Frontier Justice, Colonial Justice, and the Spaces in Between in the Southern Philippines, 1898-1913

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This research note explores the meanings and function of frontier violence in the southern Philippines during a period of American military rule (1898-1913). It looks specifically at notions of colonial and frontier justice as demonstrated in the local press, and links these to the larger ideals and objectives of American colonialism on a distant periphery.

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps one of the most interesting and telling episodes of American imperialism in the Philippines was the US Army's fifteen year tenure in Mindanao and Sulu. Though referred to administratively as "Moro Province," because of its significant Muslim population, the southern islands were actually a fascinating amalgam of various groups and interest on both sides of the colonial divide. For Americans, Moro Province provided an exciting and untamed frontier; a distant colonial periphery beyond the ubiquitous modern gaze of civilian government. It represented a land of possibilities and dangers, and in many ways provided a nostalgic reminder of the American western frontier now largely tamed.[1] As a result, Moro Province was persistently romanticized in government accounts, personal memoirs, correspondence, and particularly in the local paper of record, *The Mindanao Herald*.[2]

This paper's readership was tantalized daily with sensational tales of murder, revenge, unrequited love, and improbable adventures. Broadly, however, the periodical excelled at demonstrating and

glorifying violence, in all its forms. Violence seemed to provide *The Mindanao Herald*'s single most important requisite for authentic American self-hood in Moro Province, a metric by which to gauge the relative success and efficacy of imperial tutelage, and the critical authenticity of the experience.[3] Consequently, acts of violence in the southern islands were reported, sensationalized, and often celebrated as the paper wove together a stirring narrative of frontier Americanism.

The following section explores a number of representative and remarkable cases reported in *The Mindanao Herald*, and attempts to contextualize them relative to the larger objectives of American imperialism in Moro Province. However, given the brevity and fragmentary nature of the paper's reporting, and its somewhat unofficial status,[4] there is at times a stark inadequacy of closure on some of the cases, leaving one to speculate or extrapolate as much as possible the meanings and rationales of what is and is not reported. Such an inconvenience in the sources proves an obstacle to a fully accomplished article, nevertheless, historical episodes such as these should be told. And so I offer them here in the form of a research note, to be read and scrutinized, and perhaps to provide further insights into a remarkable period of American imperialism, limited as though it might be.

FRONTIER JUSTICE, COLONIAL JUSTICE, AND THE SPACES IN BETWEEN

Part of the allure of the southern Philippines was its location beyond the surveillance and policing modalities of the modern state. Concepts such as justice, righteousness, justifiable violence, retribution, atonement, rights, and chivalry were defined by the actors themselves rather than the sterile mechanisms and legalistic discourse of a faceless state. The crucible of utter independence in which such notions must be worked out and proved through violence provided the very essence of the frontier character. Beyond the panoptic gaze of state regulation and rigid social constructions individuals were forced to reproduce the fundamental values of civilization rather than simply appealing to them through institutionalized bureaucracies and monopolistic agencies of state violence. In Moro Province this meant a deep and abiding obsession with the nuance, meaning, and purpose of frontier violence and its agents; and in particular the notions of justice that framed such violence.

While newspapers and colonial reports brimmed with tales of gratuitous violence and duplicitous acts of venal betrayal, the stories that received the most attention were those that explored the underlying notions and formations of justice beyond the state. Americans were particularly interested in the violent resolution of indigenous disputes and the subsequent insertion of Americans into the extralegal justice system. There was, for example, the much followed case Gregorio Caluya and Louis Cajiga, both tenant farmers working the land of a prestigious Muslim Datto on Basilan, Gabino Pamaron. According to the Datto, a dispute broke out over adjoining pieces of land during which Louis Cajiga drew "a barong and a kriss from his belt and laid them on the ground, inviting Caluya to take his choice of weapons and settle the matter according to the code." Caluya refused and walked away. In response, Cajiga "grabbed up a kriss and attacked .... nearly severing Caluya's hand with one blow of his kriss." The two collided and grappled, and in the melee "Cajiga received a wound in the groin which penetrated the intestines, causing almost instant death." Caluya was promptly arrested by Datto Pamaron and taken to Zamboanga for trial, where he was eventually convicted and sentenced to twelve years in the penitentiary. Despite the final ruling by the colonial justice system, the coverage of the story overwhelmingly revolved around the concepts of frontier justice that shaped its original occurrence. *The Mindanao Herald* struck a sympathetic tone, pointing out that Caluya was "an old man" who was "emphatic in his statement that he had no desire to do harm to his assailant, his intention being merely to defend himself." After reading the article, readers were likely to come away with an implicit notion that perhaps the frontier exercise of justice was in fact more just than the inhibited and proscribed rulings of the court, which had not actually solved the problem, but rather had made an arbitrary ruling on a more visceral and immediate dispensation of justice.[5]

Such sympathies did run over into the court system, however, influencing leniency and fostering recognition of natural manifestations of justice on the frontier. There was, for example, the case of Obo, a Bogobo chief, who was brought before the colonial court on the charge of murder in 1904. According to reports, one of Obo's slaves "had committed a murder by kicking a sick man to death." Obo responded by "executing him [the slave] on the spot, afterwards hacking the dead body into small pieces." After extensive testimony "the case was dismissed;" however, "the chief was arraigned on a charge of slave-holding, to which he pleaded guilty" and paid a

paltry fine of 100 pesos.[6]

More sympathetic yet were tales of the poor and oppressed who rose up violently against supposedly unjust and archaic indigenous systems of social and economic repression, thus realizing the American frontier values of independence and equality. There was the tragic tale of Manuel Ave from Basilan, a man "much abused and beaten by his employer" and to which "no pay [had] been forthcoming." On 28 November 1903 Ave determined to murder his employer, Sr. Segundo Ruiz, as compensation for his abuse. Wielding an old bolo, Ave gave Ruiz "four vicious cuts ... on the side of the face, neck and back of the head, several bones being broken and an artery severed." *The Mindanao Herald* continued with a gratuitous account of the violence: "Only the dullness of the weapon used prevented the death of the victim. The severed ends of the artery were driven into the bone where they were held as in a vice, thus preventing death from loss of blood."[7] Authorities were alerted and Ave confined, but the coverage ends there, apparently unconcerned with the forms of colonial justice resulting from the incident. The most important aspect of the report was to convey the retributive justice and the severity of the pain resulting from unjust abuse of an employee. Whatever forms of institutional justice that were eventually meted out to Ave are left unexplored, inconsequential to the larger narratives of frontier justice.

Perhaps one of the most detailed incidents of romantic frontier revenge was the case of Margarito Badudao, a resident of the district of Davao. Bududao was a common laborer employed by a local "jefe" in Davao by the name of Tiburcio de los Reyes, who was much "accustomed to oppress the [people] of that region, arresting them on trivial charges and compelling them to work on his plantation." After being "treated in this manner several times," Badudao complained and was subsequently placed in the stocks; gaining a powerful enemy. While Badudao was thus enduring his public humiliation de los Reyes went to Badudao's home "a short distance from the plantation and criminally assaulted his wife, whom he found alone in the house." Despite these outrageous injuries to him and his family, and "doubtless very angry," Badudao "made no apparent attempt to [take revenge] upon his oppressor." In fact, the two men met again a few days later and "bet a sack of rice on a wrestling match." The match was decided in Badudao's favor, but de los Reyes refused to pay. Badudao "then proposed to wrestle de los Reyes himself for the sack of rice, to which proposition the latter consented." Both men made preparations, however, as Badudao approached, "de los Reyes

suddenly snatched up a club and attacked . . . inflicting a painful wound on his head." Outmatched by the weapon Badudao ran for home, with his attacker in hot pursuit. After entering the house, Badudao was apparently able to escape undetected through a "rear door." But de los Reyes, after "finding no one else upon whom to wreak his ire, attacked and beat Badudao's wife, knocking her down, kicking, and otherwise maltreating her." With such indignities piled upon him, Badudao snuck back onto the plantation by night and, while de los Reyes and his family were sleeping, he "killed them all in a delirium of revenge."

When colonial authorities were alerted to the crime and informed of its details, they dispatched a contingent of Constabulary troops to secure Badudao and his family who had taken to the mountains. However, unlike the romantic manhunts sensationalized in local newspapers and reports, readers were informed that colonial officials were exercising every effort "to secure his surrender without further bloodshed," and despite "fear of a general outbreak" authorities did "not anticipate further trouble."[8] In instances such as these, though perhaps a bit excessive, colonial justice was likely to only complicate and unbalance matters rather than to resolve them. The natural impulses and innate human notions of justice in a stateless frontier seemed to deal with the issue appropriately without any intrusive promptings from institutions or colonial authorities removed from the situation except by arbitrary jurisdiction. Hence, no more is heard concerning the case. Readers were privy to all of the pertinent information about the incident, and with that, the yearnings for justice were apparently satisfied with nothing left to tell.

While intense violence among local populations provided American colonists with a suitable context for recreating an American frontier, character formation could not occur through observation or vicarious proxy alone. Americans had to participate in both official and unofficial capacities, dispensing and receiving frontier violence in the dialectical struggle of nascent civilization. Independent exercises of frontier justice by American non-state actors were widely acclaimed and sensationalized in local media, both as forms of unofficial colonial discipline and as demonstrations of American supremacy in the open field of evolutional frontier struggle. There was the 1904 case of Arthur W. Bodley, a deputy collector of customs at Jolo who "had an exciting experience with a Moro burglar." According to *The Mindanao Herald*, Bodley "was aroused from his slumber" on the night of 17 June 1904 and observed a prowler break a hole in his fence "and

[advance] towards the house." He called upon the man to stop "but it was evident that the fellow did not relish being driven off after having worked so hard to gain an entrance." The intruder continued his approach and soon "Mr. Bodley discovered that his visitor was armed with a murderous-looking barong." Shouting out one last warning, to which the burglar "paid no heed," "Mr. Bodley fired upon him with his revolver killing him instantly." When colonial officials arrived they were happy to discover that Mr. Bodley's victim was a wanted man who had succeeded in eluding state justice. "The dead thief was recognized by the police as an old offender," reported the paper, "who had been suspected of having committed numerous robberies in the neighborhood of San Reimundo within the past few weeks."[9] The violent episode, therefore, was interpreted as a demonstration of heroic individualism acting on behalf of civilization beyond its institutional reach, thus affirming notions that institutions followed individual agents of frontier justice rather than vice versa.

Not all cases were so reactive in nature, however. The eagerness to carry out civilization's fierce synthesis often prompted a form of proactive vigilantism in which settlers pursued violent finality whether it was required or not. An apt example of its subtlety is found in a 1905 case involving a planter from Isabela de Basilan named John Eckstrom. According to reports, on 28 July 1905 Mr. Eckstrom "had a desperate encounter with a thieving muchacho in his house." Around 6pm the planter discovered one of his employees, a man named Jose Guarino, in the act of stealing a cash box filled with gold currency and some jewelry. Surprised by his discovery, Guarino "attempted to draw a bolo" but Mr. Eckstrom seized "upon him before the weapon could be unsheathed." "The desperado then dealt Eckstrom a stunning blow on the head with the handle of the bolo," leapt out a window and attempted to escape in a nearby swamp. Quick to recover, Eckstrom rushed into an adjoining room and retrieved a pistol. "Seeing the fugitive about to enter the swamp he opened fire upon him and brought him to the ground fatally wounded." Roused by the spectacle, the plantation's residents gathered round to observe the victim "writhing in his death agony on the ground."

Given the circumstances of the shooting, and the proximity and position of its participants, Eckstrom was later arraigned before Judge Powel in the court of First Instance in Zamboanga. After thoroughly investigating the case, however, the provincial attorney declined to prosecute "declaring the evidence clearly pointed to a justifiable killing." The court affirmed this opinion and the planter was released.

However, lest readers doubt the overall justice of the incident, the report made certain to conclude by highlighting the fact that the "deceased was well known to the police, having served several terms in jail ... for robbery." Hence, while Eckstrom's act certainly gave rise to doubts concerning its justifiability and the appropriateness of shooting a man in the back, it was nevertheless interpreted as an act in favor of civilization. The violent encounters between civility and savagery were meant precisely to purge out inferior and habitually anti-social elements to make way for progress and peace. It is not surprising then that the local paper of record blared sub-headlines claiming the planter fought a "Desperate Battle With Dishonest Servant" and killed him "in Self Defense."[10] The actual circumstances of the final killing may not have fit exactly within the definitional parameters of self defense, but they were viewed as protecting something larger, something collectively shared—a proactive defense mechanism of civilization on the periphery carried out by one of its non-intuitional agents.

Despite the preceding examples, colonial authorities and foreign residents of Moro Providence did not exclusively celebrate extra-governmental exercises of justice. The entire Philippine project was of course itself an experiment in state building, and Americans were delighted to see their civilized institutions impose a semblance of order over a colonial periphery like Moro Province. The provincial readership was just as eager to learn of daring manhunts, stirring gun battles, and public executions as they were to hear of individual exercises of justice. What was important was that elements of both state and non-state violence were present to affirm the personal and public recreations of an American frontier. The problem, however, was keeping them exclusive enough to build a civil society while tutoring colonial wards toward full governmental modernity. The tenuous connection between public and private justice and the vague notions of justifiable violence that shaped them often became indistinguishable and disruptive when carried out by colonial subjects. The strange story of Antonio de la Cruz and his Moro companion Jamarau in 1903 provides an apt example.

According to numerous reports de la Cruz and Jamarau entered a bustling market in the small Mindanao town of Parang sometime in early May, 1903. Displaying rifles and "carrying an American flag" the two strode calmly over to a stall where Datto Sarugan and three other Moros were selling rice. They then shouted "to the people to get out of the way as they were going to shoot." The crowds scattered

but Datto Sarugan and his companions stood fast. Jamarau and de la Cruz subsequently opened fire. Their victims "started to run, but were shot down before they had proceed[ed] very far .... Jamarau then beheaded the corpses." The two men were apprehended and tried for murder; however, the trial brought forth a series of unexpected and improbable facts, casting doubts on the military regime's ability to control colonial sanctioned violence and justice. De la Cruz, "a man of means and influence," swore that he was merely a spectator to the incident and played no part, despite multitudinous testimony to the contrary. Nevertheless, he remained stalwartly devoted to his alibi. Jamarau, on the other hand, "wore a deeply injured look" and testified of a much deeper conspiracy.

According to his testimony, he and de la Cruz had been acting under the direction and authority of an unidentified "Commanding Officer," who, "incensed at the theft of some of his cattle by the Moros, had ordered him to go to the market place and arrest all the bad Moros, telling him to kill any that resisted." The officer also commanded them "to bring the bodies with him when he returned." Jamarau "tried to do so, but they were too heavy for him to carry, so he had to content himself with cutting the heads off and bringing them." Referring to Datto Sarugan, Jamarau stated that he "didn't know his name, but he knew he had killed him and he wanted the credit for it," so he severed the heads as proof. Jamarau was to receive "ten pesos for his work."

In the end, Judge Powell of the Court of First Instance in Zamboanga "declared that the action of de la Cruz in shooting the Moros was unwarranted by any evidence produced at the trial—that the Moros were without fire arms and that the evidence proved [the] killing had been done in cold blood." He was subsequently sentenced to "confinement at hard labor for twenty years." Jamarau's fate remained much more of a mystery. The article simply states that he was "afterwards placed in the prison," but spends an inordinate amount of space on the potential injustice of his incarceration. Jamarau was "highly indignant," reported *The Mindanao Herald*, "remarking that he had always been a friend of the Americans and for that reason the Moros wanted to kill him. He told his story in a way that showed him to consider the killing as perfectly justifiable and himself a muchly-wronged public benefactor."[11]

The conspicuous lack of information regarding his final sentence, as well as the ambiguity of the alleged orders coming from a mysteriously unidentified "Commanding Officer" lead one to assume that Jamarau was acting in good faith as an unofficial frontier agent of

the state, dispensing justice and purging bad elements as a requisite of civilization. Whether this was the case or not remains largely unanswered, as readers are simply left to judge the merits of Jamarau's actions by the gratuitous violence reported and the ill-defined justice that may have resulted. Whatever the truth of the matter, one fact seemed clear—Jamarau was clearly not an enemy of the colonial state. His acts of violence, while perhaps excessive, were perpetrated within the context of American authority and supposedly subsumed within the monopolistic state claim on violence, thus justifying them by association. Such circumstances could not be wholly condemned by the colonial regime or its media outlets. And thus the story remains afloat in an ill-defined limbo without closure.

A much clearer cut case involving indigenous dispensations of state sanctioned violence occurred in 1904 with the apprehension of a noted outlaw from Basilan simply known as Ejan. On a Sunday morning in October, 1904 a "very important-looking group of Moros arrived in Zamboanga from the Island of Basilan." The posse, led by Maharajah Tanding, docked their boat at the "Government warf" and "proceeded to the office of Governor Finley [an American]" carrying a "dirty-looking gunny-sack." After the "usual formalities," Tanding smartly reported that he had fulfilled the orders of Datto Gabino and apprehended "Ejan, the Moro who committed a murderous assault upon Jimauang, a fellow-tribesman, at Pilas, in September last." "'Very well,' replied the Governor; 'bring him in." Tanding hesitated, "rather embarrassed at the order, and stammered something about Ejan being a very bad man, etc." The Governor nevertheless "insisted that he bring his prisoner in." Tanding then retrieved the gunny sack and, after "making an obeisance before the Governor, he opened the sack and rolled the head of Ejan out on the floor" announcing, "'Tis he." The Governor was "greatly surprised . . . and demanded to know why Ejan had not been brought in alive, as he ordered." Tanding admitted that he did not know "the circumstances of Ejan's death" but was simply fulfilling the wishes of the Datto to meet the demands of the colonial state by bringing "the head to the Governor."

There were of course "rumors afloat in Basilan" that Ejan had been killed by a bolo in a showdown with the Datto's men, and, "there being no apparent necessity of bringing the entire body to the Governor," they simply "cut off the head and sent it as evidence that Ejan was 'good'." Still devoted to the litigious processes of colonial justice, however, "the Governor sent the delegation with their ghastly trophy for identification" to a military hospital

where Ejan's victim, Jimauang, lay recovering from his wounds. When the party arrived, the "old fellow sat up and regarded the head with a satisfied smile for a few minutes" and then made a positive identification. "He seemed sorry when Tanding replaced the head in the sack, and ... followed the party with his eyes until they left the room." Tanding later sailed out of Zamboanga a free man with his companions. However, Datto Gabino promised Governor Finley that he would come to Zamboanga in a few days to give a full account of Ejan's death and provide legal closure to the case. Nothing more was reported on the incident.

The circumstances of Ejan's death provide an apt example for the military regime's often muddled relationship with its colonial subjects. Violence for and on behalf of a state has long been an acceptable and even preferred demonstration of civic loyalty in the modern era. Datto Gabino and Maharajah Tanding's actions, along with many other similar agents of frontier justice, reveal an expedited path to American patronage. They are able to circumvent an otherwise tedious and laborious legal process by dispensing of unwanted elements through extra-legal means, which are, nevertheless, circumscribed within the context of monopolistic state violence. More than this, however, episodes of violence in the spaces in between institutional colonial justice and unabashed vigilantism often reconciled the paradoxical purposes of American colonialism in the Philippines. On the one hand, the overarching purpose of American colonialism was to impose civilization on barbaric frontiers, as evidenced by governmental jurisdictions, institutional mechanisms of state, and the creation of civil society. On the other hand, it was the violent, therapeutic, dialectical creation of these modern amenities that justified their existence to begin with, as an extension of the exceptional American character forged on the frontiers of civilization. In this way, Americans could enjoy the progressive homogenization of the modern world while still engaging the archaic and critically therapeutic episodes of their rugged and violent frontier past.

CONCLUSION

While the episodes discussed above provide only a small and fragmented look into the complex colonial circumstances of military rule in Moro Province, they do reveal some interesting insights into

the ultimately discursive nature of the colonial experience. These and other cases reported in the colonial press seem to suggest a particular tension of empire with regard to violence. On the one hand, violence, sanctioned or otherwise, represents the very antithesis of colonial order and undermines notions of a tutelary imperial relationship among colonizer and colonized. On the other hand, violence also seemed to provide a critical animating and authenticating function for Americans, who often viewed civil society as the product of a fierce synthesis between civilization and savagery. The unique circumstances of Moro Province appeared to provide an ideal setting for this paradox to play itself out in strange and telling ways.

END NOTES

[1] For an excellent discussion of the role of frontiers and the formation of an American character see, Frederick Jackson Turner's famous "Frontier Thesis" originally articulated in his paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" presented at the American Historical Association meeting during the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, found in, Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893, in United States Congressional Serial Set, serial set no., 3170; and for an expanded and more thorough discussion of his thesis, see, Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (Henry Holt & Co., 1920). Additionally, a useful look at Turner's Frontier Thesis in modern historiography can be found in, *The American Frontier: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. Mary Ellen Jones (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1994). Theodore Roosevelt's famous advocacy of the "strenuous life" is also instructive, perhaps best embodied in his work, *Winning of the West*, v. I-IV (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Presidential Ed. edition, 1995). Also particularly pertinent on this point were G. Stanley Hall's theories of racial "recapitulation" and declining American masculinity. Concerned with the emasculating effects of modernity on young boys Hall advocated maintaining the Darwinistic struggle for racial supremacy by exposing young men to savagery, thus honing their competitive skills. By maintaining a visceral connection with primitive man (known as racial recapitulation), Hall believed that young American men would not lose their competitive edge and succumb to racial suicide. See, G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, vol. I-II (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1904). Additionally, discussion of modern anxieties and the American quest for authentic experience is treated exceptionally well in the following: T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Trasformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980*, ed. Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), as well as Gail Bederman's *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gener and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[2] For numerous romantic accounts of Moro Province and is inhabitants see the following selected works: *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903*; *Reports of the Philippines Commission*; *Harpers Weekly* (particularly articles by John Bass); *The New York Times*; *The Chicago Daily Tribune*; *The Daily Bulletin* (later the *Manila Bulletin*); *The Manila Times*; Hugh L. Scott, *Some Memories of a Soldier* (New York: The Century Co., 1928); John Roberts White, *Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands* (New York: The Century Co., 1928); Hurley, *Swish of the Kris: The Story of the Moros* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1936); etc.

[3] The regenerative powers of frontier violence have been a topic of much discussion in scholarly work and literature. Perhaps the best author on the subject is Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000); See also, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). See also Cormac McCarthy's gut-wrenching novel, *Blood Meridian: Or the Evening of Redness in the West* (New York: Vintage, 1992).

[4] *The Mindanao Herald* was a private concern funded largely by advertising revenues and patronage from American investment interests in the area. Despite its private status, however, the paper did work hand in glove with American military authorities in the province, providing a consistent and willing voice for American authority, essentially becoming an appendage of the military regime. Military officials frequently published editorials, provided inside information, and helped shape reporting to fit the immediate needs of the colonial administration. In this sense, the paper provides an incredibly unique convergence of official and unofficial discourses of American imperialism in Moro Province and demonstrates the ultimately discursive nature of the colonial project.

[5] "Murder in Lamitan," *The Mindanao Herald*, 8 October 1904, p. 1; "Caluya Convicted," ibid, 15 October 1904, p. 1.

[6] "Chopped Up a Slave," ibid, 17 September 1904, p. 2.

[7] "A Murderous Assault," ibid, 28 November 1903, p. 5.

[8] "Mandaya's Horrible Revenge," ibid, 12 May 1906, pp. 1-2.

[9] "Burglar Killed," ibid, 18 June 1904, p. 1.

[10] "Thieving Native Killed," ibid, 5 August 1905, p. 5.

[11] "De la Cruz Convicted," ibid, 13 February 1904, pp. 1-2.

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