a succession of brilliant victories, and when the 31st May came—the date fixed for general uprising of the whole of the Philippines—the people rose as one man to crush the power of Spain.

The second triumph was effected in Binakayan, at a place known as Polvorin, where the Spanish garrison consisting of about 250 men was attacked by our raw levees and surrendered in a few hours, their stock of ammunition being completely exhausted.

I again availed myself of the opportunity to hoist our national flag and did so from an upper story of the Polvorin facing the sea, with the object of causing the sacred insignia of our Liberty and Independence to be seen fluttering in the breeze by the warships,

representing all the great and civilized nations of the world, which were congregated in the harbor observing the providential evolution going on in the Philippines after upwards of three hundred years of Spanish domination.

Scarcely had another hour elapsed before another flag was seen flying over the steeple of the Church at Bakoor—which is also in full view of vessels in the harbor—being the signal of another triumph of our troops over the Spanish forces which held that town. The garrison consisted of about 300 men, who surrendered to the Revolutionary Army when their ammunition was exhausted.

And so the Revolution progressed, triumph following triumph in quick succession, evidencing the power, resolution and ability of the inhabitants of the Philippines to rid themselves of any foreign yoke and exist as an independent State, as I affirmed to Admiral Dewey and in respect of which he and several American Commanders and officers warmly congratulated me, specially mentioning the undeniable triumphs of the Philippine Army as demonstrated and proved by the great number of prisoners we brought into Cavite from all parts of Luzon.

APPENDIX G

VETERANS OF THE REVOLUTION MANILA, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS CENTRAL DIRECTORY

Kawit, Cavite
June 11, 1925

Captain EMMANUEL A. BAJA
University of the Philippines,
Manila, P.I.

My dear Captain:

In answer to your questions about some details of the flag, I may state the following:

The first Filipino National Flag was made by the hands of the Agoncillos at Hongkong. It was the Flag I took with me to Cavite when I returned from my exile and the same one from which copies were made by the Gomez family of Bacoor. It was the same flag (the flag brought from Hongkong) which was taken to Malolos and used there in the Hall of Congress. It was taken by my staff in the retreat north but was lost somewhere near Tayug, Pangasinan.

On that occasion Judge Advocate General Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista held a pike with the first Filipino National Flag unfurled. It was displayed to public view from that front window (pointing the place) and General Ricarte spoke a few words of tribute to the idealism of the new flag.

A Filipino National ensign flying from a flagpole in front of our mountain quarters was taken down and was either carried off or destroyed by General Funston's men.

When the law restoring the use of the Flag was approved, I was sick at the Philippine General Hospital. I was very much interested in hoisting the colors myself just at that time when

my life was in danger, but the committee on celebration, the chairman of which was Don Rafael Palma, denied me this pleasure. Several press representatives called on me then to inquire as to how the Flag should be flown. I answered them that it should be always hoisted with the blue stripe up in time of peace. But on the battlefields and in camps during the past war, first with Spain and then with the United States of America later, our National Flag had been hoisted with the red stripe up.

E. AGUINALDO

(Baja, *ibid*, App. VIII, p. 68)

HISTORICAL DATA BANK
NHI

APPENDIX H

To underscore the extensive usage of the mythological sun in the emblems of the Philippine government under the leadership of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, we append copies of the following documentary materials:

- (A)—Official seals of national, provincial and municipal agencies;
- (B)—Postage and revenue stamps issued by the government of the revolutionists while it lasted;
- (C)—Military rank devices designed during the first and second phases of the armed conflict.
- (D)—Philippine Flag (still bearing Aguinaldo's mythological sun) donated to Gov. F. B. Harrison on Philippine Flag Day, October 30, 1919.

Filipino Revolutionary Government Issues

The Filipino Republic was instituted by Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo on June 23, 1899. At the same time he assumed the office of President. Aguinaldo dominated the greater part of the island of Luzon and some of the smaller islands until late in 1899. He was taken prisoner by United States Troops on March 23, 1901.

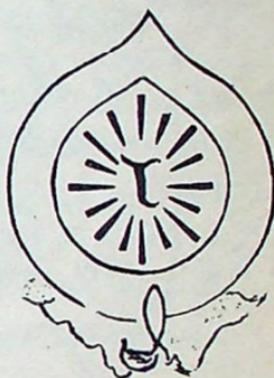
The devices composing the National Arms, adopted by the Filipino Revolutionary Government, are emblems of the Katipunan political secret society or of Katipunan origin. The regular postage and telegraph stamps were in use in Luzon as early as Nov. 10, 1898. Owing to the fact that stamps for the different purposes were not always available, together with a lack of proper instructions, any of the adhesives were permitted to be used in place of the other. Hence telegraph and revenue stamps were accepted for postage and postage stamps for revenue or telegraph charges. In addition to the regular postal emission, there are a number of provisional stamps, issues of local governments of islands and towns.



Magdalo
March 21, 1897
(Doc. # 100)



Magdiwang
16 Dec. 1896
(Doc. # 24)



Magdiwang
30 March 1897
(Doc. # 101)

K. K. K.

Sa mga Guinooing Pangulo
sa mga Bayan na Masasa Tahi



Magdiwang
Katipunan
Magdiwang

Upang ang labat nang
Hawong mga bayang Muntinlupa
na napabawto sa mga bayan na
nabatata sa piling nitong caute
san ay mangapaloron ng eayud
san, mangayud ipon at ng hindi
maga uatadnatac, ay mumarap
apang ipaguhod sa ^{magd} mangga sid. na
G. Pangulo sa bayan Magapit
Salinas at Pangragui na sa lo-
al ng dalawang galing sumod
ipagtawag sa labat ng kamitang
naranap na ang labat ng lalaris
na mga Muntinlupa ay tumad

First page of a 2-page letter from the Magdiwang president to the municipal presidents of three towns, dated 30 March 1897. Original in AOPQC. (See Document 101.)

G. Karonel ymasinon
 diha sa Magdawang



Sa pagka may balita ang
 iting bitia na Kaninang a las
 f ng hapon ang isang Kanones
 na dating naktatigul sa datang
 may Salalukan nag punta sa
 Eanquay at bumalik din sa
 bago pumanag ang Salawang
 ofisial sa isang bote at tumungo
 ang aplaya na tila ay may
 ins-akalang pakana, at Kani
 nang unaga may tatlong daan
 pang Kalabang ang bumapit sa
 may datto pa ito ng mozon
 na di umano ay magroang
 ita tuloy pa sa malapit
 ng mga palandarin sa Kala

Appendix H

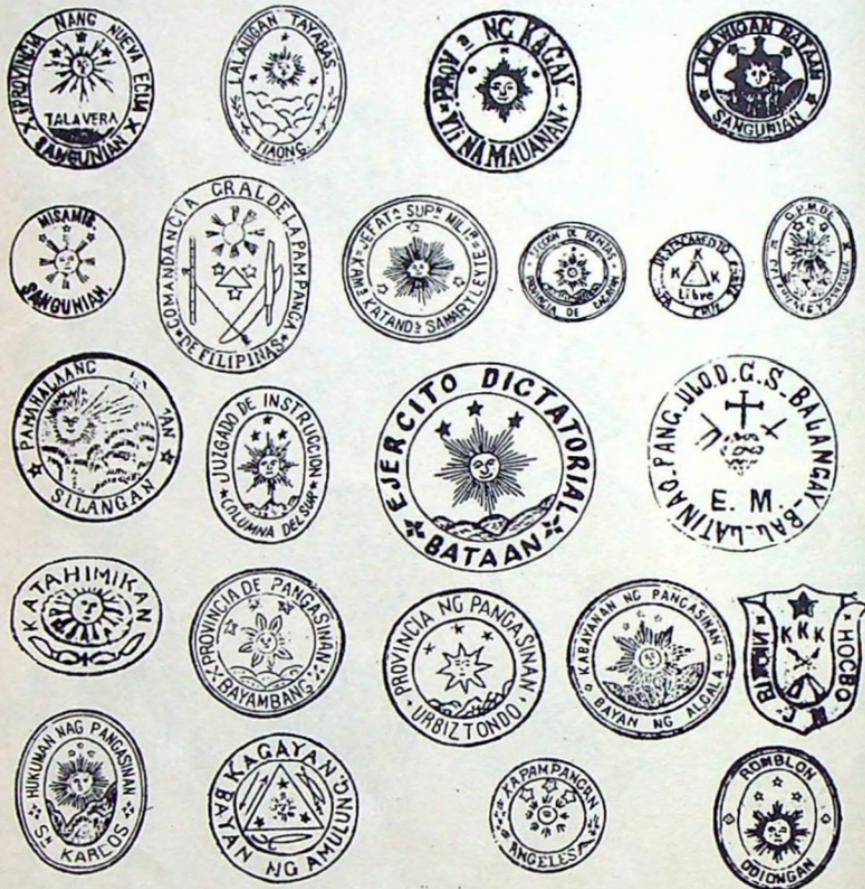
PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL SEALS



PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL SEALS



PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL SEALS



REGISTRATION STAMP.



RSI

YFY RSI 8c de p green
 a. Imperf., pair 20
 b. Imperf. vertically, pair —

NEWSPAPER STAMPS.



N1

YPI N1 1m black 5
 a. Imperf., pair 10

REVENUE STAMPS.



R1



R2

YRI R1 10c de p brown (shades) 15
 YR2 R2 brown 2.00
 a. Imperf. horizontally, pair —

Stamps of type R2 were needed because of a decree requiring registration of ownership of all cattle.

REVENUE STAMPED PAPER.



R3



R4



R5



R6



R7

Wmkd.

Imperf.

YRS R3 25c de p black —
 YR4 " 50c de p rose —
 YR5 R4 1p purple —
 YR6 R5 2p red —
 YR7 R6 5p blue —
 YR8 R7 10p yellow green —
 YR9 " 15p black —
 YR10 " 20p red brown —

Nos. YR3 to YR10 inclusive are all on double sheet paper which when folded vertically form pages $8\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This paper was used for legal documents. Each sheet has an embossed seal to the left of the stamp which appears in two forms, (a) Circle 1.6 inches in diameter, the center design being a double wreath tied with a ribbon below and above the "rising sun in a triangle and a small star in each angle". Above in a double line circle the words "TIMBRE NACIONAL" and below the center design the words "HACIENDA FILIPINAS". (b) Center design a draped female figure seated facing to the left. Above in a double line circle the words "TIMBRE NACIONAL" and the words "GOBIERNO DE FILIPINAS" below the figure.

In addition each sheet has a serial number near the upper right margin which appear in two sizes of figures, the larger being 7mm. high and the smaller 5.5mm. high.

Watermarks: Each sheet is on watermarked paper and the watermark varies in the different sheets seen. Among those noted are "J VILASECA"; "JOSE VILASECA"; "JOSE GUARRO"; "LIBERIA DE COLON MANILA"; "A ROMANI T". In addition some of the sheets also have a Crest and Coat of Arms which appears in two forms: (a) "CROWN and SHIELD (with globe)" and (b) "CROWN and QUARTERED COAT OF ARMS". The size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{4}$ inches, the word "VILASECA" being $4 \times \frac{3}{4}$ inches.

PHILIPPINES

1902	Heavy block letters, without period.		
UX3 (A)	1c black (McKinley) (UX18)	—	—
UX4 (A)	2c black (Liberty) (UX16)	40.00	—

1904 PHILIPPINES.

UX5 (C)	1c black (McKinley) (UX18)	2.75	2.75
UX6 (C)	2c black (Liberty) (UX16)	3.00	3.00

1906 PHILIPPINES

UX7 (A)	1c black (McKinley) (UX18)	30.00	—
UX8 (A)	2c black (Liberty) (UX16)	—	—

1907 Designs same as postage issue of 1906.

UX9 A40	2 ctvos. black (Rizal)	1.25	1.25
UX10 "	4 ctvos. black (McKinley)	3.00	3.00

1912 Color changes.

UX11 A40	2 ctvos. blue on light blue (Rizal)	85	85
UX12 "	4 ctvos. blue on light blue (McKinley)	2.75	2.75

1915

UX13 A40	2 ctvos. green on buff (Rizal)	75	75
UX14 "	2 ctvos. yellow green on amber	25	20
UX15 "	4 ctvos. green on buff (McKinley)	1.25	1.25

1935 Design of postage issue of 1935.

UX16 A53	2 ctvos. red on pale buff (Rizal)	35	35
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1938 No. UX16 COMMONWEALTH

Overprinted at left of Stamp			
UX17 A53	2 ctvos. red on pale buff	20	20

COMMONWEALTH

UX18 A53	2 ctvos. red on pale buff	—	—
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COMMONWEALTH

UX19 A53	2 ctvos. red on pale buff	—	—
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Design of Rizal Portrait facing left.

Overprinted in Black at left VICTORY

UX20	2 ctvos. gray brown on pale buff	—	—
------	----------------------------------	---	---

REPLY CARDS.

On U. S. card UY52 imprinted type "a" in Blue.

UY1	2c blue on white (Liberty) "Postal Card with Paid Reply"	2.00	2.00
UY2	2c blue on white, "Reply Postal Card" a. UY1 and 2 unsevered	2.00	2.00
		4.00	—

Imprinted type "c" in Black.

UY3	1c black on buff (Grant) "Postal Card with Paid Reply"	2.00	2.00
UY4	1c black on buff, "Reply Postal Card" a. UY3 and 4 unsevered	2.00	2.00
		4.00	—
UY5	2c blue on white (Liberty) "Postal Card with Paid Reply"	15.00	—
UY6	2c blue on white, "Reply Postal Card" a. UY5 and 6 unsevered	15.00	—
		30.00	—

Blue imprint.

UY7	2c blue on white (Liberty) "Postal Card with Paid Reply"	—	—
UY8	2c blue on white, "Reply Postal Card" a. UY7 and 8 unsevered	—	—

OFFICIAL CARDS.

Overprinted **O. B.** at Left of Stamp.

1935	On postal card No. UX13.		
UZ1 A40	2 ctvos. green on buff (Rizal)	1.25	1.25

1935	On postal card No. UX16.		
UZ2 A53	2 ctvos. red on pale buff	85	85

Overprinted **O. B.** at Left of Stamp.

1938	On postal card No. UX19.		
UZ3 A53	2 ctvos. red on pale buff	40	40

1941 Design of postage issue of 1941.

Overprinted O. B. Below Stamp.			
UZ4 A75	2c light green	7.50	—

Filipino Revolutionary Government Issues.

The Filipino Republic was instituted by Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo on June 23, 1899. At the same time he assumed the office of President. Aguinaldo dominated the greater part of the island of Luzon and some of the smaller islands until late in 1899. He was taken prisoner by United States Troops on March 23, 1901.

The devices composing the National Arms, adopted by the Filipino Revolutionary Government, are emblems of the Katipunan political secret society or of Katipunan origin. The regular postage and telegraph stamps were in use on Luzon as early as Nov. 10, 1898. Owing to the fact that stamps for the different purposes were not always available, together with a lack of proper instructions, any of the adhesives were permitted to be used in the place of the other. Hence telegraph and revenue stamps were accepted for postage and postage stamps for revenue or telegraph charges. In addition to the regular postal emission, there are a number of provisional stamps, issues of local governments of Mindanao and Luzon.

POSTAGE ISSUES.



Coat of Arms
A1



Coat of Arms
A2



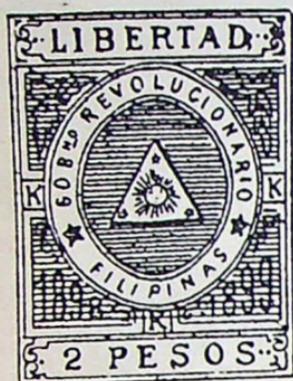
Coat of Arms
A3

Perf. 11 1/2.

1938-39			Unwmkd.
Y1 A1	2c red	10.00	10.00
	a. Double print	—	—
Y2 A3	2c red	4	—
	a. Imperf. pair	—	—
	b. Double print	—	—
	c. Imperf. horizontally, pair	—	—
Y3 A3	2c red	2.50	—



Postage and telegraph stamps issued by the first Philippine Republic from 1898 to 1901.



R7

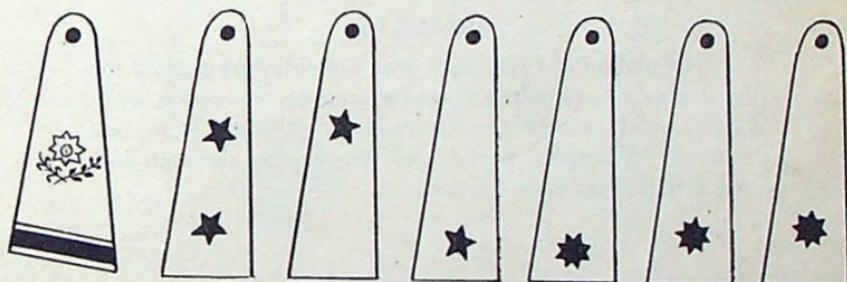


Postage and telegraph stamps issued by the first Philippine Republic from 1898 to 1901.



Captain General's insignia

REBEL RANK DEVICES—Second Phase



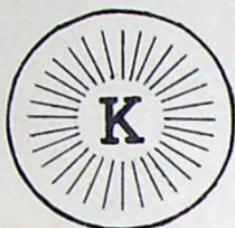
From left: Chevrons of Captain General (Aguinaldo) and lesser generals. (Published in *La Independencia*, June 2, 1899, reproduced in Edwin Wildman's *Aguinaldo, a Narrative of Filipino Ambitions*, Massachusetts, 1901, p. 334).

HISTORICAL DATA BANK
NHI

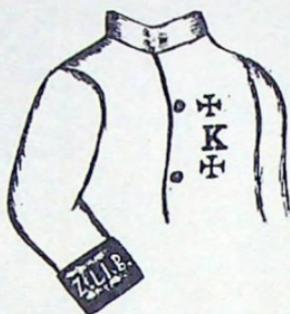
REBEL RANK DEVICES

(Sources: Ricarte, *Memoirs*, p. 15; Monteverde, *La division Lachambre*, p. 67).

PRESIDENT OF SANGGUNIAN



Insignia for headgear. (White background, golden K and rays). This insignia was also prescribed for Ministers and Generals.



The letters Z. L. B.—Katipunan code letters for A.N.B. (Anak Ng Bayan) were placed on the right sleeve and on the left chest, with — K — arranged vertically.

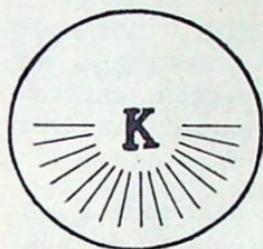
MINISTERS

The insignia of Ministers was the same as that of the President but only letter K was placed on the sleeve while background color for each Ministry differed from one another. Example: Minister of War—white chevron with red K and red sleeve border.

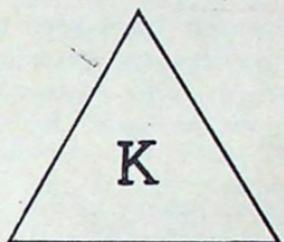
LIEUTENANT GENERAL

Likewise the rank of a Commanding General. On the left breast was pinned a sunburst and while chevron on sleeve was similar to that of the Minister of War, no insignia was attached to the sleeve.

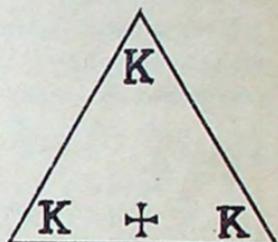
INSIGNIA ON CHEVRONS



Mariscal



Brigadier General



Colonel



Major



Aide to Generals

APPENDIX I

Some of the armaments used by the Spaniards against the Filipino insurgents, and some of those used by the latter against the former, claimed to have been captured, on exhibition in the MUSEO DEL EJERCITO at Madrid.

The *Rayadillo* Uniform of the Rebel Forces

Ever since I can remember I got used to seeing the veterans of the Revolution in parades and ceremonial occasions in my province and elsewhere in their customary *rayadillo* uniforms and wide-brimmed straw headgear folded upwards in front (App. J).

Undoubtedly, most of us believe to this date, that such a uniform was that worn by our freedom fighters or *katipuneros* throughout their revolt against the Spaniards since 1896.

Nobody that we know of has asked, even out of curiosity, how, when, and where was this uniform adopted by the Filipino revolutionists to distinguish them from their Spanish enemy. None has inquired from the surviving leaders of the Revolution during the early part of this century for the elucidation of this apparently insignificant matter. Thus a wrong conception, as above stated, has developed popularity among us.

Our curiosity on the *raison d'être* of even the minutest detail in our recorded history has led us to the conclusion that:

FIRST PHASE

a) The bluish *rayadillo*, with red pipings together with the wide-brimmed straw headgear, was the standard campaign or field uniform of the Spanish Peninsular Expeditionary Forces to the insurgent wars in the Philippines and Cuba during the 1890's.

This is shown by a mannequin (page 113) dressed in the *rayadillo* uniform among other uniformed mannequins depicting the story of the military uniform of the Spanish armed forces

in the course of the centuries. They are on exhibit at the *Museo del Ejercito* in Madrid.

b) In addition, the *rayadillo* uniform is shown as worn by the Spanish Officers and men in the illustrations (photos and sketches) at the various published and unpublished chronicles written by the Spaniards on their military campaign in the Philippines in 1896 to 1897 which was the first phase of the Revolution (*Vide* some of them reproduced herewith).

c) At this period the rebel fighters wore no standard uniform, except for the *katipuneros* under Bonifacio who gave battle to the Spaniards at San Juan del Monte on August 30, 1896. According to a Spanish chronicler "they wore red trousers and white shirts."* Otherwise, there is no record of an official adoption of a military attire for the *insurrectos* by any of their leaders.

This was understandable. The rank and file of those who joined the rebel movement, *katipuneros* or not, belonged to the peasant, penniless masses armed with their own *bolos*, spears, and arrows aside from their hatred of the dominant Spaniards.

Neither could their leaders or the *Sangunians* supply them with the materials necessary for their uniforms which was a secondary concern, the primary one being the acquisition of firearms. There was, therefore, no need for designing and adopting a uniform for the rebel troops. They went to war in non-descript attires like a mob of angry warriors.

Only the native troopers who had deserted the Spanish Guardia Civil and regular army wore their Spanish *rayadillo* uniform which at the same time gave them distinction in the rebel camp as militarily trained troops. Moreover, the rebels were quick at appropriating for themselves not only the firearms of dead or captured Spanish soldiers but also their *rayadillo* uniform. Because of this, the Spanish high command had to warn repeatedly their troops to beware of the presence in the combat areas of rebels in *rayadillo* uniform.

SECOND PHASE

It appears that it was in the second phase of the Revolution when the deportees to Hongkong led by Gen. Aguinaldo returned

* Emilio Reverter Delmas, *La insurrección de Filipinas*, Barcelona, 1899, Vol. I, p. 36

to resume hostilities with the Spaniards that the *rayadillo* with the wide-brimmed headgear of the Spanish troops became the uniform of the revolutionists.

We know that with their American allies being more interested in the capture of Manila and suburbs, the Aguinaldo contingents went out campaigning against the Spanish garrisons in the provinces all over the country. The Peninsulars, cut off from Manila, were bereft of reinforcements from the capital. Consequently, as the rebels grew in numbers the Spanish contingents and installations fell one by one into the hands of the insurrectionists. Stores of war equipment, including stocks of *rayadillo* material for uniform fell into the rebel hands.

Soon came the surrender of the Spanish authorities in Manila, and the subsequent repatriation of the Spanish troops.

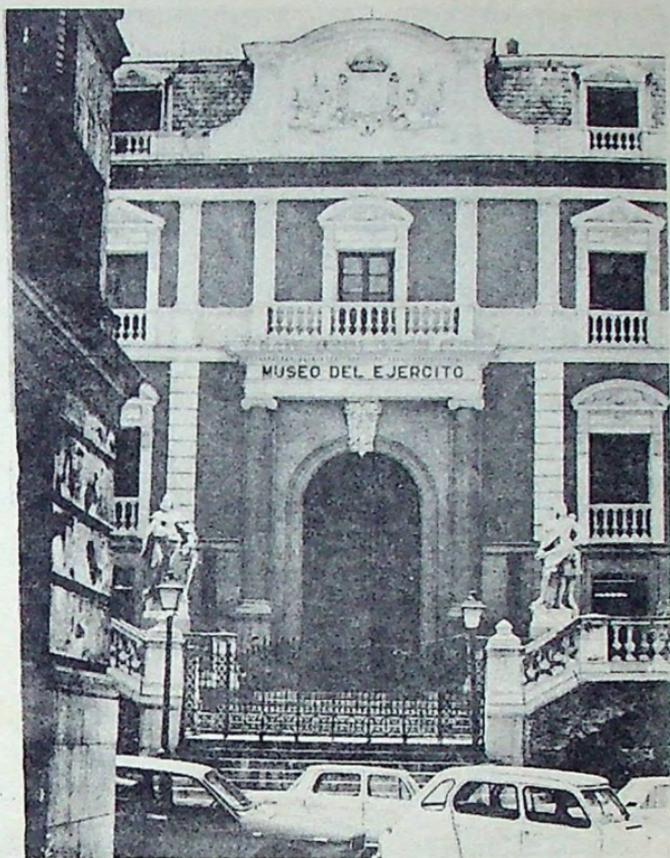
With the captured war materiel from the Spaniards, Aguinaldo's troops now slowly acquired the semblance of a regular army.

The Spanish troops having departed, Aguinaldo's officers and men inherited, among others, their *rayadillo* uniform, which in previous years meant to them an enemy to be killed.

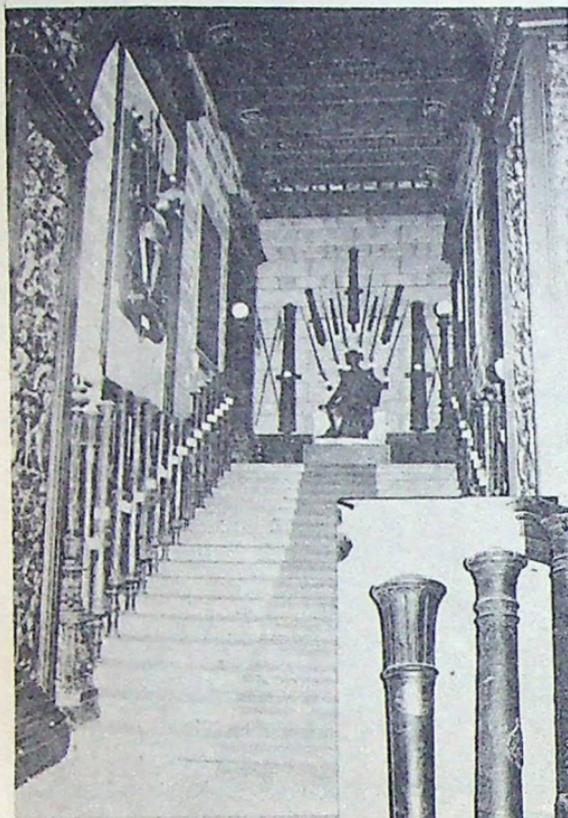
It was in this *rayadillo* uniform that the Filipinos later fought the Americans in the defense of their independence.

It is this *rayadillo* uniform that our dwindling Veterans of the Revolution cherish to wear today at ceremonial occasions.

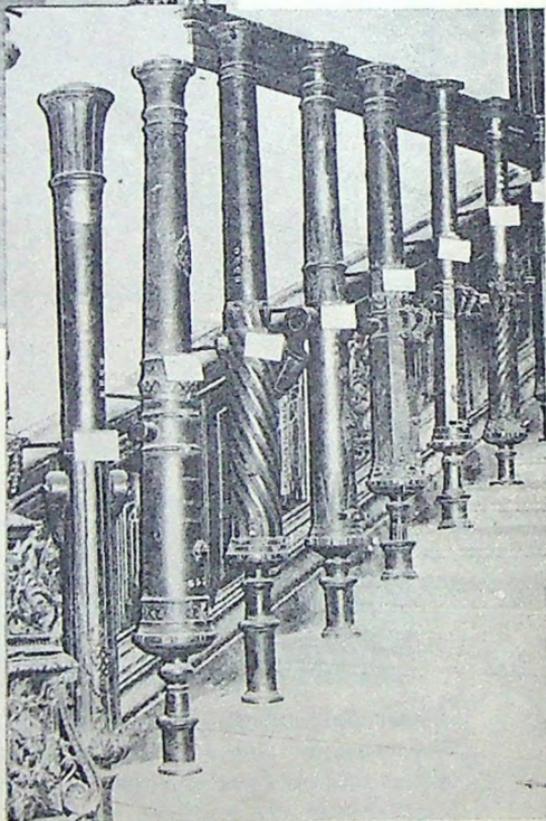
— D.A



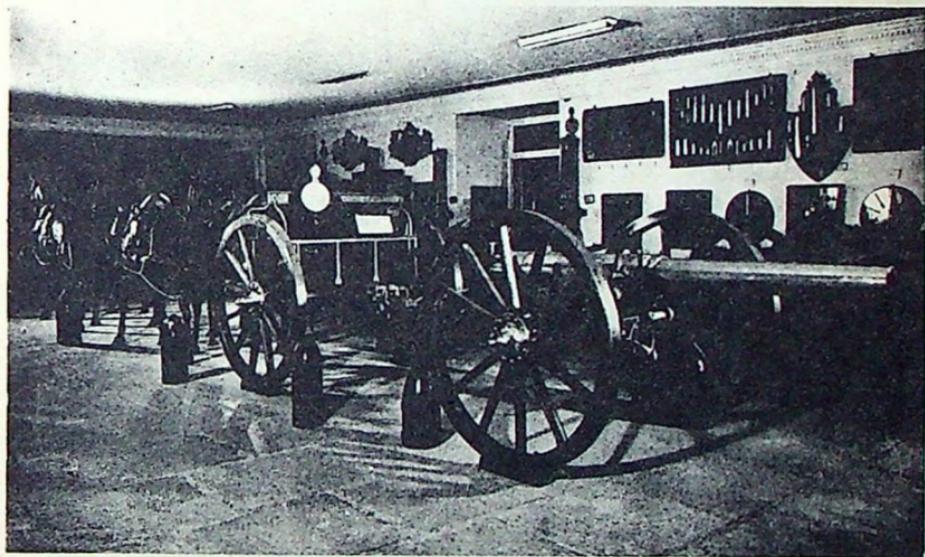
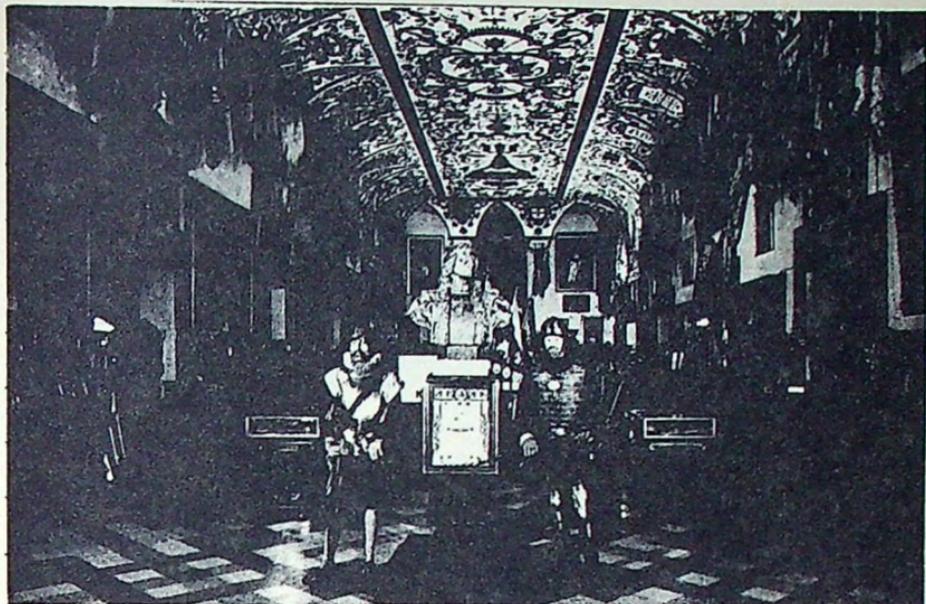
Museo del Ejército—facade (top) and perspective (above). The museum contains various kinds of arms used by Indios against Spanish forces in different periods, including Filipino rebel weapons, insignias, etc.



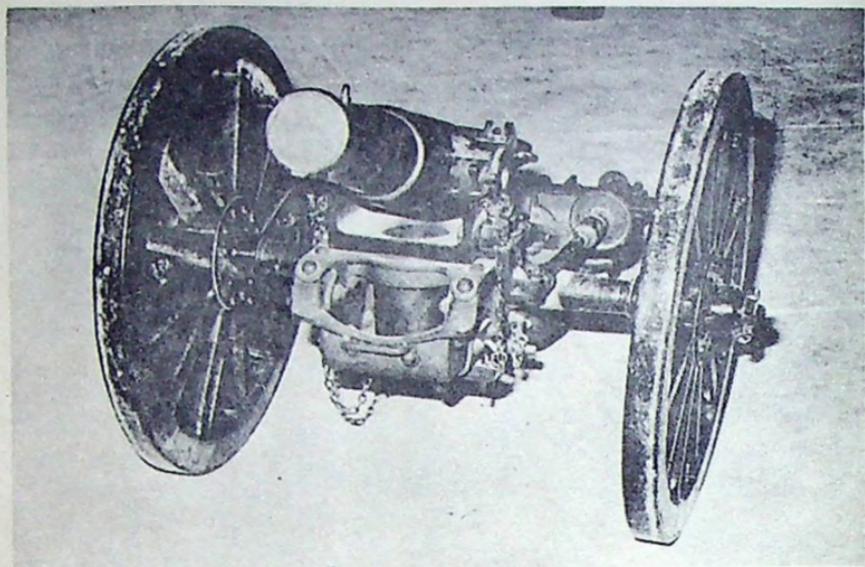
Stairway to the Artillery Hall, Museo del Ejercito, left, is with captured Indio and Muslim lantakas (native cannons).



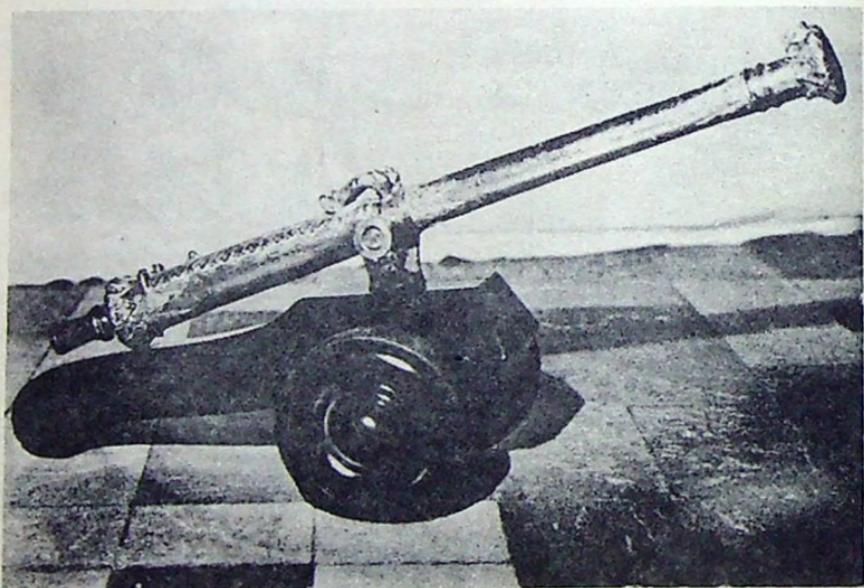
Native artillery weaponry, right, carry individual descriptions.



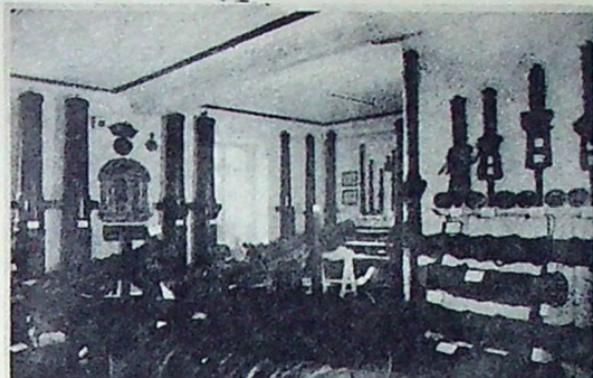
Museo del Ejercito, Madrid—Top photo shows war gears and weapons used by Spaniards against Indios (Filipinos), and other vanquished Asian natives. Above is a horse-drawn heavy artillery used by Spaniards against Filipino rebels on display at Sala de Artilleria (artillery hall).



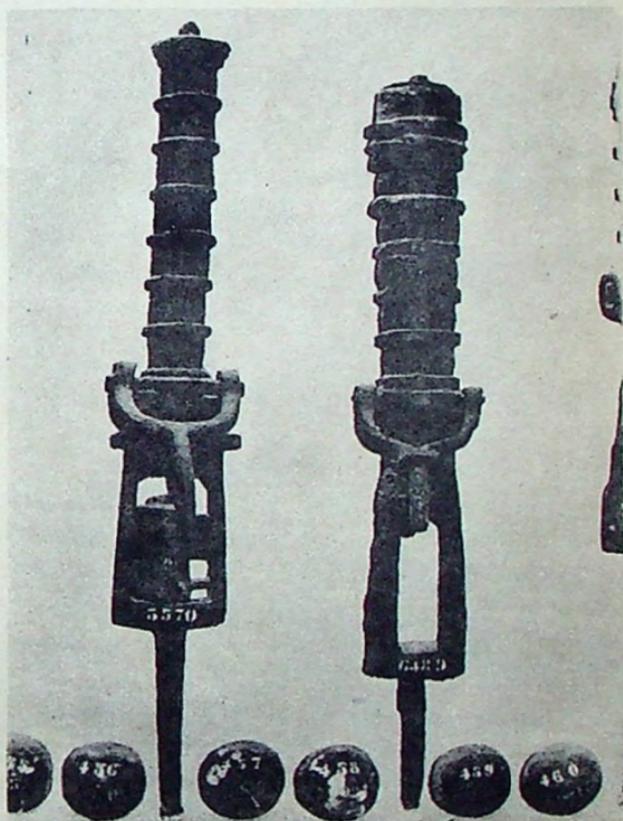
Heavy caliber artillery like this was used by Spaniards against Filipino rebels.



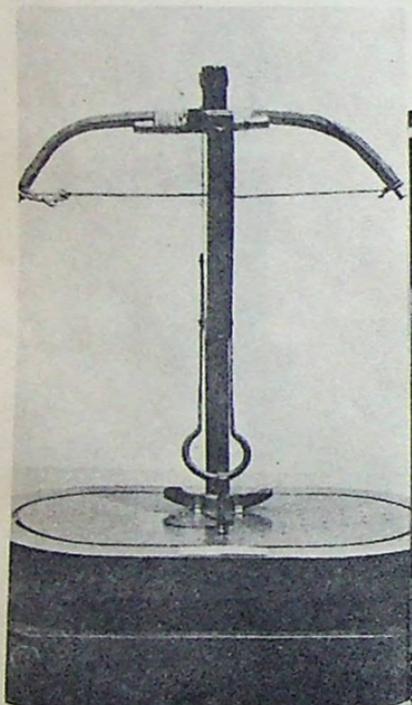
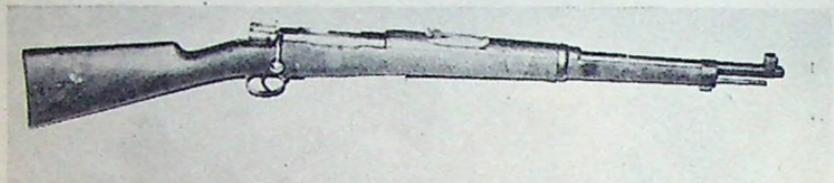
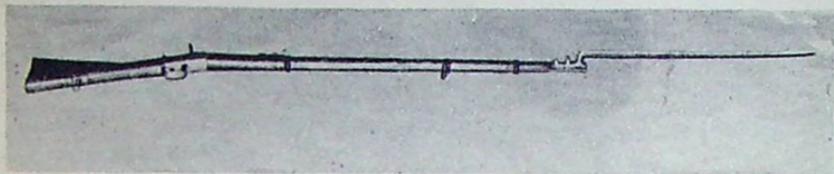
Philippine-made lantaka (cannon) was used by the natives against the Spaniards. Mounting and wheels are modern.



Hall of Mortars—They were used by Spaniards against Filipinos, left. To the right may be seen several falconetes used against the rebels.



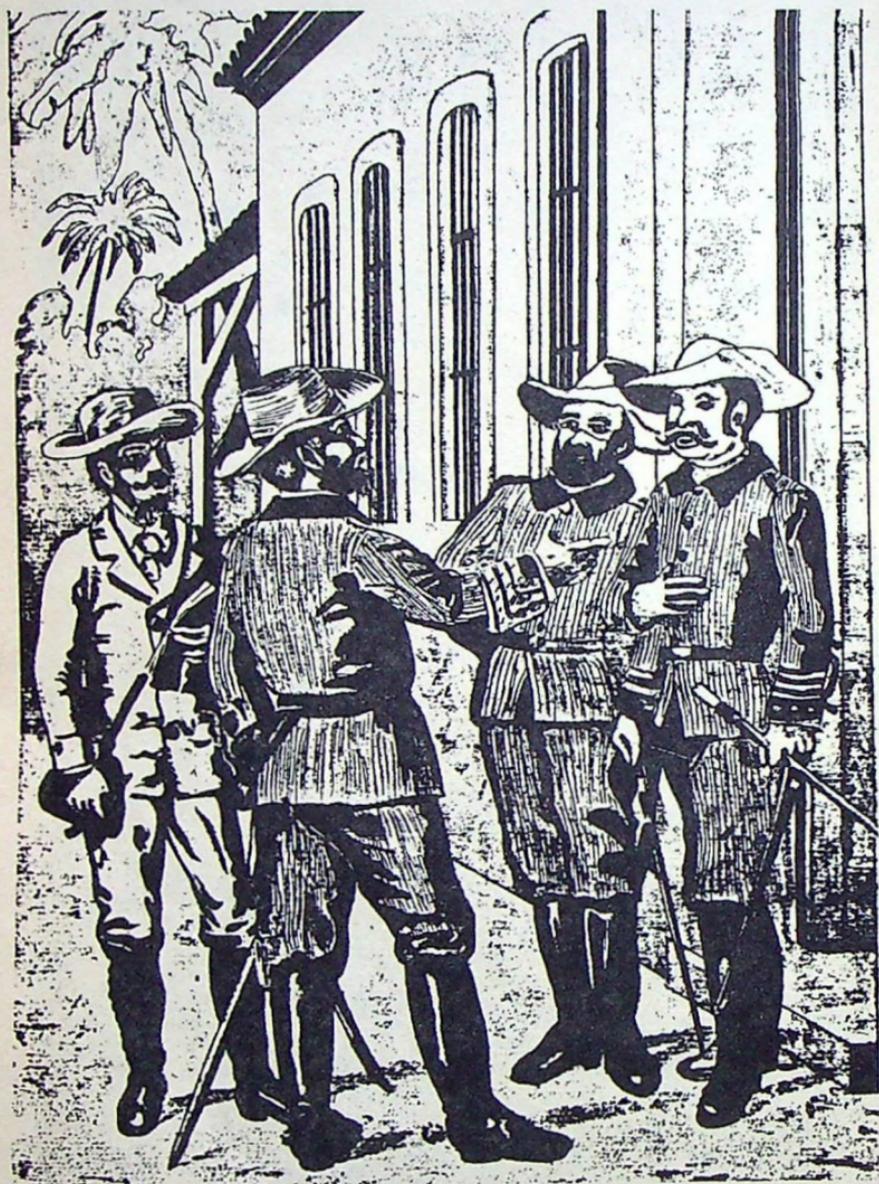
Close-up of falconetes and iron balls.



Mauser rifle with bayonet, top-most. Remington rifle, top. Spanish crossbow, above. Saddle, right, of a Spanish military officer.



A mannequin displaying a variations of Spanish military uniform and war gears used in military campaigns in Cuba and in the Philippines.



Sketch of Spanish military officers wearing wide-brimmed hats and rayadillo uniform.



Sketch of Spanish officer and regulars in action. Note rayadillo uniform.



Sketch of armed clash between Spanish forces, left, and Filipino insurgents, right.



Sketch of mounted Spanish officer leading his men in battlefield.

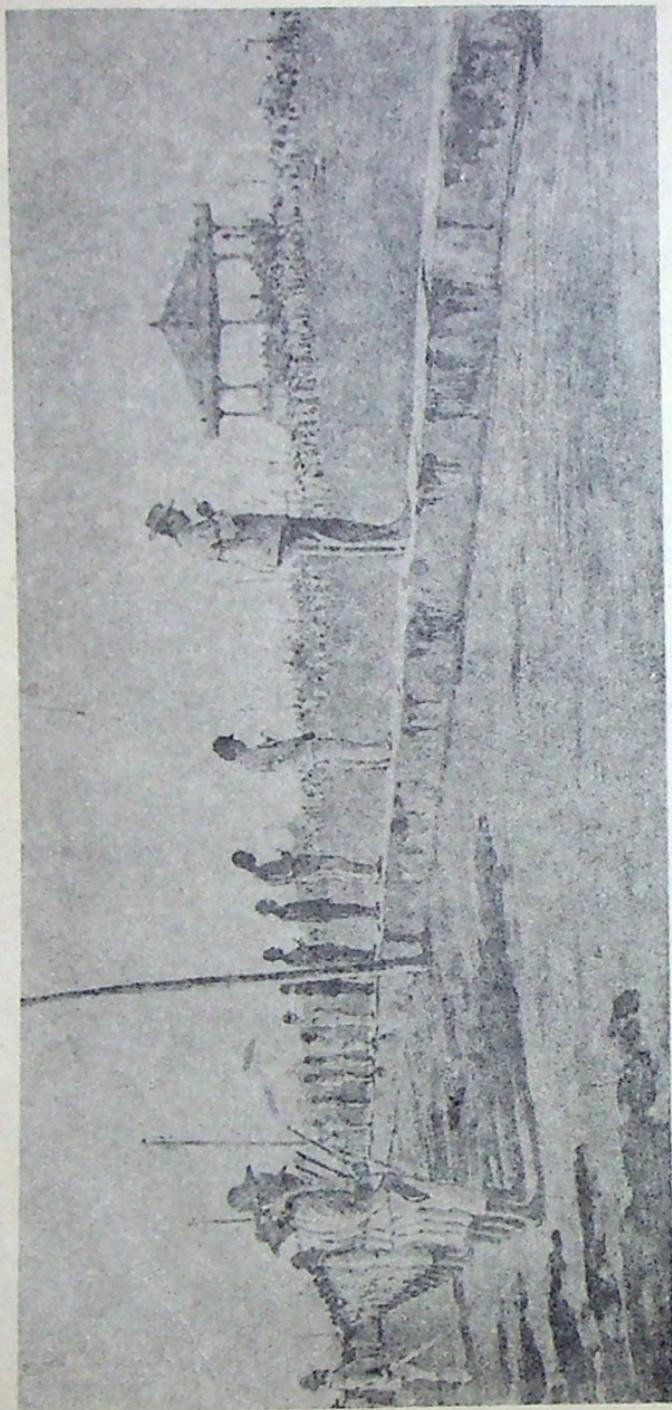


Photo of an execution at Bagongbayan field (January 4, 1897) of captured revolutionaries. The Spaniards always used native troops under the command of a Spanish officer to form the firing squad. Note the straw-hat and bare-foot uniform of the native troops.



The Spanish troops under General Lachambre attacking Silang (Cavite) on 19 February 1897 (From E. Rodriguez-Solis, *Historia popular de las guerras de Cuba y Filipinas*, Barcelona, n. d. vol. II, p. 1256). Sketched from the original.



INGENIERO



INGENIERO EN TRAJE DE FAENA



ARTILLERÍA



MARINA DE GUERRA

TROPICAL GARRISON UNIFORMS

Peninsular Troops



GUARDIA VETERANA



GUARDIA CIVIL



OFICIAL DE INFANTERÍA



GUARDIA DE ALABARDEROS

TROPICAL GARRISON UNIFORMS
Peninsular Troops



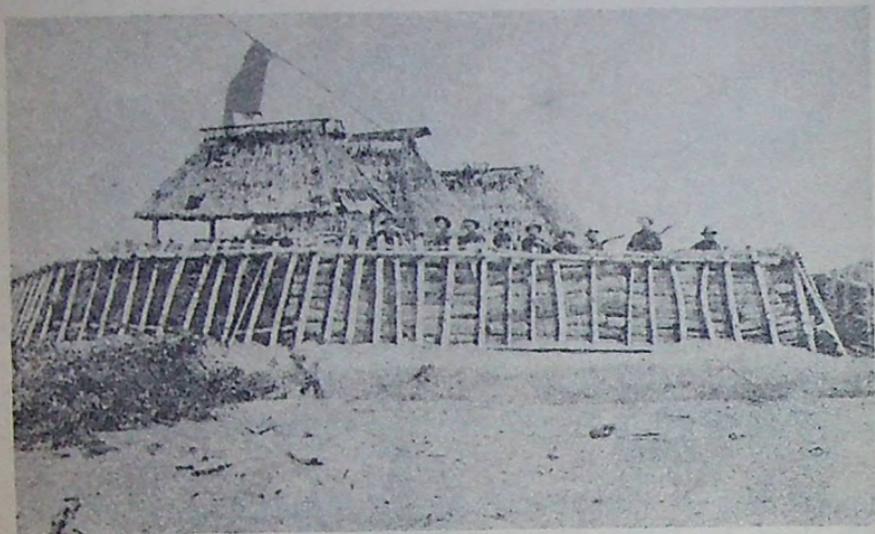
INFANTERIA
AN INDIAN FOOT SOLDIER

Field uniforms of Spanish regulars, top, and Filipino troopers, above, of the Spanish Army.

APPENDIX K

Two momentous events in the history of our Philippine National flag:

- a) Philippine flag at the Proclamation of Independence in Kawit, June 12, 1898.
- b) The solemn ceremony of raising the Philippine flag and lowering of the American flag at the Luneta, July 4, 1946, in recognition of Philippine Independence by the United States.



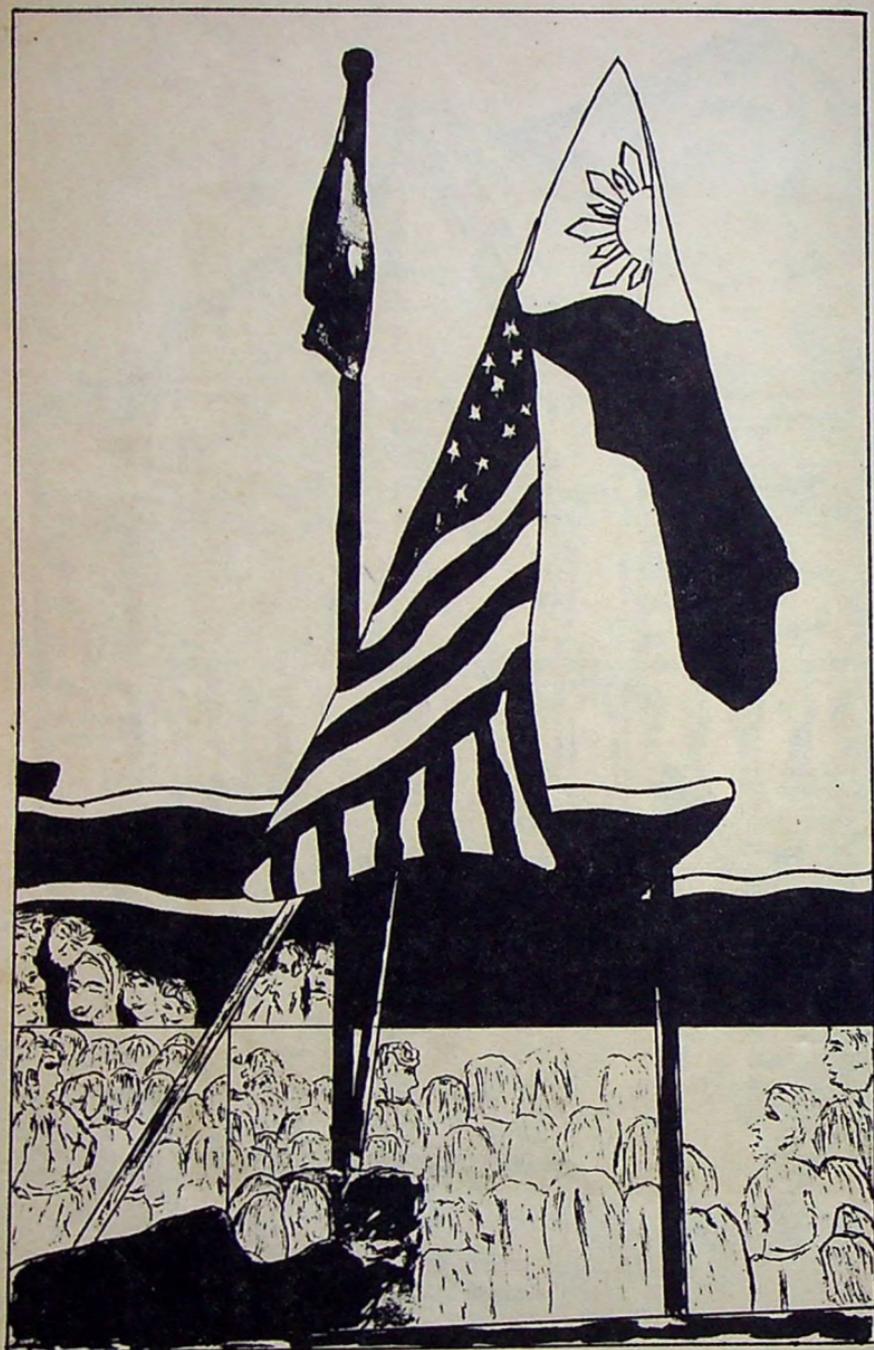
Fortifications at San Roque, built by Filipinos.



Spanish troops shooting at the enemy from the river bank trenches.



PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE
KAWIT, JUNE 12, 1898



Raising of Philippine flag and lowering of American flag. A sketch from an original photo.

FOUR STAGES IN THE EVOLUTION OF OUR FLAG

The flag of our fathers / Abella Domingo



1896—Province of Manila



1896-1897—Province of Cavite



1898—Proclamation of Independence Kawit, June 12



1936—Commonwealth Government