

**Emilio Aguinaldo, the Germans and the Austrian**

**Ferdinand Blumentritt: Contacts and Mutual Relations**

**Between 1897 and 1901**

**by**

**Karl-Heinz Wionzek, Germany**

**Paper for the International Conference on  
the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the  
Birth of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo at General Trias,  
Cavite, on March 19-21, 2019**

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This work is dedicated to Otto Johns Scheerer, resident of Baguio,  
exponent for the preservation of the languages and culture of  
the people of the Cordillera and Emeritus Professor of  
Philippine Linguistics, University of the Philippines.  
(1858-1938)

## M e s s a g e

I greatly appreciated the participation of Mr. Karl-Heinz Wionzek of Germany in the International Conference convened in General Trias by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> birthday of President Emilio Aguinaldo.

Mr. Wionzek gave an account of the activities of five German individuals who were motivated to help or support the Philippine Revolution for their own reasons, making this paper very interesting reading material.

I found the German Emperor Wilhelm's non-reaction to a suggestion that the Filipino freedom fighters may want to be protected by a European power to be noteworthy. Probably the chancellor and the foreign minister advised Emperor Wilhelm II that it was more realistic to expect that the revolution in the Philippines would continue and would be directed against any form of foreign rule later on.

Another matter that was brought up was the conversation between German Vice Admiral Diederichs and Rear Admiral Dewey which was reported to the headquarters in Germany. The report states that Rear Admiral Dewey told Diederichs that America would not keep the Philippines. In Dewey's talk with Aguinaldo, at that time President of the Biak-na-Bató Republic and afterward President of the Philippines, he similarly promised that the Philippines would not be seized or colonized by the U.S.A. Dewey later denied making this statement when he testified before the US Congress. So the truth has now come out: Aguinaldo's testimony about Dewey's promise was correct.

CESAR E.A. VIRATA  
Chairman  
Cavite Historical Society

The proofreading, submission of hitherto unknown documents and correction of factual errors in the fifth story was generously done by Richard G. Scheerer, M.D., grandson of Otto J. Scheerer, in July and August 2019.

## Emilio Aguinaldo and George Dewey

### Who told the truth?

As implied in the text of this article, the German Vice-Admiral Otto Diederichs posthumously helped to resolve the old and vexing question of whether Emilio Aguinaldo's or George Dewey's version of events was the correct one – meaning that the United States would or would not recognize the Independence of the Philippines under the protection of the United States Navy.

Many people have thought that any elucidation of this historical controversy from an independent source was forever lost to history, but it is not. Diederichs' dispatch to Berlin is of importance to Philippine history because it gives to Aguinaldo's testimony its rightful credibility, its truthfulness; these details are, after all, presented here in honor of the first President of the Philippines: Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy.

I am very grateful to Michael G. Price from Michigan, USA, who studied new translations of German naval documents thoroughly and brought to light this convincing evidence in his Epilogue to the book "The German and Austrian Navies in the Philippines, and their Role in the Spanish-American War of 1898 – A Collection of Original Documents", first published by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines in 2017.

Germany, June 12, 2019

Karl-Heinz Wionzek

Of the various foreign communities in the colonial Philippines, the resident Germans and visiting German naval officials and their contacts with Aguinaldo and his revolutionary government<sup>1</sup> have been largely neglected in the common German-Philippine history to date. This is partly due to the fact that a great number of scholars have focused mainly on Germany's military presence<sup>2</sup> in Manila Bay in 1898 and on Germany's aspiration to acquire at least a part of the Philippines.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the contacts and mutual relations between Germans and Aguinaldo and his dictatorial and then revolutionary government after his return to the Philippines in 1898<sup>4</sup> and up to 1901 are hardly known. The German contacts with Aguinaldo were generally indirect – through his friends, his associates or members of his government – and did not personally involve Aguinaldo himself with one exception. The few sources reporting about contacts and mutual relations – even though short-lived – have been provided by SALAZAR, SCHULT and WIONZEK.<sup>5</sup> In chronological order and in brief, here are some of these little-known contacts:

The first story is about a German aristocrat, Prince Ludwig of Löwenstein,<sup>6</sup> who abandoned his English wife for reasons unknown and disappeared from English high society. He then traveled from London to Manila, where he arrived sometime in 1898. In 1899 the NEW YORK TIMES<sup>7</sup> reported at least twice that the prince was an eyewitness to the Naval Battle off Manila during his stay of several months as well as a member of the European Club.<sup>8</sup>

The prince's habit of roaming Manila and its environs aroused suspicion. Even before the surrender of Manila on August 13, 1898, he was allegedly allowed to

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<sup>1</sup>See Kalaw 1927, pp. 423-429 (Appendix C): On June 18, Aguinaldo issued a decree formally establishing his dictatorial government. On June 23, Aguinaldo issued another decree, this time replacing the dictatorial government with a revolutionary government naming himself as President; see also Cruz 1998, pp. 143-149.

<sup>2</sup>Stephenson 2017, p. 23, describes precisely and straight to the point what troubled Rear-Admiral Dewey most when the German ships with its vice-admiral appeared in Manila Bay after May 1898: "It is hardly surprising then that the arrival of Diederichs, who was senior to him, was irksome in itself, but given that the German admiral was also known as the recent occupier of Kiautschou [Jiaozhou Bay 1897], and therefore as an accomplished annexationist at the head of a powerful force, then that Dewey was suspicious is hardly astonishing."

<sup>3</sup>See Gottschall 1981; Gottschall 2003; Schult 2008, pp. 125-134.

<sup>4</sup>Wionzek 2000, p. 3; see text in footnote: "Dewey recounts on p. 246 [of his autobiography] that he sent one 'Ensign Caldwell' on the second journey of *McCulloch* to Hong Kong to deliver Aguinaldo and three or four companions the permission to make the passage on the ship. In Appendix E. pp. 311-312 however, Dewey reports in another source to the Secretary of the Navy: Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader, with 13 members of his staff, arrived on May 19, 1898 with permission aboard the *Nanshan*."

<sup>5</sup>Salazar 2002, pp. 22-37; Schult 2017, pp. 13-63; Wionzek 2017, pp. 117-130.

<sup>6</sup>Prince Ludwig Karl of Löwenstein-Wertheim-Freudenberg, born 19 July 1864 in Kreuzwertheim, Kingdom of Bavaria, died 26 March 1899 in Tinajeros, near the town of Caloocan, Philippines.

<sup>7</sup>The New York Times published March 5 and May 9, 1899.

<sup>8</sup>The German Club in Manila was only founded in 1906.

pass through the sentinel lines of the Spanish and of the Philippine freedom fighters, as both parties regarded him as friendly and favorable to their side. SALAZAR(2002)<sup>9</sup> asserts, “Whether Löwenstein engaged in espionage remains unclear”, since the German archives on the Philippines do not contain any report sustaining this judgment. Rather, they corroborate the opinion of the German Consul, Dr. Friedrich Krüger,<sup>10</sup> that the Prince of Löwenstein<sup>11</sup> was an adventurer driven from his wife’s home in London for private reasons.

What annoyed Rear-Admiral George Dewey, as noted in his autobiography, was the fact “(...) that a Prince Löwenstein was taken off to the [navy cruiser] *Kaiserin Augusta*<sup>12</sup> by one of Aguinaldo’s staff<sup>13</sup> in 1898.” During the Philippine-American War, the prince continued to take a keen interest in the battles raging in the areas surrounding Manila. Not long after, he was caught between Aguinaldo-led freedom fighters and the American lines in the battle near Caloocan in Tinajeros,<sup>14</sup> sustained a rifle bullet wound and died instantly on March 26, 1899. Not surprisingly, a search of the corpse revealed among other things a passport signed by Gen. Aguinaldo granting passage and ordering his officers to give the prince any aid he might request.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Salazar 2002, pp. 28-29.

<sup>10</sup>Hürther 2008, p. 669: Krüger, Friedrich, born January 11, 1857 in Copenhagen, Denmark, died June 30, 1937 in Reinfeld, Germany. On July 2, 1889, Dr. Friedrich Krüger was offered a position in the foreign-trade policy department in the Foreign Service, Berlin, for future use in Imperial consulates. On July 30, 1897, Dr. Krüger became consul in Manila till his transfer as consul to Hong Kong in 1903. He held a position in the censor’s office at the Foreign Office in Berlin during WWI and retired on November 25, 1923.

<sup>11</sup>Schult 2008, pp. 110-111.

<sup>12</sup>Wionzek 2000, pp. 14-15. This is what former Vice-Admiral Otto Diederichs replied after his retirement in 1914 in response to George Dewey’s Autobiography [1913] and especially to his remarks about the incident of Aguinaldo’s staff taking a Prince Löwenstein off the *Kaiserin Augusta* sometime in 1898: “I did at that time hear mention of a Prince [Ludwig von] Löwenstein, but I never saw him, and never heard nor inquired what he was doing in Manila. That the Prince intended to pay a visit to the *Kaiserin Augusta* I never knew till now. Considering the good relations then existing between the Americans, the rebels and the English ships, it might be possible to fathom the intentions of the Prince were [Rear-]Admiral Dewey to tell us all that he learnt from the English about this gentleman and his intercourse with Aguinaldo’s suite.”

<sup>13</sup>Wionzek 2000, p. 14. Dewey mentioned further how the Americans were informed about the existence of Prince Löwenstein: “This came to our knowledge [by accident] through the fact that the prince and his escort had to seek refuge on board an English man-of-war in the heavy sea.”

<sup>14</sup>Another important correction that must be made to the existing information about the German prince is the place name "Furageros", a name listed exclusively in relation to Prince Ludwig, and nowhere else. It is clearly a misinterpretation, or a misprint, from handwritten notes. There is no such place as Furageros. It is obviously a mistake for Tinajeros, with the T mistakenly changed to F and the n mistakenly changed to r. Several old maps of the area were scrutinized for any other possibility and “Tinajeros” is the only possibility. Thanks to Mike G. Price, who provided this information on 21 February 2019.

<sup>15</sup>Aguinaldo 1957, pp. 43-44. In his last memoirs Aguinaldo solely recalls that Prince Löwenstein had freely fraternized with the Spanish troops, but there is no mention of him also passing the lines of Filipino troops.

The second story is about Dr. Friedrich Rieloff,<sup>16</sup> the Imperial Consul in Hong Kong. The importance of German contacts with the revolutionaries is also illustrated by the fact that Rieloff, on his own initiative, went to Manila at the end of June to personally explore the situation with the revolutionaries. As he still had good contacts with them from the time of their exile in Hong Kong, he was able to have two talks, one with Aguinaldo and one with his closest confidants. Rieloff reported that the Filipinos still adhered to their plan that if, after the capitulation of the Spaniards and the expulsion of the Americans, they could freely dispose of the Philippines, they would turn to Germany to seek closer union under some form that pleases both parties. Rieloff's telegram<sup>17</sup> to the Imperial Foreign ministry in Berlin, dated July 4, 1898, transmitted the following text:

“First American landing force of 2,700 arrived on July 1 [1898]. Americans took the governor on the island of Guam and the Spanish garrison prisoner as they passed through the Mariana Islands and hoisted the American flag. The mutual distrust between insurgents and Americans becomes more prominent. The latter want to take action against Manila only after the arrival of their second, larger troop shipment, expected in mid-July.

Had two talks with Aguinaldo and his closest confidants last week. Now there are 14 provinces with over two million inhabitants in revolt [in the hands of the insurgents]. Appropriate provisional administration is established and a 12-million-dollar bond as guaranty is in place. The insurgents stick to the plan to turn to Germany at a time when they control the Philippines unconditionally – that means after the Spanish have left and the Americans or any other somewhat armed intervening power have left or been expelled – and to seek closer affiliation under any form that appeals to both parties; they have already sent a written power of attorney to their London-based party member [Dr.] Antonio Regidor on June 10 [1898]. He was instructed to go to Berlin in order to petition for a later association with Germany. For the moment they mainly offer trade

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<sup>16</sup>Hürther 2008: Rieloff, Friedrich, born August 12, 1860, in Muskau, Saxony, died February 4, 1926, in Martinsbrunn, Meran, Italy. On December 12, 1889, Rieloff was recruited for the Foreign Service for future use in Imperial consulates starting 1890 in London. On July 30, 1897, he was appointed vice-consul responsible for goods in the harbor of London till around April 1894. Then on March 22, 1898, Rieloff became consul in Hong Kong till his transfer as consul in Manila until he took his sick leave from January 9, 1901. Rieloff's next stations were two towns as consul in the U.S.A. On July 31, Rieloff was appointed consul in Mexico, in 1909 he was given the title as consul general and August 26, 1925 he was offered final retirement to November 20, 1925.

<sup>17</sup>PA AA RZ 19472, Spanische Besitzungen in Asien, Nr. 1 secr., Bd. 1, Telegram Rieloff to Foreign Service Office in Berlin, A 8038 dated July 4, 1898.

facilitations in return. All local monastic orders declared their willingness to voluntarily leave the Philippines for good.

For Germany it now seems probably most advantageous to leave the insurgents completely to their own plans and to work against any other party's interest, particularly against England's intervention in the Philippines. This is going to pay off because after gaining independence the insurgents may enter into closer or further connections with Germany, whatever seems more appropriate to the Imperial government. [Consul] Rieloff."

The third story is about Paul Gotthard Klocke,<sup>18</sup> an employee of the Imperial German Consulate in Manila, who became notorious in German and American military and diplomatic circles for offering his services to Señor Don Teodoro Sandico, Aguinaldo's Secretary of Interior in the revolutionary government, in his letter dated January 4, 1899. A part of the text reads:

"My dear Sir, I have the honor to make the following proposition to you for transmittal to your Government. I am, as you know, the secretary of the consulate of the German Empire in Manila, a duty I assumed in August, 1897, by order of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Berlin (...). And I desire to contribute to and join with the forward movement of the Filipino people, a movement which they have an absolute right to make, I am ready to renounce my career as consul (if I obtain the consent of my government) and to offer my services to the Filipino Republic."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>PA AA P1, Nr. 7495-6, Personnel File, Paul Gotthard Klocke, Volumes 1 and 2 about Paul Gotthard Klocke, born December 19, 1868, in Oberhausen, died 1912 according to SALAZAR(2002), footnote 46, p. 36. He completed a grammar school education and then an apprenticeship in commerce. After working for the elective consulate in Almeria [Spain] as an auxiliary clerk for just over one year, he was employed by the General Electricity Company of Berlin in its branch office in Bucharest [Romania]. On March 30, 1896, he joined the Imperial Consulate in Bucharest as an auxiliary clerk, from where he was sent in the same capacity to Manila. Since August 1, 1897, he held the position of deputy secretary. On February 31, 1902, he was granted six weeks leave in Europe, from the beginning of April. At the same time Klocke had applied to be transferred from Manila.

<sup>19</sup>PA AA RZ 201 19204, U.S. Embassy Berlin to Auswärtiges Amt, note verbale, February 27, 1902; Klocke to Sandico, Manila, January 4, 1899.

Copy B: ASM. G. Klocke, Secretary to German Consulate, Manila, offers his services to the Filipino Government. Manila, Jan. 4, 1899: Señor Don Teodoro Sandico, Malolos. My dear Sir, I have the honor to make the following proposition to you for transmittal to your Government. I am, as you know, the secretary of the consulate of the German Empire in Manila, a duty I assumed in August, 1897, by order of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Berlin. I formerly occupied the same position in Bucharest, the capital of Romania. And I desire to contribute to and join with the forward movement of the Filipino people, a movement which they have an absolute right to make, I am ready to renounce my career as consul (if I obtain the consent of my government) and to offer my services to the Filipino Republic: No. 1, to serve as a Filipino Diplomatic Agent to negotiate with Foreign Governments. As the Filipino Republic up to the present date is not recognized by the other Powers, they are not able to treat with

Mr. Klocke goes onto describe in great detail his offer to the new government to work as a special foreign-born agent and commercial mediator who would be willing to travel as far as Europe to assist in negotiations with European government officials. Furthermore, as part of his services Klocke recommended himself as the future political representative of the Filipino government in Berlin once the desired independence materialized and as a capable person who could attract German investors and scholars, as well as German officers to instruct the Filipino army, as was being done in Japan at the time.<sup>20</sup>

The late find of Klocke's letter in 1902 amongst other Malolos Republic papers, a while after they were confiscated by American troops, aroused suspicions about German sympathy for Philippine independence. However, in the end the disclosure of the letter merely prompted a verbal note<sup>21</sup> by the then American Ambassador Andrew White<sup>22</sup> to the German Foreign Office in Berlin, and the affair subsided without a diplomatic crisis. The comment by the German officials in charge emphasized that Klocke acted clandestinely. They further stressed that he was not a main consular officer and not much more than the translator of the Imperial German Consulate in Manila, and the American Ambassador was assured in the closing sentence: "The Imperial Government will arrange for Klocke

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her openly and officially, but they might do so with an agent authorized for this purpose by the Filipino Government, until the date when the government is recognized openly and officially, something which could be best obtained by a diplomatic agent who is a private person belonging to a neutral foreign country. No. 2, to act as agent for the Filipino Republic in future negotiations with the foreigners settled in the Philippines, especially with those in Manila, including the Spaniards. The negotiations would be conducted through the Consuls but in certain cases could be done without them. No. 3, to serve as a neutral agent for the Filipino Republic to travel abroad now or at a future time, whichever is considered necessary and best, for the purpose of carrying on negotiations with authorities or persons of rank or to carry out other duties. No. 4, after the official recognition of the Filipino Republic, to serve as an assistant to the future political representative of the Filipino Government in Berlin, especially for the purpose of interesting German capital in enterprises in the Philippine Islands, of inducing German merchants and manufactures to undertake establishment of concerns in the Philippines (formation of companies for the construction of vessels, railroads, mining companies, companies to operate steamship lines, of companies for various purposes) for the purpose of bringing here German professors, employees and experts, to arrange for officers to instruct the army (as in Japan) and to carry out negotiations and make contracts for the purchase and sale at the order of the Republican Government. My personal relations in the most important industrial centers of Germany as well as my present official position will aid me in such steps as I may take in accordance with the wishes of the future Filipino Political Representative to my country for the interest of the Filipino Republic. I would be willing to bind myself by a formal agreement to the loyal execution of such duties as may be entrusted to me. While awaiting your reply, I wish you a happy New Year and I remain your servant, who kisses your hands, [signed] G. Klocke.

<sup>20</sup>See Salazar 2002, p. 29; Schult 2008, pp. 179-181.

<sup>21</sup>PA AA RZ 201 19204, U.S. Embassy Berlin to Auswärtiges Amt, note verbale, February 27, 1902; Klocke to Sandico, Manila, January 4, 1899. Klocke's letter is also held at the U. S. National Archives.

<sup>22</sup>White, Andrew Dickson, born November 7, 1832 in Homer, New York, United States of America, died November 4, 1918 in Ithaca, New York. Andrew White was twice appointed as the US Ambassador to Imperial Germany, in 1879-1881 and 1897-1902.

to be relieved of his duties in Manila soon, and would, however, be grateful for some information as to whether Klocke caused any irregularity that the American authorities in the Philippines complain of, during the time he was in Imperial employment in Manila.”<sup>23</sup> In SALAZAR’s(2002) assessment of this matter, “It is indeed conceivable that Klocke’s action was that of a maverick, especially in the light of his apparent eagerness to leave the consular service for more glamorous and profitable pursuit.”<sup>24</sup>

The fourth story is a report made by Lieutenant Commander (Lt. Cmdr.) Paul Hintze<sup>25</sup> about his visit to the Philippine revolutionaries’ headquarters in Cavite Viejo on July 3, 1898. Hintze’s eyewitness report is written in the first person and is addressed to the commanding admiral of the Imperial Naval Office in Berlin.<sup>26</sup> This young officer with a bright future in Imperial Germany was then the “(...) aide-de-camp of Vice-Admiral Otto Diederichs, commander of the German cruiser squadron that was in Manila Bay in 1898. (...) Diederichs<sup>27</sup> had been in command of all German ships in East Asia since June 1897, with his regular base at Tsingtao, China. On June 3, 1898, he received a telegram from the commanding admiral in Berlin stating that the German Emperor Wilhelm II<sup>28</sup> had ordered his departure for Manila.

At this time, however, his flagship was at Nagasaki for repairs. Since the armored frigate S.M.S. *Kaiser* was not ready for action, Diederichs cabled to the *Kaiserin Augusta* to sail from Tsingtao to convey him to Manila.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>PA AA P1, Nr. 7495-6, Personnel File, Paul Gotthard Klocke, Volumes 1 and 2.

<sup>24</sup>Salazar 2002, p. 29; Schult 2008, p. 180.

<sup>25</sup>Paul Hintze was born on February 13, 1864, in Schwedt a. d. Oder, and died on August 8, 1941, in Meran [Merano], Italy. Hintze joined the Imperial German Navy in 1882, receiving his promotion to lieutenant-commander in 1895. From February 26, 1898, to April 13, 1899, he served as flag-lieutenant of the cruiser squadron on board the S.M.S. *Kaiser*. It was in this position that Vice-Admiral Diederichs sent Hintze to the American flag ship *Olympia* to protest to Rear-Admiral Dewey on July 10, 1898. In a face-to face confrontation, Dewey told Hintze that if Germany wanted war, it could have it. Diederichs departed on the *Kaiser* on August 21, moving on to Batavia [Jakarta, present-day Indonesia] to attend a Dutch state ceremony. The Manila Incident, as it became known, thus ended. Later Hintze became aide-de-camp to the German Emperor. Until 1918 he served in various representative and diplomatic functions in St. Petersburg, Mexico, Peking, and Norway.

<sup>26</sup>Wionzek 2017, p. 117.

<sup>27</sup>Otto Diederichs was born on September 9, 1843, in Minden, Westphalia. He died on March 8, 1918, in Baden Baden, Germany. He was named chief of the cruiser squadron on Far Eastern station on June 11, 1897, in which function he steamed from Nagasaki, Japan, to Manila.

<sup>28</sup>Wilhelm von Hohenzollern was born on January 27, 1859, in Berlin. He was the eldest child of Crown Prince Friedrich [later Emperor Friedrich III] and Victoria, the eldest daughter of Britain’s Queen Victoria. In 1888 Wilhelm became emperor of Germany as Wilhelm II. After being exiled on November 9, 1918, he lived quietly as a country gentleman in Doorn in the Netherlands until his death on June 4, 1941.

<sup>29</sup>Wionzek 2017, pp. 117-118.

Diederichs and Hintze arrived there on this ship at daylight on June 12, 1898.

“Lieutenant Commander Hintze spent the next few weeks on shore leaves, conducting exploratory talks in and around Manila. He had a series of meetings with German businessmen and other merchants.<sup>30</sup> (...) The report on Hintze’s shore leave to Cavite on an official mission, on which he was accompanied by three other Germans Dr. Krüger, the former consul ad interim Heinrich Spitz, and the consular secretary Gotthard Klocke), can be found in an archival document from July 4, 1898.<sup>31</sup> By this time the American occupation of the Philippines seemed to the Germans to be an accomplished fact.

Fifteen months earlier their view had been rather different. On March 3, 1897, the German Emperor had received a handwritten petition in Philippine English.<sup>32</sup> It had been drawn up by Philippine exiles and signatories on behalf of the Philippine insurgents in the Cavite camp and signed on January 29 of the same year, then sent to the Emperor’s home, the Neues Palais [the New Palace] in Potsdam, three days later. Sometime later, the German Consul [Dr. Wilhelm Knappe]<sup>33</sup> in Hong Kong (whom the four Philippine exiles had asked in vain to relay their petition) sent a handwritten report to Potsdam. Emperor Wilhelm II made the following note in the margins:

The information is in complete agreement with a report I have just received from Rear-Admiral Tirpitz on the situation in Manila. The wish to come under German sovereignty is common, because the treatment of the natives by the Spanish government, which is motivated by fear as it was among the Mexicans by Cortez and his zealots, is not good in any way. Rizal was caught only due to the priest’s

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<sup>30</sup>See file PA AA RZ 19469, Spanische Besitzungen in Asien, Nr. 1, June 1 - 30, 1898 regarding the German company Fröhlich & Kuttner’s letter of June 23, 1898. A joint proprietor of the company personally visited the State Minister von Bülow on behalf of the “German interests in the Philippines.”

<sup>31</sup> PA AA RZ 613, R 141706, Official Communication regarding Friedrich Krüger, Sept. 16, 1897. “Berlin, Sept. 16, 1897 His Majesty the Emperor has consented to appoint the former Vice-Consul Dr. Friedrich Krüger in Rustschuk [Bulgaria] as consul in Manila. On November 20, 1897, the new consul will arrive on the steamer *Bayern* of the Norddeutscher Lloyd in Manila and will assume the official duties of consul ad interim Heinrich Spitz November 23, 1897.” Spitz had been based in Manila since 1883. On March 30, 1896, he was appointed representative of Imperial Consul Otto Franz von Möllendorff, assuming the office on July 20, 1896. Source R 901 Foreign Office No. 52597. Hintze’s original report is in the Archiv der Marine-Friedensakten, EM 38/v 43, 1960 at the Military Archive in Freiburg i. Br. It was classified as “secret” and dated Manila, July 4, 1898.

<sup>32</sup>Wionzek 1998, pp. 942-954; see also Boelcke 1981, pp. 275-281.

<sup>33</sup>Hürther 2005, p. 669. Knappe, Wilhelm, born October 10, 1855 in Erfurt, Saxony, died February 5, 1910 in Berlin, Germany. On January 22, 1883, Dr. Knappe applied and was chosen for a position in the foreign-trade policy and law department at the Foreign Service, Berlin for future use in Imperial consulates. On January 10, 1895, Dr. Knappe became consul in Canton, China, and provisional head of the consulate in Hong Kong till his transfer as consul to Shanghai until his pre-retirement in 1899. He finally retired on June 30, 1906.

betrayal of a confession, hence there is terrible anger towards the latter [the clergy]. I am determined to buy the Philippines at the first opportunity, or to take them away from the Spaniards when they are 'liquidated'."<sup>34</sup>

Unknown to Vice-Admiral Diederichs, sojourning on the Far Eastern station off Manila during some months of the year 1898 and after the Americans had destroyed the Spanish Armada, the German Emperor removed the idea of a German protectorate<sup>35</sup> over the Philippines from his agenda. This was an obscure topic then and now and is difficult to assess in light of the scant evidence available some 120 years after the facts. Even the experienced and Manila-based German Consul Dr. Krüger took the rumor for granted and "(...) telegraphed from Manila on May 12 [1898] reporting that the revolutionaries were in favor of a monarchy (...). There were indications that they would offer the throne to a German prince."<sup>36</sup> The idea that the Filipinos might welcome a German protectorate was an insubstantial rumor, possibly invented as a trial balloon by certain people at the Cavite camp and clandestinely told first to German merchants, who were quick to spread the news in Manila and even in Hong Kong. SCHULT(2002) summarizes the short-lived affair in a few sentences:

"In April, Prince Heinrich, the Emperor's brother and commander of the Second German Cruiser Division, sent a telegram from Hong Kong to Berlin. It read, 'German merchant from Manila explained to me in the most reliable way that the rebellion in the Philippines is justified and will be victorious and that the natives would like to be protected by another European power, particularly Germany'<sup>37</sup> Emperor Wilhelm, however, did not react this time."<sup>38</sup> This cautious position may have been motivated by the German chancellor and foreign minister Bernhard von Bülow, who thought it more realistic to expect that the revolution in the Philippines would continue and be directed against any form of foreign rule.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Wionzek 2017, pp. 119-120; Wionzek 1996, p. 4; Salazar 1983, pp. 131-153.

<sup>35</sup>Kaikkonen 1980, p. 176: "When the war broke out, the Philippine question became the most important one for the great powers. Germany's aim was to gain the highest possible share in the Spanish properties on their distribution. The American decision not to share the archipelago with anybody, as well as the inability and/or reluctance of the major powers to prevent this by cooperating, resulted in the failure of German ambitions regarding the Philippines."

<sup>36</sup>Schult 2002, p. 499.

<sup>37</sup>PA AA RZ 201, R 19467, Prince Heinrich to Bülow, Hong Kong, April 11, 1898.

<sup>38</sup>Schult 2002, p. 499.

<sup>39</sup>See Salazar 2002, p. 24.

But back to Hintze's report: "Then we went to the insurgents' club, which they called 'Ateneo Rizal' in commemoration of the murdered Rizal. (...) In a back room we found Don Felipe Buencamino [Sr.], a *member* of the *Consejo Consultativo*<sup>40</sup> and, as it were, Minister of Justice. (...) He was in the company of Epifanio Suagil, whom I knew quite well from my visits to Malabon. After a number of discussions, it was decided to send the acting consular secretary Klocke to Aguinaldo to comply with the official order. Additionally, Spitz instructed him on a number of issues to be discussed on behalf of the imprisoned Spanish priests. I [Hintze] accompanied him in order to meet Aguinaldo. (...) Our escort, Epifanio Suagil, a physician by profession and Aguinaldo's confidant, told us that he was a former captain of the Spanish artillery, a native Filipino who had defected to the insurgents at the beginning of the revolt. (...)

The above-mentioned Epifanio Suagil had studied medicine in Manila (at the university run by the friars). However, as he is regarded as Aguinaldo's personal friend and confidant, he is presently not exercising his profession. He is a small man by our standards, but tall for a member of the local race, apparently a Chinese mestizo, with a bony face, very enthusiastic and lively, and a strict observer of the Spanish rules of courtesy. He guided us to the seat of the government, the former Casa del Gobierno. (...)

Aguinaldo was the generally recognized leader; disagreements between Tagalogs and Visayans had ceased to exist. Every *pueblo* [village] was governed by a *cabecilla* [mayor]; the *cabecillas* of each province sent one representative to the *Congreso Nacional*; the provinces of Manila and Cavite, having the largest populations, were entitled to two representatives each. Aguinaldo was dictator and wielded unlimited power.

He had a *Consejo Consultativo* advising him (I could not learn whether it was appointed by him), the most outstanding members of which he appointed as his ministers. Nevertheless, the distribution of responsibilities lacked a clear structure. Almost everyone first turned to Aguinaldo, who then passed the matter on to the department in charge along with his instructions. He also often made direct decisions. The system resulted in an enormous strain on Aguinaldo, who had a rather delicate constitution<sup>41</sup> and often worked through the night. It was not

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<sup>40</sup>That is an advisory council.

<sup>41</sup>His actual words were: 'delicado temperamento'!

possible to name an exact date for the taking of Manila. On the one hand, this was a military secret; on the other hand, there was no reliable information.

However, it was quite clear that Manila would fall within the next ten days. Progress was so slow because there was not enough artillery. I remarked that enough artillery must have arrived with the American transports. The reply was that the Americans needed these cannons themselves and that the insurgents did not count on any foreign support anyway, and wanted to take Manila by themselves. (...) As soon as the Spaniards were expelled, an autonomous Philippine state would be established and Aguinaldo would transfer his dictatorial powers into the hands of the people. Would he become president? This could not be answered. Aguinaldo was a visionary, but he disliked the banality of day-to-day business. Would alliances be formed with other powers after independence had been achieved? Friendship with all civilized states – all major European powers and North America were enumerated – but no dependence; their aim was full, unlimited self-determination. What did they think of Aguinaldo's role in the termination of the first revolt? Aguinaldo was beyond reproach, having used the four hundred thousand [Mexican] dollars he received (eight hundred thousand had originally been promised) in the interest of the nation to buy weapons and ammunition. Why had the first revolt ended so abruptly? The insurgents had grown tired of living in the mountains. Had [Governor] Primo de Rivera really promised reforms?<sup>42</sup> Nothing definite; he had only given vague assurances. The reason for the present, second revolution simply lay in the opportunity to go ahead.

There then appeared a Don Sandico, an intelligent-looking, elegantly dressed man with whiskers. I was told that he was the minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>43</sup> He started negotiating with the consular secretary about the release of Gutierrez and then calmly listened to the requests, communicated on Spitz's behalf, to

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<sup>42</sup>General Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, born July 24, 1831, in Seville, Spain, died August 5, 1921, in Madrid, Spain, served as Spanish captain general of the Philippines between 1880 and 1883 and then as governor of the Philippines from 1897 to 1898, being replaced by General Basilio Augustin y Dávila.

<sup>43</sup>Quirino 1995, p. 187. "Sandiko, Teodoro, born March 31, 1860, in Pandacan, Manila, died October 19, 1939, in Manila, nationalist and lawyer. Took up law at the University of Santo Tomas, but completed his studies at the University of Madrid. He was one of the vanguards of the Propaganda movement before the Revolution, having managed the magazine *La Solidaridad* in Spain. (...) Served as Secretary of the Interior under Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo in the first Philippine Republic. Conferred with U.S. General Wesley E. Merritt to avert a clash between the United States and the Philippines when the Americans refused to allow the Filipinos to participate in the Battle of Manila in 1898".

provide money and clothes to the arrested priests and to speak to Gutierrez.<sup>44</sup> Over the course of forty-five minutes, he refused the requests on three accounts, using conciliatory Spanish rhetoric: (1.) If the revolutionary government had promised Gutierrez his release, they would send him away themselves; (2.) he was surprised to receive petitions on behalf of the priests from this quarter; (3.) why did the priests not appeal directly to the revolutionary government? Gutierrez would surely appear if we waited another half hour.

The consular secretary had heard enough and proposed to leave. I [Hintze] had asked Sandico several times whether I could speak with Aguinaldo personally. He declined courteously, explaining that Aguinaldo was not well and had to stay in bed.

The aide-de-camp, to whom I indicated that it was very important for me to meet Aguinaldo and that this was in fact the very reason for my visit, said it would probably be possible to see Aguinaldo in private, if not today, then at some other time. I took this answer also to be courteous rather than honest. After we had put down our names on the visitors' list, we departed. All in all, the audience had lasted about one hour and a half and had proceeded in strictest adherence to protocol, even if the customary cigars had not been offered. During our conversation, two American officers in civilian attire had entered, each equipped with very large telescopes and a big camera. They had left after a short conversation at the side desk, promising to return. Apparently they had come to see Aguinaldo and take photographs of him. On our way back to Ateneo Rizal, Suagil told us that Sandico had lived in Europe for nine years, that he spoke English, French and also a little German, and that he was a teacher by profession: *instructor de primera clase*.<sup>45</sup> (...) His eloquence and diplomatic skill were too much even for such a calm and reasonable consular secretary as Gotthard Klocke."<sup>46</sup> Hintze and the other three Germans ate breakfast and then took their leave.

The fifth story is about Otto Scheerer,<sup>47</sup> who had settled in Manila in 1882. "Scheerer's career is clearly unique among Germans in the Philippines as he was

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<sup>44</sup>The fate of Father Gutierrez cannot be ascertained from the information contained in the files. However, it is well-known from reports on the Philippine Revolution that Don Felipe Buencamino generally demanded ransom for the release of Spanish prisoners. This would likely also have been the case here.

<sup>45</sup>That is a graduate teacher or certified teacher.

<sup>46</sup>Wionzek 2017, pp. 122-127.

<sup>47</sup>Otto J. Scheerer (1858-1938). The proofreading, submission of hitherto unknown documents and correction of factual errors related to the section on Otto Scheerer were provided by his grandson, Dr.

not only a businessman but moreover had a stake in Philippine [revolutionary] politics and [later] in the [American colonial] administration of the Philippines.”<sup>48</sup> As stated at the beginning of this paper, the German contacts with Aguinaldo were generally indirect – through his friends, his associates or members of his government – and did not personally involve Aguinaldo. The only exception was the Imperial Consul Dr. Rieloff.

Scheerer started his Philippine career as a businessman working for the German merchant house of Emil Klöpfer. Following its closure, he founded the cigar factory La Minerva.<sup>49</sup> A polyglot, Scheerer easily adjusted to the Spanish way of life and the bureaucracy governing trade under Spanish rule. He also integrated into Tagalog society after he married a Filipino woman, with whom he raised three children. He learned to speak several Philippine languages and during his spare time went on exploratory tours of Luzon. In Manila Scheerer caught a severe case of chronic dysentery (tropical sprue) that forced him, in 1896, to seek the cooler climate of the Cordillera Mountains in Northern Luzon. He purchased 43 hectares in what was then the small *rancheria* (rural settlement) of Baguio in Benguet Province and started a coffee plantation.<sup>50</sup> From this semi-exile, Scheerer wrote to Ferdinand Blumentritt in 1902 that he experienced the Philippine revolution “as a Filipino”.<sup>51</sup> Although Scheerer was not affected by the initial uprising which ended with the Pact of Biak-na-Bato in December 1897, his direct involvement in the conflict began when the Philippine Revolutionary Army expelled the Spanish military detachment from Benguet in July 1898.<sup>52</sup> He remained involved as American forces cleared Benguet of Filipino soldiers beginning in December 1899. Scheerer was already acquainted with some of the Filipino political leaders including Apolinario Mabini,<sup>53</sup> Pedro Paterno<sup>54</sup> and Arcadio

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Richard G. Scheerer of the Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Baguio. Biographical note on Otto Scheerer: born August 13, 1858, in Hamburg, Germany and died in his “adoptive ‘fatherland’” Philippines on March 24, 1938.

<sup>48</sup>Salazar 2002, pp. 31-32.

<sup>49</sup>Scheerer to Blumentritt, 1902.

<sup>50</sup>Emroy 1898, p. 266.

<sup>51</sup>Scheerer to Blumentritt, op. cit.

<sup>52</sup>Bureau of Insular Affairs.

<sup>53</sup>Quirino 1995, p. 135. Mabini, Apolinario, born July 23, 1864, Tanauan, Batangas, died May 12, 1903, Manila; a patriot and a brilliant lawyer. After the Malolos Constitution, the basic law of the First Republic was promulgated on January 21, 1899; Mabini was appointed Prime Minister and also Foreign Minister.

<sup>54</sup>Quirino 1995, p. 161. Paterno, Pedro A., born February 27, 1857, Manila, died April 26, 1911, Manila, negotiator, writer, historian, and composer. (...) First studied under a private tutor, then at the Ateneo Municipal de Manila, where he graduated in 1871. He studied at the University of Salamanca in Spain, then transferred to the Central University of Madrid, where he took his law doctorate in 1880. Negotiated the Pact of Biak-na-Bato on

del Rosario<sup>55</sup> prior to his move to the Cordillera.<sup>56,57</sup> During the Philippine-American war he met the officer Manuel Quezon<sup>58</sup> in Baguio and hosted the journalist Sergio Osmeña,<sup>59</sup> both young and there to assist Pedro Paterno, prime minister of the Republican government and both destined to become Philippine presidents many years later.

These social contacts seem to have influenced Scheerer's political views, as he became a German advocate of Philippine independence not only in thoughts but also in deeds. Otto Scheerer co-authored together with two other Germans an imprinted letter<sup>60</sup> in *La Independencia*<sup>61</sup> in October 1898, at a time when the relation between Aguinaldo's army and the American troops was marked by escalating tensions.

The German Imperial Consul, Dr. Friedrich Krüger, was not amused upon learning of this public support for the Filipino cause by the three Germans in a newspaper close to the revolutionary government. He summoned them, but refrained from

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December 15, 1897. He was a member of the Propaganda Movement in Spain. Wrote one of the first Filipino novels, titled *Ninay*, which was published before Rizal wrote *Noli me Tangere*.

<sup>55</sup>Biographical note as provided by <https://kahimyang.com/kauswagan/articles/1640/today-philippine-history-november-13-1846-arcadio-del-rosario-y-narciso-was-born-in-pandacan>: Arcadio del Rosario y Narciso was born November 13, 1846, Pandacan, Manila. He was an eloquent advocate of the separation of church and state, one of the framers of the Malolos Constitution in 1899, and supporter of the American annexation of the Philippines, since he acceded, at one point, to the idea that Filipinos were not ready for independence. Del Rosario died in an unnamed place September 13, 1923.

<sup>56</sup>Scheerer to Blumentritt, 1902, op. cit.

<sup>57</sup>Bureau of Insular Affairs, op. cit.

<sup>58</sup>Quezon 1974, p. 47.

<sup>59</sup>Pacis 1971, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup>The Spanish version of the letter was provided by Christina B. Villanueva, Cordillera/Northern Luzon Historical Archives, University of the Philippines, Baguio, Philippines. Two parts of the translation were done by Rodrigue Lévesque, Canada; the middle part was done by Richard G. Scheerer, USA. It reads: To the Editor of *La Independencia*, October 17, 1898:

Our Dear Sir, Various Germans, from among those with the longest residence in the country, beg you to grant them a small space in your most appreciated newspaper to express their live interest for the change that they believe has happened in the relationships between Filipinos and Germans. It is our personal opinion that the attitude and the public displays that have led to this change can only have been the result of a complete failure to comprehend the country's true situation. We, for our part, appreciate the invaluable security we have experienced throughout the revolution, security that is guaranteed more by the goodwill of the entire Filipino people than by the guns of our warships. We especially want to stress the observed measure taken so far by the revolutionaries, their proceedings generally loyal and humanitarian, the very noble manner in many cases of siding with the vanquished oppressor those are without precedent in the history of the world's revolutions. We will not tire in reporting this; we are grateful and appreciate this very much and we also deplore the fact that, as a result of misunderstanding, the good name of Germans in this archipelago may be underappreciated, as we continue to bear it with honor. We are, dear Sir, kindly yours – Various Germans.

<sup>61</sup>Note by the Online Museum on the storied past of the country's press: "Founded by Gen. Antonio Luna, *La Independencia* became known as the most prominent and widely-read newspaper of the entire period. After Aguinaldo's proclamation on pre-licensure of the press, Luna immediately appealed for authorization and successfully gained presidential permission on setting up the publication."

aggravating the case for the sake of the security of the Germans in the other provinces.<sup>62</sup>

A year after the outbreak of the Philippine-American War, Scheerer was approached by American authorities in Benguet because he was the one remaining European conversant with the geography, people and languages of Benguet.<sup>63</sup> Scheerer was instantly drawn into the conflict between the American military and the newly-established civil administration when he was appointed Provincial Secretary of Benguet in 1900.<sup>64</sup> Scheerer's association with "insurrectos"<sup>65</sup> including Antonio Luna, Juan Cariño, who was once appointed by Aguinaldo

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<sup>62</sup>PA AA RZ 19198, Allgemeine Angelegenheiten der Philippinen, Febr. 8, 1899 - March 31, 1899. Krüger to Hohenlohe, Manila, Jan. 12, 1899: Your Excellency, I have the honor to humbly submit the following report about alleged anti-American proclamations by the local Germans, as has been circulated by an English newspaper: For several years, a Hamburger by the name of Otto Scheerer has been living in Benguet (in Northern Luzon), shut off from all communication with the outside world. He has given up his former profession as a merchant. Born into financial security, he is now consuming his pension in the loneliness of the mountains. An outsider ever since, he has over time become completely "Indianized" and foolish. The circumstance that he lives or has lived with his common-law Tagalog wife, with whom he also has some children, might have considerably contributed to this. The years of relationship with Scheerer, by the way, did not keep the brown madam from running off some time ago with an Englishman by the name of [F. Donaldson-]Sim who was looking for gold in the Benguet area. The outbreak of grief set upon him by the unfaithfulness of his beauty appears to have disturbed our fellow countryman's ability for good judgment even further. The above-mentioned person owns some house lots in Manila in the nearby suburban district of Ermita. In early October last year he suddenly showed up in town to assure himself personally if and which damage his property might have suffered through the events of war, e.g. blockade and bombardment. As during his trip to town he believed to have observed that the insurgents, compared to before, have hardened against the foreigners and especially the Germans, and as he concluded that for this reason he would in the future not feel as safe in Benguet as before, he found it beneficial for his interest to say something pleasant for the insurgents (meaning "to stand shoulder to shoulder with them" as the school youngsters express themselves) and in this way regain the goodwill of the revolutionists for the Germans in general and for him in particular. He did this in an open letter to the editor of the local revolutionary newspaper "*La Independencia*" and was able to draw in two other Germans by the names of Josef Roder and August Loher to add their signatures to his own. Like Scheerer himself, they are both sickly Tagalophiles, moreover pharmacist helpers, which removes the need for further comments. The first sentence of the letter in question complains that the previous friendly relations between the natives and the Germans have cooled down. This is followed by the writers expressing thanks for the protection they have found until now among the natives and, completely ignoring facts and considerations, adding the phrase that the writers have felt safer amidst the Filipinos than in the area protected by the German canons. Following compliments about the humanity of the insurgents and the orderly conduct of their troops, the letter ends with expressed hopes that soon the good old understanding will be reestablished. The letter was published in the October 17, 1898, issue of the "*Independencia*". All local Germans of importance were upset to the same degree about the indecent proclamation. After discovering the names of the culprits, I soon later confronted them with their unqualified acts in a sharp manner. The only thing we Germans were hoping and trying to achieve under these circumstances was that the letter in the obscure insurgent newspaper would pass quietly without receiving attention and further dissemination. For this purpose we had to refrain for the time being from openly making a move against Scheerer and his comrades, as we did not want to direct the attention of the public to the questionable press release.

<sup>63</sup>Bureau of Insular Affairs, op. cit.

<sup>64</sup>Bureau of Insular Affairs, op. cit.

<sup>65</sup>Insurgent "insurrecto" was a term the American military applied to all Filipinos who were members of the regular Republican army, guerrillas or sympathizers, indicating their refusal to acknowledge that a constitutional government (Republic) had been seated prior to the onset of the Philippine-American war. See Bureau of Insular Affairs, op. cit.

governor of Benguet, Lucino Almeida<sup>66</sup> and Julian Gerona as well as the aforementioned Pedro Paterno, Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña led Colonel William Duvall, then the American commander of Benguet, to file charges against Scheerer for “violation of the laws of war”, crimes which carried the death penalty.<sup>67</sup> Eventually Scheerer could no longer bear the mistrust, allegations and interference by the American military. He resigned in 1901 and left for Japan, where he taught German. His companions in Yokohama belonged to the top flight of the Philippine revolutionary movement, people like Mariano Ponce<sup>68</sup> Gen. Jose Lukban<sup>69</sup> and others, all still actively trying to secure Philippine independence. Scheerer was reported to be the “custodian of Philippine revolutionary funds in Japan.”<sup>70</sup>

Despite his continued association with exiled members of the Republican government, Scheerer seems to have gained a sponsor in the colonial administration in the person of Secretary of the Interior Dean Worcester, and he soon embarked on a career in the service of the colonial state. Ending his exile in Japan in January, 1908, “he astonishingly received a government appointment upon his return to the Philippines, becoming Lieutenant-Governor of the sub-province of Batanes and subsequently effecting the region’s separation from Cagayan province.”<sup>71</sup>

From 1911 onwards, “Scheerer eventually pursued his academic interests full-time, joining the staff of the University of the Philippines as an instructor for German language in 1911.”<sup>72</sup> In 1922 he founded the university’s Department of

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<sup>66</sup>Quirino 1995, pp. 28-29. Almeida, Lucino, born on June 29, 1853 in, San Pedro, Laguna, died in Maybinga, Pasig on July 17, 1911; a physician by profession and provincial governor appointed by Aguinaldo.

<sup>67</sup>Bureau of Insular Affairs, op. cit.

<sup>68</sup>Quirino 1995, p. 167. Ponce, Mariano, born on March 22, 1863 in Baliwag, Bulakan, died on May 23, 1918 in Hong Kong; physician, journalist while in Spain he joined the Propaganda Movement as the managing director of *La Solidaridad*. Was also a member of the Association *Hispano-Filipino*. He traveled extensively to Canton, Hankou, and Hong Kong, where he met with Aguinaldo. In 1898 Gen. Aguinaldo selected him as a representative of the First Republic to Japan. Ponce was also tasked with drafting a framework of the revolutionary government.

<sup>69</sup>Quirino 1995, pp. 131-132. Lukban, Justo, born on May 28, 1863 in Labo, Camarines Norte, died on September 2, 1927 in Camarines Norte; physician and revolutionary, he may be identical with the Jose Lukban who supposedly stayed a while in Japan as one of the neighbors of Otto Scheerer; or perhaps he is simply mistaken for his brother Vicente Lukban, born on February 11, 1860 in Labo, Camarines Norte, died on November 16, 1916 in Manila; Vicente Lukban was a Filipino officer in Emilio Aguinaldo’s staff during the Philippine Revolution and the politico-military chief of Samar and Leyte during the Philippine-American War.

<sup>70</sup>Goodman 1998, p. 384.

<sup>71</sup>Salazar 2002, p. 31.

<sup>72</sup>Salazar 2002, p. 32.

Linguistics with Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera.<sup>73</sup> He retired as Emeritus Professor in 1929 and passed away in Manila in 1938,<sup>74</sup> “leaving behind an impressive body of work on Philippine linguistics.”<sup>75</sup>

There is one more important story that should be mentioned, although it does not relate to a German, but to a German speaker, the Austrian Ferdinand Blumentritt. He was a close friend of Jose Rizal, a tireless publishing scientist and an ardent agitator for the First Republic of the Philippines. Blumentritt became very involved in Philippine affairs, and in 1899 he wrote a Memorandum to the fledgling Philippine revolutionary government with his advice on the course the liberated Filipinos should chart.

In this Memorandum, titled in Spanish *Carta Memoria*,<sup>76</sup> Blumentritt recommended that the Philippines seek to establish a protectorate to stabilize the government against internal and external challenges. He recommended turning to the USA, given the Americans’ “recent experiences in warfare in the Philippines, because the Americans have recognized the difficulties in acquiring the archipelago and the Filipinos will certainly be smart enough to leave them a face-saving exit.”<sup>77</sup> He stressed that the government should not ask for monetary compensation and should maybe even cede a port to the US, even Manila if need be. They should negotiate hard, he wrote, firstly because that was the nature of political negotiations, and secondly in order to give the Americans the feeling of having won. But in the end, the Filipinos could afford to give away something, because “(...) for the Philippines, their freedom was at stake”.<sup>78</sup>

Blumentritt went on to make several recommendations about how the country should be run. He wrote that the country should insist on freedom to run its internal affairs and appoint its foreign representatives. Economically, it should follow the English model of welcoming all foreign business people and companies, with the exception of speculators, and should remove all export tariffs,

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<sup>73</sup>Personal communication from Richard G. Scheerer of the Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines, Baguio, Philippines.

<sup>74</sup>See Salazar 2002, p. 32.

<sup>75</sup>Salazar 2002, p. 32.

<sup>76</sup>See Wionzek 2007, pp. 18-23; the letter containing Ferdinand Blumentritt’s *Carta Memoria* (Memorandum) was summarized by Karim Elawar and is part of the book with the title “Some Selected Files from the German Political Archives about the Propaganda Activities of Ferdinand Blumentritt – Evidence of his Participation in the Building of a new Nation – The Philippines.”

<sup>77</sup>See Wionzek 2007, p. 18.

<sup>78</sup>See Wionzek 2007, p. 19.

although import tariffs should at first be maintained. Making the country appealing to foreign investment would require high initial investments in infrastructure – ports, but also roads, [bridges, channels,] rivers, etc. A proper administration was also required (although he warned of bureaucracy). As well as through loans, the state could finance this infrastructure development with the import duties and the land confiscated from the friars, which was said to generate an income of between 15 and 24 million dollars.

Finally, Ferdinand Blumentritt recommended holding discussions with the Holy See and suggested recruiting, for a short time, foreign experts to train the administration as well as the army. He ended his letter with a warning to the government: “No *cesantía* [retirement pay in the Spanish customary manner], no *aparatoso administración* [excessive bureaucracy], but full attention to the economic development of the young state.”<sup>79</sup>

#### Summary and Conclusion:

The various documented contacts and relationships between Emilio Aguinaldo and Germans featured here are as follows:

(1.) about a member of the German aristocracy, Prince Ludwig of Löwenstein who befriended Americans, Filipinos and Germans alike, the prince’s habit of roaming around Manila and its environs brought about his untimely death between the battle lines near Caloocan in March 1899; (2.) about the German Imperial Consul in Hong Kong, Dr. Friedrich Rieloff, and the surprise visit on his own initiative to conduct talks with some people close to Aguinaldo and with Aguinaldo himself in the Cavite Viejo area in 1898; (3.) about Gotthard Klocke, an employee of the Imperial German Consulate in Manila, subsequently treated with hostility by both the Germans and Americans for offering his services to Señor Don Teodoro Sandico in his letter dated January 4, 1899; (4.) then there is the lengthy and quite detailed report based on an eyewitness account made by Lt. Cmdr. Paul Hintze’s visit to the Philippine revolutionary headquarters in Cavite Viejo on July 3, 1898. Interwoven with Lt. Cmdr. Hintze’s story is the petition by Filipino exiles in Hong Kong addressed and sent to the German Emperor in 1897. (5.) The next story introduces the most resourceful, diplomatic and prolific

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<sup>79</sup>See Wionzek 2007, p. 23.

German, named Otto Scheerer, who definitely was in touch with many of Aguinaldo's high ranking associates, friends or members of his government over the years and who even had several careers during his life in the Philippines. (6.) The last story presented here summarizes the hitherto unknown expert suggestions by the German speaking Austrian Ferdinand Blumentritt detailed in a Memorandum to Aguinaldo's revolutionary government. This long forgotten letter is evidence of his participation in the building of a new nation – the Philippines.

As already implied in the abstract to this paper, the German Vice-Admiral Otto Diederichs posthumously helped, with a historically significant contribution, to resolve the old and vexing question of whether Emilio Aguinaldo's or George Dewey's version of events was the correct one. In his military-political report on the situation at Manila dated June 25, 1898, which he wrote on board *S.M.S Kaiser*, he states: "I already had the honor to submit a telegraphic report to the effect that Rear-Admiral Dewey emphasized in his conversation with me that America would not keep the Philippines."<sup>80</sup> This "(...) is a revelation by German Vice-Admiral Otto Diederichs, written in the immediate aftermath of his June 1898 official conference with U.S. Rear-Admiral George Dewey. According to this, Dewey clearly stated to Diederichs his country was not interested in annexing the Philippine archipelago.

Aguinaldo and the Filipinos had steadfastly made the same claim, that Dewey had similarly promised them the Philippines would not be seized by the U.S. However, in his later statements Dewey denied this, evading the question in deceptive and disingenuous testimony before the U. S. Congress in June 1902, and omitting any definite details about the subject in his 1913 autobiography. It seemed to have had become a matter of Dewey's word against Aguinaldo's. But now the relatively non-partisan evidence provided here by the translation of Diederichs' casual remark from June 1898, at the actual time it happened, imparts substantial support to the veracity of Aguinaldo's version."<sup>81</sup>

This unexpected support from the German side rediscovered in a German Navy Archives about a century later is very much appreciated, since it enables us to restore the president's word of honor as we near the 150<sup>th</sup> Birthday Anniversary of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo.

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<sup>80</sup>Wionzek 2017, p. 111.

<sup>81</sup>Price 2017, p. 168.

Many people may have thought that any elucidation of this historical controversy from an independent source was forever lost to history, but it is not. Diederichs' dispatch to Berlin is of importance to Philippine history because it gives to Aguinaldo's testimony its rightful credibility, its truthfulness; these details are, after all, presented here in honor of the first President of the Philippines: Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy.

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