

PAGBÁSA BIYAK-NA-BATO

Mga talakay, salaysay, dokumento, at larawan



Tinipon ni
Perfecto T. Martin

Pambungad ni
Jaime B. Veneracion



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BIYAK-NA-BATO



MICHAEL G. PRICE COLLECTION

Bantayog sa alaala ng Biyak-na-Bato

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2022



Ang SHINE Bulacan o *Sustainable Heritage Imbibing Nationalism through Education* ay isang programang inilunsad ng Commission on Higher Education sa pamamagitan ng Bulacan State University at Pamahalaang Panlalawigan ng Bulacan.

Layunin ng programang maiangat ang konsepto at pamamaraan ng pagtangkilik sa turismo ng Bulacan hindi lamang sa pamamagitan ng paghanga sa pisikal na kagandahan ng lalawigan kundi lalo't higit, sa malalim na pagkakaunawa sa kasaysayan, arkeolohiya at kultura. Isasagawa ito sa pamamagitan ng pormal at di-pormal na programang pang-edukasyon sa kabataan. Sa gayon, hindi lamang mga Filipino kundi lalo't higit ang mga mamamayan ng mundo ang maituturing nating kaugnay ng ating pagkalahi sa patuloy na pag-usad ng panahon.

HINDI IPINAGBIBILI ang aklat. Magagamit lamang ito nang libre sa mga pag-aaral at pagtuturo sa kasaysayan ng Biyak-na-Bato.

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Disenyo ng aklat ni Mervin Concepcion Vergara

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Sa alaala ng Biyak-na-Bato

Konstitusyon, Republika, at Kasunduan



National Historical Commission
1973

BIYAK NA BATO

Sa pook na ito itinatag ng mga manghihimagsik sa pamumuno ni Heneral Emilio Aguinaldo ang Republika ng Biyak na Bato noong ika-31 ng Mayo, 1897. Ang Salitang-Batas ng Republika ay pinagtibay sa pook ding ito noong unang araw ng Nobyembre, 1897.

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PAUNANG SALITA

Taong 2016 nang unang makasalamuha ng Bahay Saliksikan ng Bulacan (BSB) si Perfecto T. Martin o “Ka Boy” sa aming pagtawag sa kanya. Napukaw niya ang interes namin na muling balikan ang pisikal na lugar kung saan unang naitayo ang Bulacan High School, na siya ring lugar na pinagsimulan ng Bulacan Trade School (ngayon ay Bulacan State University na). Masasabi kong ang kanyang perspektiba sa pagtanaw sa mga paksaing pangkasaysayan, pampanitikan, at pangkultura ay katangi-tangi at napapanahong pagtingin na tutungo sa adbokasiya ng konserbasyon at preserbasyon ng pamanang lahi ng lalawigan ng Bulacan.

Dahil awtentiko ang kanyang layuning maitanghal ang halaga ng espasyo sa nakaraan kaugnay sa kalakhang pagbabago, nalilisa niyang mabuti ang bawat datos at detalye ng kasaysayan, na nagiging behikulo sa muling representasyon ng nakalipas. Mula sa ating pagtanaw sa kaniyang mga koleksiyon, may kung anong binubuhay ito sa loob natin at humahantong tayo sa pag-iisip na marami na nga yata ang ating kinalimutan o nakalimutang mga talâ ng ating lipunan na mahalaga sa pagbasa ng ating pagkatao.

Sa nakalipas na limang taon ay naging malawak at interdisiplinaryo ang pananaliksik na isinagawa ng BSB sa Pambansang Parke ng Biyak-na-Bato. Mula sa arkeolohikal na paghuhukay hanggang sa pagsusuring pangkalikasan at kasaysayan ay umabot ang aming pakikipag-ugnay sa makasaysayang lugar na ito. At lubos naming ikinatuwa na ang aming kaibigan at kapanalig sa adbokasiya na si Ka Boy ay nakabuo ng koleksiyong ito para sa Biyak-na-Bato.

Ang koleksiyon ay magdadala sa atin sa isang pagtanaw na ang Biyak-na-Bato ay hindi lang nagtataglay ng likas na ganda ng kalikasan. Higit pa rito ay ang alaalang pangkasaysayan na nakapaglalarawan ng makabuluhang karanasan nating mga Filipino sa panahon ng kolonyalisasyon. Kung paanong ang daluyang ilog, karst landscape, kagubatan, at mga kuweba ay nagsilbing kanlungan, kublihan, at lugar tagpuan ng iba't ibang kamalayan, kabayanihan at politikal na pakikipag-ugnayan ng mga Filipino sa nakaraan.

Maligayang pagbabasá at pagsusuri sa mga aabutin ng koleksiyong ito.

Edilberto D. Larin, Jr.

Punò

Bahay Saliksikan ng Bulacan / Center for Bulacan Studies

Bulacan State University

ANG KATIPUNANG ITO

Tinipon itong mga talakay, salaysay, dokumento, at larawan para sa masusing pagbása sa Biyak-na-Bato. Hangad nitong katipunan na mabigyan tayo ng pagkakataon para sa dagdag na pag-unawa sa Biyak-na-Bato National Park (BNBNP), na ngayon ay magkatuwang at masusing pinag-aaralan ng Bulacan State University at University of the Philippines.

Tinatanaw sa nabanggit na pag-aaral hindi lamang ang naaabot ng mata kundi maging ang nahuhukay ng makabagong siyensiya at teknolohiya para masipat ang mga kuwentong nakabaon sa malawak na kapatagan at kabundukan ng Biyak-na-Bato. Katulong sa pag-aaral na ito ang ating gunita upang magkaroon ng higit na malalim na tanaw, sa pamamagitan ng pagbabalik sa kasaysayan.

Sa banggit ng “Biyak-na-Bato”, bigla kong naalala ang di-nalathalang cultural tourism guidebook—*Bulacan: Ang Pinagpalang Hiya*—ni Basilides Bautista. Isinabmit ito sa Pambansang Komisyon para sa Kultura at mga Sining (NCCA) ng yumaong apó ni Don Antonio Bautista ng angkanag naghandog ng malaking bahagi ng tinatawag kong Bulacan capitolio complex ngayon.

Isinulat noong 2001, iminumungkahi ng gabay sa mga panauhin ng lalawigan ang isang hiya ng Bulacan na tinawag niyang “tatsulok ng kasaysayan”: unang kanto ng triyanggulo ang Cacarong sa Pandi, ikalawa ang Biyak-na-Bato sa San Miguel / Doña Remedios Trinidad (DRT), at ikatlo ang Barasoain sa Malolos—ang tatlong republika sa kasaysayan ng bansa na matatagpuan sa Bulacan.

Mga kuwento sa Republikang Biyak-na-Bato ang bida sa katipunang ito—tanawin, tauhan, talakayan. Dito tinipon ang mga salaysay hindi lamang ng sangkot na mga tauhan sa nangyari mula Cavite patungong Bulacan, mula Bulacan patungong Hong Kong, at pagbabalik mula Hong Kong patungong Cavite (isang panibagong tatsulok sa ating nakaraan).

Kasama rin sa katipunang ito ang mga importanteng suri at kilatis ng mga historyador na ang talisik ay gagabay sa atin para unawain ang kasaysayan ng lugar at pangyayaring naganap dito.

May mga dagdag na lumang larawan at salaysay ng pagdalaw sa Sibul at Biyak-na-Bato upang mailarawan natin sa isip ang tanawin sa mga lugar na ito noong araw.

Hindi natatapos sa unang edisyon ang katipunan. Inaasahan naming madagdagan pa ito ng mga bagong tuklas na salaysay, retrato, at iba pang gunita sa malapit na hinaharap.

Maikling paliwanag sa baybay ng lugar: BIYAK-NA-BATO / Biyak-na-Bato.

Una, ibinatay ko ito sa “pinakamatanda at pinakakomprehensibo sa mga buháy na diksiyonaryo sa Filipinas” na lumabas ngayong panahon ng pandemya—*Pambansang Diksiyonaryo sa Filipino* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2021)—na punong editor ang Pambansang Alagad ng Sining Virgilio S. Almario (Bulakenyo at taál na taga-San Miguel).

Ikalawa, pagtalima ito sa diwa ng reporma sa ortograpiya na isinulong ni Rizal, ng Bulakenyong Pedro Serrano Laktaw, at marami pang iba, para maging istandard ng sari-saring ispelang ng ating pinapaksang lugar (Biac-na-Bato, Biacnabato, Biaknabato, Biak-na-bato, at iba pa).

Perfecto T. Martin

Pambungad

BIYAK-NA-BATO: HIGIT PA SA KASUNDUAN SA TIGIL-PUTUKAN?

Ni Jaime B. Veneracion

Panimula

Bilang guro na nakikipag-usap sa kapwa guro, ang suliranin ko ngayon ay maibahagi sa inyo kung paanong ituturo sa mga bata ang kabuluhan ng Biyak-na-Bato bilang isang lugar o lunan ng kasaysayan. Puwede nating pasimulan ito sa pagsusuri at pag-unawa kung ano nga ba ang kasaysayan at mula doon ay tingnan ang mga pamantayang magtatakda sa Biyak-na-Bato bilang lugar ng kasaysayan.

Ang kasaysayan ay mga sapin-saping gunita o memorya ng nakaraan. Ang layunin ng historyador at ng mga guro ng kasaysayan ay saliksikin o hanapin ang mga lugar at pangyayari na pamana ng nakaraang salinlahi; mga bagay na mahalaga kung gayon, sapagkat hindi naman natin ipinamamana ang walang halaga o walang kuwenta. Kasama sa ating tungkulin ang preserbasyon ng mga pamanang ito sa kanyang orihinal na porma—ang mga sulatin o dokumento, mga artifact o labî ng nakaraan, at ang mga lugar na magbibigay ng tamang pag-unawa o konteksto sa nakaraan.

Kapag binanggit natin ang sapin-sapin, ang unang maisasaisip natin ay ang bibingka sapin-sapin tulad na ating mabibili diyan sa Sta. Isabel, Malolos o Malabon. May iba’t ibang kulay ito upang tunay nating makita ang kanilang pagkakaiba-iba. Sa ganitong sentido, puwede nating tingnan ang kasaysayan ng Biyak-na-Bato bilang bibingka na may tatlong sapin. Ang nasa ibabaw ay maaari nating tawaging isang pandaigdig na sapin, ibig sabihin, ang Biyak-na-Bato ay hindi lamang isang pangyayari sa Pilipinas kundi bahagi ng isang pandaigdig na pangyayari. Ang ikalawang sapin ay tumutukoy sa kanyang pambansang kabuluhan, isang bagay na nadinig na natin nang madalas

sapagkat tumutukoy ito sa pagkatatag ng pamahalaan ni Aguinaldo at ang pacto o kasunduan ng tigil-putukan. Ang ikatlong sapin ay tumutukoy sa Biyak-na-Bato bilang bahagi ng kasaysayang lokal, ang kahulugan ng Biyak-na-Bato sa pananaw at pag-unawa ng mga taga-San Miguel at mga taga-Bulakan mismo, bilang isang kuta at tanggulan ng Rebolusyon ng 1896.

Unang Sapin

Madaling maliitin ang pagkabuo ng Konstitusyong Biyak-na-Bato isang pangongopya ng Konstitusyong Cubano sa Jimaguayu. Ngunit ang pangyayaring ito, kasama na rin ang pagkopya sa hugis ng bandilang Cubano ang nagmumungkahi sa atin ng pandaigdig na kabuluhan ng Biyak-na-Bato. Kung inyong papansinin, ang mga bandila nina Hen. Gregorio del Pilar at Hen. Pio del Pilar—kapwa may tatsulok sa gilid at may bandang asul o itim sa itaas at pula sa ilalim—ay kapwa variant ng bandilang Cubano. Ito rin ang magiging hugis ng ating kasalukuyang bandila dangan nga lamang at nadagdagan ng tatlong bituin at isang araw sa gitna ang puting tatsulok. Kahit ang kahulugan ng mga kulay nito (kagitingan at dangal) ay nagmula sa pakahulugan ng mga Pranses at Espanyol na republikano nang itatag nila ang mga republikanong pamahalaan matapos ang Rebolusyong Pranses noong 1789 at ng Rebolusyong Espanyol noong 1868.

Dito sa Biyak-na-Bato kung gayon unang naiukit sa kamalayang Pilipino, at nabigyang katuparan sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas, ang mga diwang demokratiko at republikano, sa pamamagitan ng konstitusyon at watawat. Ang mga kamalayang sinasagisag ng watawat at konstitusyon ay bahagi ng isang pandaigdig na kilusan na nagsimula sa Rebolusyong Pranses noong 1789. Idagdag pa rito na ang mga Cubano ay kapatid nating kolonya din ng Espanya na nauna pa nga sa atin sa kanilang pambansang Rebolusyon, una noong kalagitnaan ng dantaon 19 at sa bandang huli, noong 1895. Ang kanilang bayaning si Jose Marti ay hinangaan ng ating mga ilustrado sa Europa at isa sa mga inspirasyon nila sa pakikibakang anti-kolonyal. Kaibigang matalik ng mga Pilipino sa Barcelona ang rebolusyonaryong Cubano na si Jose Alvarez de la Campa. (V. Jose, *Rise and Fall of Antonio Luna*, Centennial Edition, 1998,

p. 52). Sa Cuba din patungo si Jose Rizal nang kanyang hilingin na magsilbi doon bilang isang doktor militar ng Espanya. Lumalabas sa mga pananaliksik ngayon na layunin ni Rizal na pag-aralan ang estilo ng pakikibakang gerilya ng mga Cubano kaya niya naisip magboluntaryo sa Cuba.

Ikalawang Sapin

Sa pambansang kasaysayan, ang karaniwang alam natin ay ang Biyak-na-Bato na kaugnay ng pacto o kasunduan o “*tregua*” ukol sa tigil-putukan sa pagitan ng mga puwersang Kastila at ng mga Pilipino. Kapalit ng tigil-putukan ang pagsang-ayon ni Emilo Aguinaldo, bilang pinuno ng mga puwersang rebolusyonaryo, na maipatapon sa Hong Kong at ang pagsasalong ng armas ng mga pinunong naiwan dito. Bukod sa pagsasalong ng armas, ang mga rebolusyonaryong Pilipino ay magiging kasapi ng “*milicia*” ng mga Kastila, kasingkahulugan ng pagiging “*pulis*” tagapamayapa.

Di naging tagumpay ang tigil-putukan dahil maraming pangkat ang hindi sumunod sa probisyon ng kasunduan. Nagtatag ng pamahalaang rehiyonal si Francisco Makabulos. Nagkaroon ng mga pagsalakay sa Bataan at Panay. Hindi pa talaga matatag ang hawak ng pangkat ni Aguinaldo sa mga puwersa ng Rebolusyon. Sa isang banda, masama ito dahil hindi matatanggap ng pangkat ni Aguinaldo ang buong halagang \$800,000 sa pinag-usapang danyos ng mga rebolusyonaryo. Ngunit sa kabilang banda, ang ganito ay makakabuti sa tunguhin ng Rebolusyon sa kabuuan, dahil bagamat naging akusasyon kay Aguinaldo na ibinenta niya ang Rebolusyon, hindi naman naging tagumpay ito sa wakas. Sa Hong Kong na pinagtapunan kina Aguinaldo, dinatnan niya ang mga kasapi ng Hong Kong Junta, tulad nina Mariano Ponce, Galicano Apacible, at Jose Ma. Basa. Kung anuman ang mga personal na mithiin ni Aguinaldo (at ng mga katoto niyang sina Felix Ferrer at Isabelo Artacho) ay naituwid ng mga makabayang kasapi sa Hong Kong Junta. Kung baga, naturuan at natuto din naman si Aguinaldo sa pulitika at sa diplomasya ng Rebolusyon: na hindi pa talaga tapos ito at ang kailangan ay maghanda sa ikalawang sigwa, makipag-ugnayan sa mga Amerikano na bahagi ng plota ni George Dewey bilang barahang pangsituwasyong internasyonal

sa pakikipaglaban. Ang salapi na dapat sana ay hahatiin ng mga kasama sa pagkapatapon ay “masinop na ginamit” sa pagbili ng armas mula sa mga ahenteng Ingles at Amerikano, dangan nga lamang at sa ilang sitwasyon, si Aguinaldo ay naloko dahil sa kanyang tiwalang isip-bata o *naivete*.

Ngunit sa kainitan ng pulitika noong 1929, nang akusahan si Aguinaldo ng di-maipaliwanag na kinasapitan ng P400,000 na ibinigay sa kanya ng mga Espanyol sa Biyak-na-Bato, kanyang sinabi na para sa kanyang sariling pagmamay-ari ang naturang halaga (*me pertenecian exclusivamente*). Nagkaroon ng alingasngas dahil maliit na halaga lamang naman ang nagamit (at nawala) sa pagbili ng armas mula sa consul na si Rounseville Wildman: dalawang disbursement na nasa halagang P67,000. Ipaliliwanag daw niya ang buong detalye kung lilinawin din ng mga kinatawan sa Independence Missions sa Amerika (nina Quezon at Osmeña) ang kanilang pagwawaldas ng salaping bayan doon:

“I declare that the amount of P400,000 belonged to me exclusively, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Peace of Biyak-na-Bato. However, motivated with the desire to save our country from its condition of bondage, I invested the said amount in the renewal of the revolution, winning for our people their most precious liberties.

“And, if despite our sacrifices and the happy results of those revolutions, details of that investment are still sought, I am willing to do so, on the condition that the hidden mysteries concerning the investment of many millions of pesos for the campaign for independence be first revealed.” (“The Money of the Revolution,” *Philippines Free Press*, 7 September 1929. Sinipi at isinalin ni R. Manapat, *Some Are Smarter Than Others*. N.Y.: Aletheia Publications, 1991, pp. 78 at 94). Tingnan sa hulihan ng artikulong ito ang orihinal.

“Ipinahahayag ko na para sa akin lamang ang halagang P400,000, ayon sa probisyon ng Kasunduang Pangkapayapaan ng Biyak-na-Bato. Gayunpaman, sa aking pagnanais na iligtas ang ating bansa mula sa pagkaalipin, pinuhunan ko ang naturang salapi para sa panibagong paghihimagsik, na pinagtagumpayan (ko) ang mga mamahaling kalayaan ng ating taumbayan.

“At kung sa kabila ng aming sakripisyo at magandang bunga ng mga rebolusyong yaon, ang detalye ng pamumuhunan para dito ay uuriratin pa, pumapayag akong gawin ito, sa kondisyong ang mga nakatagong misteryo ng puhunan ng milyon-milyong piso para sa kampanya at independensiya ay mauna munang ilantad.”

Ikatlong Sapin

Sa pangatlong sapin, na siyang pinakamahalaga, mabibigyan natin ng mas malaking papel ang Biyak-na-Bato bilang moog o tanggulan ng Rebolusyon, na sa ibang lugar sa Bulakan ay kilala sa katawagang “Real” o “Pinagrealan”. Dito sa Bulakan nagkaroon ng tradisyon ng Real tulad ng ipinahihiwatig ng mga lugar tulad ng Real de Cacarong at ang Pinagrealan sa yungib ng Minuyan, Norzagaray. Kung tutuusin, isang artikulasyon o pagsasakatuparan ito ng konseptong “Haring Bayan” ni Bonifacio na kinuha sa salitang Kastila. Ang “real” kasi sa Espanyol ay patungkol sa hari tulad ng makikita sa salitang “Casa Real,” ibig sabihin, ang “Bahay ng Hari.” Sa pagbubuo ng mga Real, tulad ng itinatag ni Mastrong Sebio sa Cacarong de Sile, sa Pandi, Bulakan, nais ipahayag ng mga Katipunero ang isang parallel o katapat na pamahalaang pamumunuan na ng mga katutubong mamamayan.

Dahil sa matatatag na moog na ito, nagkaroon ng ganitong babala sa kanyang kapalit ang gobernador heneral ng Espanyol (Hen. Blanco) bago lumisan sa Pilipinas: “Nasa Cavite ang gulo, ngunit ang panganib ay nasa Bulakan.” At ito ang naging suma total ng himagsikan. Ang ipinagmamalaking mga tagumpay ng Magdalo sa Cavite ay panandaliang ligaya sapagkat pagdating ng oras, nang magkaroon na ng walang patlang na kampanya ang mga Espanyol katuwang ang batalyong Pilipino mula sa Iloilo, umatras sina Aguinaldo sa Bulakan. Bakit nga dito sa Bulakan aatras kung hindi ito ang kanlungan na mas epektibo? Nakaharap ito sa malawak na kapatagan at kabundukan ng Luzon, hindi makukupot kung kailangang umatras, at malayo sa abot ng kanyon ng mga plotang pandagat ng mga Espanyol.

Sa paglipat na ito sa Bulakan, tumulay rin si Aguinaldo sa mga leyenda na bumabalot sa mga yungib bilang sagradong lugar ng pakikibaka. Kung noong una, pinuna nina Aguinaldo ang mga metapora ni Bonifacio tungkol sa Pamitinan at Bundok Tapusi, at sa nakatanikalang bayaning si Bernardo Carpio na mamumuno sa pagbaba sa kapatagan upang palayain ang Pilipinas—na ayon sa kalihim ni Aguinaldo na si Carlos Ronquillo ay isang panlililalang sa mga inosenteng taumbayan—ngayon, nasangkot na si Aguinaldo sa kabuluhan ng yungib sa kamalayang katutubo. Ang kumupkop sa pangkat ni Aguinaldo mula sa bundok ng Puray hanggang sa Pinagrealan ng Minuyan at sa Biyak-na-Bato pagkatapos, ay mga rebolusyonaryong nangagsipagtago at yumabong sa mga yungib.

Ang kahalagahan ng yungib sa kasaysayan ay mapagsisimula sa Yungib Tabon, sa Yungib Manunggul (Palawan), sa Yungib Peñablanca (Cagayan) at sa San Miguel mismo, ang Yungib Madlum na kinatagpuan diumano ng San Miguel Arkanghel na siyang patron ng bayan. Ang mga unang misyonerong Espanyol ay natuklasang kapag unang pag-ulan sa Mayo, may tradisyon ng mga dalagitang katutubo na tumungo sa mga yungib upang mag-alay ng mga bulaklak sa kanilang mga ninuno, ang tinatawag na “anito”, “poon”, o “apò”. Kaya nga upang masakyan ang tradisyong ito, nagkaroon din ng alay sa birhen (ang Flores de Mayo) sa panahon ng pagkilala ni Papa Pio VII sa pagiging dalisay o “inmaculada” ni Maria noong Agosto 7, 1814 na okasyon din ng muling pagkatatag ng Society of Jesus. (Moises B. Andrade, *Kalayaan, its birth and growth among the secular clergy in Bulakan*, pamphlet, Bocaue, 1998, p. 1.)

Sa yungib nagdaraos ng peregrinasyon sina Andres Bonifacio tulad ng ginawa nila sa Pamitinan sa panahon ng Mahal na Araw, Abril 10, 1895, at doon ay isinulat nila ang madamdaming salitang “Mabuhay ang Kalayaan ng Pilipinas!” Noong 1930s, nang tumungo sa Pamitinan sina Teodoro M. Kalaw at Aurelio Tolentino upang hanapin ang pook ng pasimula ng pakikibakang Pilipino, nakita pa nila ang graffiti ng mga taga-Bulakan (“Mga kawal ng Katipunan mula sa Bulacan”) tulad nina Gregorio del Pilar, Isidoro Torres,

Julian H. del Pilar, Doroteo Karagdag, at maraming iba pa na bumisita noong Pebrero 2, 1897. Sagisag ang pagtungo sa yungib ng pag-aalis ng kadena ni Bernardo Carpio na siyang mangunguna sa kilusang mapagpalaya ng mga katutubo. Mababasa ang leyenda ni Haring Bernardo sa *El Filibusterismo* ni Dr. Jose Rizal.

Ganito ang naging salaysay ni Aurelio Tolentino sa naganap na peregrinasyon sa yungib ni Bernardo Carpio: “Parang kahapon lamang na yaong mga hamak na magbubukid ay lumabas sa kuwebang iyon na bagbag ang mga puso at hila sa luha ang mga mata habang sila’y tahimik na nakatayo at nagtitinginan. Nakikini-kinita nila ang bigat ng kapalit ng kanilang mithiin.” (T. M. Kalaw, *Kabalikat sa Kalayaan*. Manila: National Historical Institute, 1986, p. 273.)

Nang tuklasin ni Isidoro Torres ang Biyak-na-Bato bilang pangunahing kuta ng puwersang Bulakenyo (T.M. Kalaw, *ibid.*, p. 274, footnote 5), hindi maitatatwa ang inspirasyon sa kanya ng Pamitinan sa Montalban at Pinagrealan sa Minuyan. May malawak na tradisyon ang alamat ni Bernardo Carpio.

Nang ako ay bata pa, kuwento na aking ama (Feliciano) na ang isang munting bundok sa Sierra Madre katabi ng tinatawag nilang “Susong Dalaga” ay ang “Saro ni Bernardo Carpio.” Kapag takipsilim, habang minamasdan ang andap ng mga ilaw sa kabundukan, na para sa akin ay mahiwaga at kaylayo, bahagi ng kuwento sa aming mga musmos ang mga pakikipagsapalaran ni Haring Bernardo. At ayon sa iba pang matatanda, sa Ilog Angat, sa bandang Norzagaray, ay matatagpuan pa sa ilalim ng batuhan ang hulma ng yapak ni Bernardo Carpio. Tinatawag ito sa Norzagaray na “Bakás” kaya nga sa pagtulay sa mga alamat na ito ay nabuo din ang maraming alamat kaugnay ni Aguinaldo. Sa kaloob-looban ng yungib ng Biyak-na-Bato ay matatagpuan ang kanyang mesa at tanggapan, at sa yungib na bahagi ng Biyak-na-Bato complex—“bahay paniki” kung tawagin—nandoon naman ang punong himpilan ng mga manghihimagsik.

Paglalagom

Sa paglalagom, ito ang aking sinasabi: higit pa sa Pacto ng Tigil-Putukan ang kahalagahan ng Biyak-na-Bato sa kasaysayan. Kung ang alam lamang natin tungkol sa Biyak-na-Bato ay ang bentahan ng Rebolusyon, ito ay isang pagmaliit sa naging papel nito sa kasaysayan. Sa isang mapangkabuuang pananaw, higit na dapat itanghal ang pagiging lunduyan nito ng sagradong Kalayaan, isang simulaing kinatawan ni Bernardo Carpio na dapat pakawalan mula sa kanyang pagkakadena; alalaumbaga, isang moog, tanggulan, at pinagrealan. Dito din isinilang ang diwang demokratiko at republikano na bahagi ng pandaigdig na kilusang mapagpalaya sa naaapi. Dito sa Biyak-na-Bato unang nagtagpo ang mga diwang ilustrado galing sa labas—ang *La Ilustracion o Enlightenment, Demokrasya, at Republikano* sa Europa, Amerika at Cuba at ang panloob na halagahan o katutubong kamalayan ng hinubog ng mga yungib, sa mga kuwentong bayan, na siyang pinakaubod na batayan ng ating pagkatao.

Karagdang datos:

Ang orihinal na paliwanag ni Aguinaldo noong 1929 tungkol sa usapin ng nawawalang P400,000 mula sa nakuha niya sa kasunduan ng Biyak-na-Bato:

“Hago presente que la cantidad de P400,000 me pertenecian exclusivamente, de acuerdo con las condiciones del Tratado de Paz de Biyak-na-Bato. Sin embargo, impulsado por el deseo de salvar nuestra Patria de su estado de vasalleje, enverti dicha cantidad en la reanudacion de la Revolucion, conquistando para nuestro pueblo sus mas preciadas libertades. Y si a pesar de nuestros sacrificios y de los resultados felices de aquellos revoluciones, todavia exigen detalles de su inversion, estoy dispuestos a accederlo, a condicion de que se revelen antes los misterios ocultos de la inversion de muchos millones de pesos para la campana por la Independencia.”

Mula sa librong *Bulakan ng mga Bayani* ni Jaime B. Veneracion (Center for Bulacan Studies, Bulacan State University, 2007), p. 95-103.

1

THE REVOLUTION: TO BIYAK-NA-BATO AND HONG KONG

By Onofre D. Corpuz

Aguinaldo was sleepless on the night of the 11th May 1897, but not over Bonifacio's death. He states that he did not learn of it until days later, and that what kept him awake was the matter of whether or not he should leave Cavite for Biyak-na-Bato. In fact he was also on the run from Primo de Rivera, and had found refuge in familiar Talisay, in Batangas. Now he had to decide.

General Mamerto Natividad of Nueva Ecija had invited him to come up north and establish a new base in the hills of nearby Bulacan. From Talisay he and a body of troops numbering some two thousand climbed to Tagaytay and headed north for Silang and Dasmariñas. They had to march at night, and from here until almost at the end of the trek Aguinaldo endured malarial fever and chills. By June they reached Malapad-na-Bato (Guadalupe, near modern Fort Bonifacio), crossed the Pasig, headed for the hills, and made camp in Montalban.

The camp site was called Puray; the commander in the district, General Licerio Geronimo, assured Aguinaldo that the camp was safe. How such a large group had marched on foot this far from Cavite shows how weak was the hold of the regime on the towns. However, Blanco became aware of Aguinaldo's pause in Puray. On 15 June he sent a telegraph report to Madrid that he had sent two columns to attack the camp, that Aguinaldo was caught in a pincers trap, and that there was a battle against the Spaniards' casualties of only four officers and twenty-three men dead, in torrential rain, with enemy casualties of more than four hundred dead, aside from the wounded.

Aguinaldo's memoirs tell another story. He had made good dispositions for the camp's defence, and the Spaniards were caught in his trap. The action took place on 14 June. Geronimo and Generals Mariano Noriel and Pio del Pilar subjected the unsuspecting Spaniards to flanking fire from the high banks of the river while the troops of Generals Vito Belarmino, Pantaleon Garcia, and Baldomero Aguinaldo fell upon them in a frontal assault. Aguinaldo also says that they enjoyed the biscuits abandoned by the enemy and that there were "thousands of enemy dead." The Spaniards sent another force on the 16th, but by then Aguinaldo had left and was on the way to Biyak-na-Bato.

Most military battle reports overstate the enemy losses while understating those of the reporting side, even claiming victory despite actual defeat. So it was in this case. Reverter Delmas, perhaps the best Spanish historian of the war, provides a review of the Puray action. Blanco sent three columns to Puray, but two did not know the district and were delayed. The first column fell into Aguinaldo's trap and was cut to pieces. Aguinaldo withdrew. The Spanish survivors and the Manila press received orders not to tell what happened. The Spanish casualties were in excess of 200 dead including the four officers; 130 were wounded. Another fifty were believed taken prisoner by Aguinaldo. Reverter Delmas says that Aguinaldo's casualties "were very few."

After the victory in Puray the Aguinaldo party pushed into the hinterland along trails, fording fields and streams, and climbing up hills. They had to halt now and then for rest and quinine for the sick. They reached Norzagaray, then Angat, until, on 24 June, they reached Biyak-na-Bato, along the town's edge of San Miguel de Mayumo, west of the cordillera that is the spine of Luzon.[1]

A Departmental Government of Central Luzon was set up earlier this June, composed of Manila and the province of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Bataan, Laguna, and Morong. The secular priest Fr. Pedro Dandan y Masangkay was named governor, with the following military commanders:

Mamerto Natividad (N. Ecija), Lieutenant General
Mariano Llanera (N. Ecija), Lieutenant General
Sinforoso de la Cruz (Bulacan), Division General
Melecio Carlos (Bulacan), Division General
Licerio Gerenimo (Morong), Division General
Hermogenes Bautista (Morong), Division General
Andres Pacheco (Bulacan), Brigadier General
Simon Tecson (Bulacan), Brigadier General
Narciso Porciuncula (Bulacan), Brigadier General
Isidro Torres (Bulacan), Brigadier General
Salvador Natividad (N. Ecija), Brigadier General
Francisco Macabulos (Tarlac), Brigadier General

There were three key developments linked with Biyak-na-Bato. The first was Aguinaldo's call for guerrilla warfare, the second the promulgation of the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution and the forming of its government, and the third the truce of November 1897.

The result of the fall of Cavite was to drive Aguinaldo north into central Luzon. This enabled the leading general of the Revolution to forge a link with the other military leaders. It would expand the Revolution. The presence of Aguinaldo probably moved the Bulacan rebels to attack the Spanish garrisons repeatedly in August. In turn this revived the Revolution in Cavite, Batangas, and Laguna. In September the rebels attacked in force in Nueva Ecija and again in Bulacan, Batangas, and Laguna. Soon the regime had to fight against the rebel forces in Pampanga and Tayabas. In October the Revolution spread to Tarlac and Pangasinan and thence to the rugged subprovince of Principe, towards the mountains and extending to the east Pacific coast. The Revolution had burst out of the boundaries of the Southern Tagalog region.

The spread of the Revolution was due to many factors. What was important was that it had entered a new phase: by June, Aguinaldo was confident of victory. He issued the following proclamation; the language expressions his confidence; it was signed "Malabar."

TO THE BRAVE SONS OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Spaniards have occupied the towns of Cavite Province because we found it convenient to evacuate them. We must change our tactics as circumstances dictate.

We have proved it to be a bad policy to be fortified in on place awaiting the enemy's attack. We must take the offensive when we get the chance, adopting the Cuban plan of ambush and guerrilla warfare. In this way we can, for an indefinite period, defy Spain, exhaust her resources, and oblige her to surrender from poverty....

Considering that Spanish credit abroad is exhausted, that her young men, to avoid conscription, are emigrating to France and elsewhere in large numbers, Spain must of necessity yield in the end.

You already know that Polavieja resigned because the Government was unable to send him the further 20,000 men [he] demanded.

The Cubans, with their guerrilla system, avoiding encounters unfavourable to themselves, have succeeded in wearying the Spaniards, who are dying of fever in large numbers. Following this system, it would be quite feasible to extend the action of the Katipunan to Ylocos, Pangasinan, Cagayan, and other provinces because our brothers in these places, sorely tyrannized by the Spaniards, are prepared to unite with us.

The provinces of ZAMBALES, TARLAC, TAYABAS, etc., are already under the KATIPUNAN Government, and to complete our success, the revolutionary movement should become general, for the ends which we all so ardently desire, namely: ...

Then followed a list of the principal grievances and demands of the Revolution, "ends which we all so ardently desire." The list included: expulsion of the friars; equal assignment of parishes among "peninsular and insular" priests—

meaning, the Spanish and Filipino clergy; return of the friar lands to the towns or former Filipino owners, failing which, the lands were to be auctioned in parcels at prices within the reach of all, payable in four years; representation in the Cortes; freedom of the press and religion, equality of all persons in rights under the law; and abolition of the regime's power to banish citizens.

The proclamation closed with an exhortation for the Filipinos to fight the war as long as possible, to force Spain to grant the demands of the Revolution, for "otherwise she will consider us an effete race and curtail, rather than extend, our rights." [2]

The significance of the shift to guerrilla warfare, based on the people's support, was that it would become impossible for the regime to gain victory, as we will see shortly when we consider the calculations that moved Primo de Rivera to seek a truce.

Fifty-two revolutionary leaders convened on 1-2 November 1897 in Biyak-na-Bato. The assembly was presided over by Aguinaldo, and declared itself a constituent Assembly of Representatives. It was decided to abolish the departmental-regional system of government (mostly a paper scheme) by adopting the "*Constitucion Provisional de la Republica de Filipinas*," which the delegates then signed.

The government that was established in Biyak-na-Bato was the first constitutional republican government in Filipinas, although its constitution was provisional. The constitution stated in its preamble: "The separation of Filipinas from the Spanish monarchy and its establishment as an independent and sovereign state with the name Republica de Filipinas, with its own government, is the goal sought by the Revolution" that began in August [*sic*] 1896.

Let us briefly note some of the principal provisions. Article I vested the supreme government of the Republic in a council. It had a President, Vice-President, and four secretaries of foreign relations, war, interior, and treasury.

The powers of the Council had a war-time character, as we see in Article II which vested the Council with authority “to adopt measures for maintaining and developing its existence.” In fact the real power was in the President who had, pursuant to Article IX, the power “to approve and promulgate the acts” of the Supreme Council and to issue order governing their execution.

Within the authority of the Supreme Council as provided for in Article II, the secretaries could draft all laws, rules, as well as decrees pertinent to their offices (Article XVIII.) There was a Captain-General of the Army with overall command of troops and direction of war operations (Article XIX). However, the Council not only had supervision, but also “supreme direction of military operations, when they believe it to be necessary for the consummation of high political ends” (Article II).

The minimum age qualification for President and other high officials down to subsecretary level was fixed at twenty-three years (Article VI). Aguinaldo was then just past twenty-eight.

Tagalog was prescribed as the official language.

Four articles guaranteed freedom of religion, association, education, the press, petition, the exercise of one’s profession or occupation; the right against imprisonment except on valid order by a competent court; and the right against deprivation of property or domicile except upon judgement by a court of competent authority (Articles XXII-XXV).

There were two other political articles of the Constitution. Article XXI provided that “Each province of Filipinas may have a representative delegate elected by universal suffrage, who shall represent it in the Assembly.” Article XXXIV was remarkable. Even though they held exclusive power at the time, the framers decided to limit the life of the Constitution to two years, or sooner if the Revolution should have ended, after which period the Assembly would reconvene “for a new Constitution and the election of a new Council of Government and Representatives of the People.”

The day after the Constitution was signed, the Assembly met and elected the Supreme Council. Those elected were:

President: Emilio Aguinaldo

Vice-President: Mariano Trias

Secretary of the Interior: Isabelo Artacho

Secretary of Foreign Affairs: Antonio Montenegro

Secretary of the Treasury: Baldomero Aguinaldo

Secretary of War: Emiliano Riego de Dios

Modern constitutionalists will easily discover flaws in the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution. The flaws will be seen mostly in the form of omissions or incompleteness. Modern Filipinos want their constitutions to cover most exigencies and details, mainly out of a distrust of their leaders, a distrust owed to rich experience. The redeeming virtue of the Constitution was that the handful of men who promulgated it took care that it would be provisional or temporary. This was decision of men over whom the people had no means of control or direct influence, whose authority sprang from abnormal and extraconstitutional conditions, but who fixed their authority to two years, leaving it to the representatives of the people within or at the end of that period to render the people's verdict. On the whole, the Biyak-na-Bato scheme was an approach to leadership that tempered the government's authoritarian origins by self-imposed limitations born of the grace and conscientiousness of genuine patriotism.[3]

The Agreement of Biyak-na-Bato was signed by Pedro A. Paterno and Primo de Rivera on 18 November in Malacañang. Paterno was one of the early members of old Filipino colony in Spain; there he had made the acquaintance of Primo de Rivera. He was a son of Maximo Paterno, one of the men arrested in 1872.

The negotiations leading to the Agreement may rightly be called the saga of Paterno. He had called on Primo de Rivera in late July 1897 to say that he was ready to negotiate peace with the rebel leaders, and to ask whether

the governor-general would be able to “assist in the negotiations.” Paterno’s personality was not inhibited by abundant humility. Primo de Rivera records in his end-of-tour report to the Spanish Senate that he replied by saying that he “could not take the initiative” on the matter. But when Paterno began to suggest specific terms that could be considered in a negotiation, he responded to the gambit, and in the end gave Paterno a safe-conduct pass—which could have had no other use to enable Paterno to go to Aguinaldo’s hinterland base to negotiate for a peace.

Paterno left on his self-assigned mission on 4 August 1897, according to his memoirs “charged by the government of Spain and clothed with all the powers to negotiate with the Filipino Army.” The overland trip was foot—that is to say, Paterno traveled cross country on a hammock borne by twenty bearers. It can easily be imagined that, as he says, he suffered “a thousand hardships.” He crossed into Bulacan, was halted by a sentry, and brought to the camp of General Paciano Rizal.

Paterno identified himself. He says that he and General Rizal talked amiably, both seated on an ancient fallen pili tree trunk. But as he explained his mission of peace, Rizal stood up and said:

How can you wish, Don Pedro, how can you wish us to make peace with Spain, and that I should accept and be the bearer of this peace, when the Spaniards shot my brother Jose, banished my parents and sisters and brothers-in-law, vilely slandered every last member of my family, dispossessed us of our lands and hurled a thousand horrors in our faces?

Ah, Don Pedro! Dig a very deep well. Line it all around from top to bottom with all the bolos and sharp lances that you wish. Then ask me to throw myself into it, and Paciano Rizal will jump in. But do not ask that other thing of me, that peace, Don Pedro, because that is impossible and absurd.

Paterno writes how he realized that he was talking for Spain to the elder brother of the revered hero of the Revolution, the Martyr of Bagumbayan, a victim of Spain. However, General Rizal, recalling his brother say in years past that Paterno had done him favors in Spain, relented and provided Paterno with an escort.

The latter proceeded to Biyak-na-Bato, arriving at 11 P.M. on 9 August. He says that Aguinaldo received him “affectionately,” but the latter says otherwise in his memoirs. In fact the meeting was not promising; Paterno had to leave to report Primo de Rivera.

Paterno had to go to Biyak-na-Bato in the course of his negotiations at least four times. But on his second trip he was able to enter into a protocol with Aguinaldo. This protocol included a promise of reforms by the regime and a three-year truce period to September 1900 for the execution of the reforms.

Now Paterno had to confer personally with the other chiefs of the Revolutions; Aguinaldo had told him that no agreement would be made if any of the chiefs did not agree (to a truce). So Paterno had to travel (he says) through Morong, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Tayabas, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Infanta, Albay, and the two Camarines provinces. He had talks with the following generals and commanders: Vito Belarmino, Pantaleon Garcia, Pascual Alvarez, Doroteo Lopez, Perez Gil Manikis, Salvador Estrella, Mariano Noriel, Artemio Ricarte, Benito Natividad, Esteban Viola, Jose Alejandrino, and Anastacio Franciso.

During one of his consultations with Primo de Rivera, however, the latter reminded Paterno that he could not make an undertaking on reforms, since these depended on Madrid; he could only recommend to his government.

The truce agreement was eventually signed. That Paterno was a signatory to the Agreement on 18 November representing Aguinaldo was one of those twists of events. Aguinaldo had not invited him to speak for the rebel side, although he had later on granted him the necessary credentials. It was the

Spaniards, as will be seen shortly, who had the greatest interest in ending the unfavorable situation of the regime.[4]

The Agreement was not a treaty to end the Revolution but a truce to suspend the hostilities, its effectivity contingent on undertakings to be discharged by the principals at future dates. In the end the terms were not fully complied with, peace was not achieved, and the entry of the United States into the Filipino-Spanish relationship changed Philippine history. Aside from these prospective developments, however, some aspects attendant to the negotiation of the agreement have to be raised and clarified.

Polavieja's health had been broken in the Cavite campaign. The success of the Spanish offensive was superficial. Before it was over he asked Madrid for twenty additional battalions to hold the Spanish gains. He knew what the regime faced and what the war required in the future. But Spain had no more men to give, and a large part of the reinforcements four months back in January had been replacements for losses. Most of the 23,900 men sent during the period October 1896-January 1897 were not regular army. They were draftees, including youths eighteen or nineteen years old. By late June, says Reverter Delmas: "Our army...was dissolving like a spoonful of sugar in water."

Aguinaldo's strategic decision to shift from fixed positions to guerilla warfare in June meant a new war, the war that Primo de Rivera had to fight. The war that Blanco and Polavieja had to fight against the Katipunan was already a difficult war; now it was hopeless, because it had become a people's war. After the shift to guerrilla warfare and after the fighting had spilled over from the southern Tagalog provinces and into Central Luzon, Primo de Rivera's war became one whose end could not be seen with certainty by either side, but which in the end gave hope only to the rebels. Aguinaldo and his forces would still find difficulty facing the Spaniards in force, but the latter, on the other hand, would have to fight a phantom enemy. The regime would lose men in every skirmish but would have no replacements for their losses; while the rebels would have almost unlimited resources with which to replace

casualties. And Aguinaldo would have the advantage of guerrilla warfare: the initiative.

Primo de Rivera tendered his resignation on the 5th October. But because he followed up his resignation with a report on “the State of affairs and of the course of the negotiations,” and also proposed two strategic options for dealing with the war, Madrid decided not to act on his resignation. Instead, it considered his reports and proposed options. His proposals were dated 7 October; Madrid’s 10 October reply showed it was inclined to approve his first option.

In other words, Primo de Rivera put on the appearance in Filipinas that he was not involved in the truce negotiations, but we know of his interest and involvement from Paterno’s account. The latter is proved by Primo de Rivera’s own statements that he was keeping Madrid posted on the “course of the negotiations,” that he was receiving inquiries from Madrid on the issues in the negotiations, and that he was replying to the latter’s queries.

Primo de Rivera proposed two options to Madrid. The first was to pay money. In his words, this was “to buy...the leaders and rebel bands, causing them to lay down their arms,” and partly “to indemnify ruined families, widows, person who have suffered from confiscation of property and unpaid debts of army.” Primo de Rivera endorsed this option strongly. He emphasized its “immense economic advantage” to Spain. Beyond this, it would save lives: he cited a 40 percent loss a year in his forces, “from deaths and disability.” Incongruously, he reported at the end of this option that the rebels “have never had more than 1,500 arms.”

Primo de Rivera’s second option was peace by war or, in his words, “conquest.” He emphasized the idea of setting “the loyal provinces... against the seven Tagalog ones.” He would use armed volunteers (Filipinos) to be joined to the native regiments “and the most thoroughly acclimated Spaniards.” Moreover: “Bloodshed produced by this system will cause an abyss, separating the rebel Tagalog race from the rest of the Archipelago.” He recorded his confidence in

this option, and urged that a decision be made by Madrid, in anticipation of the coming December weather.

This second option is ambiguous; it lacks the quality of a plan that comes from specifics, of which Primo de Rivera provides none. He immediately added that if Madrid would not approve this option (of war), at least eight thousand troops be sent to replace the losses he had incurred from May to October. Then he predicted that “half of them will be rendered useless.” In other words, Primo de Rivera slanted his presentation strongly in favor of the first option of peace-by-money. The reasons are obvious. It would be a great coup for him to be known as the man who ended the war, and he preferred the nonmilitary approach to ending it because he was unsure that the war could be won in some foreseeable future.

In fact, he told Madrid that the method of war would cost double that of the method of money, while the former would:

not obtain peace, if the country does not place itself on our side; without its aid we can never triumph in these wars. To offer reforms now would be useless. They are fighting for independence.

On receiving Madrid’s 10 October dispatch which suggested an approval of the peace-by-money option, Primo de Rivera lost no time sending additional details of the negotiations towards the truce; this was also 10 October. In reply Madrid authorized him to enter into an agreement, urging “*the utmost secrecy*” and “*the greatest possible haste*.” Nothing can be clearer, then, than that Madrid, in coincidence with Primo de Rivera’s personal and official interests, wanted the truce with “the greatest possible haste.”

It is almost certain that Aguinaldo and the other leaders in Biyak-na-Bato did not realize the degree of the regime’s weakness. If anything, Paterno overstated the Spanish strength while underestimating that of the rebel position during his early talks with Aguinaldo; this prompted the latter to warn him to speak more discreetly, or incur the risk of physical harm to himself.

The Revolution had changed its character in Biyak-na-Bato. Aguinaldo had arrived there in late June. His decision to adopt guerrilla warfare tactics meant few, if any, engagements with the enemy from fixed positions. But guerrilla warfare still requires as much planning and preparation as are entailed by conventional war between armies, and not much planning could have been done between Aguinaldo's July proclamation and Paterno's early August visit. This would mean that Aguinaldo and the other leaders were open to proposals such as Paterno's, which would give them time as well as a money settlement, while on the other hand time could not strengthen the regime's position. From the Spanish side, we know that Madrid earnestly sought to extricate itself from what then seemed a hopeless war and had virtually directed Primo de Rivera on 10 October to enter into a truce agreement. Military operations, therefore, had to yield to negotiations.

The implementation of the truce agreement that had been signed on 18 November began with a program of execution that was adopted in two parts, signed on 14 and 15 December. The features are well known: (a) surrender of rebel arms; (b) exile of Aguinaldo and the other members of the Revolutionary Committee to Hong Kong; and (c) payment of money of according to schedule. The sum of 400,000 pesos would be paid to Aguinaldo when the Committee reached Hong Kong; 200,000 pesos when the rebels surrendered 1,500 guns; and 200,000 pesos when the *Te Deum* celebrating compliance with all terms was sung.

Ricarte was to see to the surrender of the guns. The 200,000 pesos were to be invested by Isabelo Artacho; part of the income was to be used for the education of young Filipinos abroad. The Spanish generals Tejeiro and Monet were to stay in Biyak-na-Bato as hostages until Aguinaldo reached Hong Kong.[5]

A large group of well-wishers escorted Aguinaldo and the other members of the exile group as they left Biyak-na-Bato at half past noon on Christmas Day. Aside from Aguinaldo, the party of exiles were:

Major General Vito Belarmino, acting Director of War
Antonio Montenegro, Director of State
Anastacio Francisco, Director of Health
Lieutenant General Mariano Llanera
Brigadier General Manuel Tinio
Brigadier General Salvador Estrella
Colonel Lazaro Makapagal
Colonel Agapito Bonzon
Colonel Wenceslao Viniegra
Colonel Benito Natividad
Colonel Gregorio del Pilar
Colonel Jose Ignacio Pawa
Colonel Vicente Lukban
Silverio Legaspi, treasurer
Celestino Aragon
Agustin de la Rosa
Primitivo Artacho
Dr. Maximo Viola
Leon, an aide of Ricarte

The exiles and their well-wishers crossed the river Bulac by raft and banca, remounted or boarded calesas, and halted at the plaza of Baliuag at 4 P.M. There, a group of Spanish officers awaited them, and Colonel Miguel Primo de Rivera, the governor-general's nephew, made the introductions. The people of the town, with their ladies, greeted them; there was a ball in the evening. Next day, they proceeded to Calumpit, where they were again feted. Here they boarded a special train for Dagupan, thence continued by carromatas for the port of Sual, where the steamer *URANUS* was awaiting. They sailed at 2 P.M. of 27 December, arriving in Hong Kong in the evening of the 29th.

Soon after arrival Aguinaldo received the 400,000 pesos which, under the truce agreement, would defray their living expenses. He placed the whole amount in time deposits in two banks, subject to withdrawals of 50,000

pesos every quarter. The exiles had to live frugally because Aguinaldo ruled that only the interest earnings (24,000 pesos a year, if no withdrawals were made) would be used for living expenses. He leased a big house where almost the whole group (their number had grown to forty) stayed, because those who lived out were allowed only twelve pesos monthly, not enough to cover housing, food, and cigarettes. Each man received one woolen suit, in order to cut down on laundry costs. Many had to sleep on the floor. Only one 50,000-peso withdrawal was made from the deposits, sometime in April 1898, when war broke out between Spain and the United States. Isabelo de los Reyes writes that Aguinaldo treated the money as a resource to be used for the national cause: "From the beginning [he] notified the chiefs who went to Hong Kong with him that it was public money, intended for the purchase of arms in case Spain failed to keep her promise."

Felipe Agoncillo, who served as diplomatic agent of both the Revolutionary Government and the Republic, would later on write of this matter that:

All the above-named revolutionists, Señor Aguinaldo setting the example, resolved to deny themselves every kind of comfort during their stay in Hong Kong, living in the most modest style, for the purpose of preventing a reduction by one single cent of the above-named sum of \$400,000 [Mexican, meaning pesos] which they set aside exclusively for the benefit of their country.

Enemies of the Revolution inevitably launched a smear campaign against Aguinaldo, accusing him of having sold out for money. But to Aguinaldo and his comrades, the money they received belonged to the Filipino people, not the Spaniards. The only problem that arose over the money was a suit filed in the Hong Kong courts to have the 400,000 pesos divided among the men according to rank. It was filed by Artacho. But the rest of the men decided to keep the money intact. According to Felipe Agoncillo the suit was inspired by "the father solicitor of the Dominicans and the consul-general of Spain [in Hong Kong]."

The Filipino's plans to use the money to buy arms and resume the Revolution did not bode well for the Agreement that had been celebrated joyously with a *Te Deum* mass in Manila on 23 January 1898. The exiles (now the Hong Kong junta) met on 14 February and "repudiated and invalidated" the Biyak-na-Bato agreement.

At this meeting, curiously enough, only money considerations were raised as grounds for the repudiation, although Aguinaldo later on wrote (1899) that there were "the other provisions of the Agreement" which Primo de Rivera did not implement.

Aguinaldo was not correct. This would be his first serious lesson in diplomatic negotiations. We know from Paterno's record that Primo de Rivera could not, and did not, commit the regime to specific reforms. Aguinaldo, presuming good faith on the part of Primo de Rivera without reciprocating it himself, believed that the latter had promised reforms. He was relying on the clause in the 18 November agreement which stated "hopes and expectations" of the Revolutions; this was certainly not a legal undertaking or obligation that could be enforced against the regime.

For its part the Spanish regime paid the second installment of 200,000 pesos but not the last, an equal amount of 200,000 pesos. Moreover, the regime violated its amnesty undertakings by exiling many of the leaders who did not go to Hong Kong. Some surrendered, and others were arrested; they were shipped to the Spanish island colony of Fernando Po off the north African coast and others were sent to military prisons in Spain.

The Biyak-na-Bato truce lasted only two months and twenty-two days. The Filipinos repudiated the truce in February 1897 because they would resume the Revolution.[6]

The period 1892-1898 was so far the most dynamic six years of Filipino history. Into these few years were compressed crisis and growth, each a

historic step away from the past and towards a new phase of the nation's future.

The period began with the Liga Filipina, which as followed by the Katipunan, which began the Revolution. The Revolution became possible because the Katipunan grew beyond the Sangkatagalugan to become a body that was truly representative of the Filipinos. The Revolution thus began to bring the divided parts of the Filipino people together.

The period was a time of beginnings, unfinished undertakings, and uncertain endings. Some of the once young Indios Bravos, now mature men, coming home because of the Revolution, would join the men of the Revolution in Hong Kong. Ilustrados and non-ilustrados were now together for the next round of the war for independence.

In May they would be beset by anxiety from the victory of the United States Asiatic Squadron over the Spaniards in Manila Bay.

But they had their own war to finish. We will now turn to the story of the triumph of the Revolution and the establishment of the Republic.

NOTES

1. Re Aguinaldo sleepless on 11 May: Aguinaldo, 232. Re his not knowing of Bonifacio's death: *ibid.*, 232-33, 235-46. General Natividad, the leader in Nueva Ecija, is little known; a few details are in Alejandrino, *La Senda del Sacrificio*, 15-21. He and his father had the same name; the latter was executed in 1896.

Antonio Guevara y Mendoza, (*nom de guerre* "Matatag"), *Historia de Uno de los Iniciadores de la Revolucion Filipina* (1899), 23, records that Aguinaldo wrote him a letter early in May asking whether the latter could stay in Tunasan if the presence of Spaniards would make a crossing of the Pasig impossible.

Re 15 June report of Blanco on the Puray action: Reverter Delmas, II, 589-91. Aguinaldo, 243-44, presents Aguinaldo's version. Reverter Delmas, II, 602-4, Clarifies the record.

2. Re Central Luzon Government: Taylor, I, Exh. 35. Father Dandan was formerly chaplain of the troop of General Emiliano Riego de Dios when the latter was camped near the extinct volcano of Pico de Loro in Cavite. – see Pedro A. Paterno, *El Pacto de Biyak-na-Bato*(1910), 65-66. Re spread of the Revolution: Taylor, I, 77.

Re proclamation of guerrilla warfare: Taylor, I, Exh. 44 is an English translation from a Spanish text, the latter said to have been from a Yokohama newspaper. This version does not have the statement of grievances and demands. Our text comes from Foreman, 542-43, translated from the original Tagalog; it is undated but is said to have been circulating widely in July 1897. Foreman says he had “numerous printed copies” of the proclamations of this time. His July dating of the document's circulating in Manila is presumably correct. Taylor's date of 6 September 1897 for the original proclamation is not reasonable since his text was in Spanish and from a Yokohama paper June 1897 is likely. A 29 June letter of Ponce from Hong Kong uses phraseology and logic similar to those in the proclamation. He adds that the *New York Herald* and London and other papers were lauding Aguinaldo's tactics. This letter is No. 6 in Ponce, *Cartas de la Revolucion*.

3. Re Biyak-na-Bato constitution and supreme council: Taylor, I, Exhs. 47 and 48. Aguinaldo says in his *Reseña Verídica de la Revolucion Filipina* (1899), that he “established the republican government of the Philippines Islands at the end of May, 1897.” See the reprint in English of the *Reseña* in *Historical Bulletin*, XIII, 281. The *Reseña*, also in English translation, appears in two parts in Taylor, the first part in I, Exh. 71, and the concluding part in III, Exh. 2. Buencamino says of the *Reseña* that it was “a work written solely by Don Emilio and translated by me [into Spanish].” – Taylor, IV, Exh. 744. The government that Aguinaldo says was established in late May 1897 has to be Pamahalaan ng Sangkatagalugan.

4. The text of the basic Biyak-na-Bato agreement is in Taylor, I, Exh. 55. Paterno, 167, says that: “The text of the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato is composed of five documents, to wit: Preliminaries of Peace; Political Document; Economic Document; Program; and Ratification of the Pact by the Assembly of Representatives of the Filipino Nation.” Re protocol of the agreement: *ibid.*, 39-48.

Re Paterno's overland trip from Manila until the meeting with General Rizal: *ibid.*, 5-12. Re talk with General Rizal: *ibid.*, 12-14. Re Paterno's visits to the provinces

and generals: *ibid.*, 72, 73, 74, 76, 99-100. Re Primo de Rivera's lack of authority to commit Spain to reform undertakings: *ibid.*, 93.

5. Re Polavieja, his health, troops, draftees: Taylor, I, 71, 76. Re Spanish forces dissolving like sugar: Reverter Delmas, II, 605.

Re Primo de Rivera's reports, his proposed options, Madrid instructions: Taylor, I, Exhs. 36 and 37. These documents are end-of-tour reports furnished to the Spanish Senate.

Re Paterno's indiscreet remarks and Aguinaldo's warning: Aguinaldo, 256-57, 263-64.

Re program of execution of the agreement: Taylor, I, Exh. 59. Re the confirmation by Aguinaldo: *ibid.*, Exh. 60; and Aguinaldo, 264. Re Ricarte and Artacho, hostages: Ricarte, 58-59, 64.

6. Re exile group members: *ibid.*, 67-68.

An eyewitness account of the Aguinaldo party's departure from Biyak-na-Bato on 25 December until the boarding on the train in Calumpit is in Guevara y Mendoza, 40-45.

Re date of embarkation for Hong Kong: The date appears inconclusively as "27 [29th of December]" in Taylor, I, 426. Ponce is definite; he writes on 5 January 1898 from Hong Kong in the evening of 29 December. –see No. 38 in Ponce, *Cartas de la Revolucion*.

Re deposit of the 400,000 pesos: Taylor, I, 93-97. Re Aguinaldo's Spartan arrangements: Alejandrino, *La Senda del Sacrificio*, 67-71. Re De los Reyes report: *ibid.*, Exh. 68. Re Agoncillo's statement: *Senate Document No. 62*, 431; see also Taylor, I, Exh. 85. – This is a statement dated 23 April 1898 by forty-two of the exiles, refuting rumors that Aguinaldo misused the money. They attest that "not the smallest amount has been misapplied, but they remain in their entirety, having been reserved for the service of the country."

Re the suit, inspired by friar and Spanish consult-general: *Senate Document No. 62*, 431. In fact Aguinaldo was the target of a smear campaign: Richard Brinsley Sheridan, *The Filipino Martyrs* (1900), 42-43.

Re the Te Deum and celebrations: Paterno, 130.

Re the 14 February repudiation of the Agreement: Taylor, I, Exh. 73. This document also records the decision of the group not to withdraw any portion of the 400,000 pesos except the interest, and Aguinaldo was given authority to decide on the division of the money or assignment of portions thereof in case of a petition for division prospering in court.

Re Aguinaldo's charge of non-implementation by the regime of "other provisions" of the Agreement: Aguinaldo, *Reseña*, in *Historical Bulletin*, XIII, 282; and in Taylor, I, Exh. 71 (p. 445).

Re the regime violating the amnesty, exiles, deportations: *Senate Document No. 62*, 430; Del Castillo y Jimenez, 255-65, lists 69 men deported to Jolo; 53 to Puerto Princesa; 58 to Balabac near Bornea; some 300 to the disciplinary battalion in Mindanao; and 245 shipped off to the island of Fernando Po and to the presidios in Africa. In Addition, there were men sent to presidios in Spain.

Mula sa *The Roots of the Filipino Nation Vol. II*, by Onofre D. Corpuz (UP Press, 2006), p. 301-317

2

FROM CAVITE TO BULACAN

By Emilio Aguinaldo

After losing his last battle in Cavite Province at the town of Maragondon on May 10, 1897, General Emilio Aguinaldo retreated to Mounts Buntis and Tala toward the southern end of said town. Realizing that he could not stop the Spanish all-out offensive in the province, he decided to evacuate to Biyak-na-Bato, a rocky mountainous barrio of San Miguel, Bulacan, where he intended to reorganize his revolutionary forces and resume the libertarian struggle against Spain. In his published Memoirs of the Revolution, he relates his odyssey from Cavite to Biyak-na-Bato, as follows:

ON THE MORNING of May 12, 1897, after our breakfast, we left for Tagaytay. The people in Kaytitinga were very hospitable. They even gave us food to take along with us. We went down to the town of Iruhin before proceeding to Talisay, Batangas. While we were resting, I was told that the Rios Brigade patrolling Tanauan and Santo Tomas in Batangas and Calamba, Laguna, frequented Talisay.

So we had to change our route. Because of the danger before us, we planned to return to Tagaytay. Then, by infiltration, we would go down to the Cavite towns to avoid any encounter with the men of General Lachambre at Dasmariñas. Upon reaching Malapad na Bato, we would cross the Pasig River and proceed to Mount Puray in Montalban to meet General Licerio Geronimo. To his plan, the five generals who were with me—Pantaleon Garcia, Pio del Pilar, Mariano Noriel, Vito Belarmino, and Baldomero Aguinaldo—readily agreed to adopt.

On May 13 we were on Talisay. In spite of my slight fever, I decided to go back to Tagaytay as planned. Before I left, I instructed Colonel Arcadio Laurel

to do all the fighting outside the town in case they encounter the enemy in order to avoid endangering the lives of the people.

Just to prove how good the townspeople of Talisay were, they contented themselves with eating sweet potatoes and they gave us all their rice and cassava. Without such generosity, we could have starved.

We climbed the mountains of Tagaytay of about 2,300 feet high. The weather was very fine. The cool air fanned us as we went up slowly to reach the top of the ridge. When we arrived at Iruhin, my fever has subsided. Atop the hill were about a thousand people who surprised us with their desire to join us. Again, I pleaded with them to stay behind and help the troops of General Mariano Trias. I asked them to go back by the way of Alfonso, Bailen, and Magallanes to evade the enemy.

“Do not go in the towns so that you can avoid the fighting. Have courage and faith on God’s help and justice.” I advised them.

I reminded them that should the enemy come upon them, they should pretend that they are on their way to surrender in answer to the amnesty being given by the government.

Then I ordered the troops to resume their journey. We left the townspeople weeping. When we reached the barrio of Kabangaan in Silang, we were told that the enemy never reached their place. After resting for a while and quenching our thirst, we continued our march to Lumil.

Since I was delirious with fever, I was brought to a house. Upon learning of my illness, the people of Lumil would not let me alone, but I politely refused their offer to take care of me, for our trip could not be delayed any longer.

Later I learned that the townspeople who were too anxious to welcome us prepared something for the soldiers. All families, no matter how poor, prepared food for us. We were very grateful for this generosity even if we were served only salt or salted fish for viand. This was again a gesture I could not forget.

The next morning, my five generals told me that the enemy passed by our place only on their way to attack Silang. So we decided to rest there the whole day and moved along by night so that the enemy would not notice us. When night came, we started to walk towards Paliparan, Dasmariñas.

As my temperature was again very high, my generals and the people of Lumil would not let me leave. I refused the offer for we had already delayed the trip unnecessarily. However, I accepted the offer of 30 men who would take turn in carrying me on a hammock to Paliparan, some 10 kilometers away.

We journeyed the whole night with great caution for fear of the enemy. When we passed by the town proper of Silang, we heard the enemy bugler sound "Attention!" So I instructed my men to be extra careful lest we get into the enemy territory. After a while, we heard the same bugler sound the order to retire. I breathed a sigh of relief, and we walked on double time until we were past Silang.

When we reached the "Island of Ytao" in Paliparan, we rested on the meadows in order not to disturb the people. But by dawn, many of the people came to invite us to the town. They even chided us for having slept outside. Some men volunteered to carry me in my hammock, so the 30 men from Lumil returned to their homes.

During our short stay in Paliparan, I found the need for Marianong Putik, my quack doctor. So I sent two of my men . . . to fetch him either from Imus or Binakayan . . . The next afternoon they came back with my quack doctor who found me already delirious with fever. After giving me a sponge bath, I took quinine tablets. For the next four days I was burning with fever.

After staying in Paliparan for ten days, I began to feel better. I asked Colonel Lucas Camerino to stay behind to engage the enemy if it should ever make the mistake of going out of the town. But as I was still weak, many people

tried to dissuade me from leaving. Even General Vito Belarmino and my other generals wanted me to stay a few more days until I grew stronger.

With the return of General Baldomero that evening, we started to move. We did not mind walking the whole night for it was a starry night. We crossed fields and forests until we reached Malapad na Bato at dawn of the following day for the crossing of the Pasig.

Because of my high fever, General Pio del Pilar advised me to rest in a hut by the road leading to the river. General Baldomero Aguinaldo and Colonel Wenceslao Viniegra were to stay with me while Generals Mariano Noriel and Vito Belarmino took charge of the troops. General Pantaleon Garcia and some men attended the fiesta in the town.

In this hut I was a little nervous because I had the premonition that we might be discovered by the enemy. Surely enough, some moments later, one of our men came to tell us to keep quiet as civil guards on patrol were about to pass by.

“Our hour has come!” I thought. I took hold of my revolver, and when I noted that it was loaded with six bullets only, I asked myself if they were enough to kill six civil guards.

While I was musing, Pantayanin, a soldier who served under Andres Bonifacio and whom I had pardoned, came and asked for my revolver. “Sir, I’ll face the civil guards in case they come to the hut.” So I readily gave the gun since I was sick.

I peeped through a little hole and saw the civil guards with the wife of one of my soldiers as their captive. She was pointing to our place and at the same time shouting.

“General Aguinaldo is there with his troops.” But the corporal stopped her,

saying “Hey, you keep quiet. What nonsense are you talking about?” When they had crossed by our hut, I breathed a sigh of relief.

Soon we crossed the river on the big bancas. While we were walking on the open fields of Hugong in Pasig, we saw a distant half a company of infantrymen reconnoitering. Not many minutes later, we met General Bautista and his troops. In his joy, he invited us to pass through the town of Montalban, but we did not accept the offer for fear that the Spaniards might punish the townspeople, if they learned that we came to town. So we rested outside the town in San Rafael, where I found to my great joy my mother, my wife and sons and my sister already there waiting for me. I took them with me to the mountains.

The next morning General Glicerio (*sic*) Geronimo took us to his camp in the forest of Puray in Montalban. I found the camp a safe place, so I accepted his invitation for us to stay there for a few days more. However I posted guards at all strategic places to avoid a surprise attack by the enemy.

At seven o’clock in the morning of June 14, a man came rushing with the information that a great army of Spanish soldiers and volunteers would attack us. Immediately, I gave orders for preparation. The strategy I thought of was to entice the enemy inward until it had reached our place. The men stationed on the high hills of either side of the river would start firing at the enemy as soon as they had heard my men launched the attack.

The enemy came as expected. With Generals Pio del Pilar, Mariano Noriel, and Glicerio (*sic*) Geronimo attacking from the river banks and Generals Pantaleon Garcia, Vito Belarmino, and Baldomero attacking frontally, the enemy fell into our trap. We enjoyed the fight, as we had the advantage of a good position. I forgot that I was sick.

Later, the enemy fled because it did not want to be captured. It was a bloody fight and thousands [1] of the enemy dead were left behind. Our men had a nice time eating the round biscuits the enemy had left in their hurry to

retreat. Later I learned that these Spanish troops were headed by Lieutenant Colonel Miguel Primo de Rivera, nephew of Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, [2] Captain-General and Governor General of the Philippines, while Colonel Jose Maria Serapio led the volunteers. Those were the same troops that almost annihilated Andres Bonifacio and his men in their encounter in the mountains of Montalban and San Juan del Monte.

On the early morning of June 16, the enemy retaliated with another attack on Puray, Montalban. But there was no encounter as we had already left when it arrived. I knew the enemy was coming back so we left immediately for Biyak-na-Bato.

On the way to Biyak-na-Bato, we passed by the camp of General Narciso Porciuncula in the mountains of Tanke, Norzagaray, Bulacan, where we rested until the next day. We ate nothing but rice gruel. Meanwhile, I dispatched a messenger to inform Generals Mariano Llanera and Melecio Carlos at Real, Biyak-na-Bato, that we were already at Norzagaray.

The next morning we resumed our journey. As the river was flooded and it rained very hard, we undertook a shuttle crossing on the big bancas. Before sundown we reached the camp of General Sinfroso de la Cruz at Minuyan, Angat. We stopped in this camp for a while to give quinine tablets to our sick soldiers. In this trip we were very much weakened by hunger, for our most common meal was rice gruel and salt. In spite of these hardships, my men were happy. I was thankful indeed that my family did not succumb to the fever. Felicidad, my sister, helped very much in cheering up the sick soldiers.

With the arrival of the cavalry from Biyak-na-Bato who came to fetch us, we made the last lap of our journey, reaching our destination—Biyak-na-Bato—safely before sundown. That was on June 24, 1897.

Document 418 (Odyssey of General Aguinaldo from Cavite to Biyak-na-Bato, May 11 to June 24, 1897) from Gregorio F. Zaide's 12-volume *Documentary Sources of Philippines History* (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1990), p. 427-434.

These excerpts were taken from Aguinaldo's *Memoirs of the Revolution* (Manila: Cristina Aguinaldo Suntay, 1964, pages 168-175. Vol. I. English translation by Mrs. Luz Colendrino-Bicu of General Aguinaldo's *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan* (Manila, 1964).

Zaide's notes:

1. This number of Spanish casualties in the Battle of Mount Puray (June 14, 1897) is an exaggeration. The total combatants (Filipinos and Spaniards) in the battle did not exceed 2,000. It was in fact a minor battle. Two Spanish columns assaulted Aguinaldo's camp, the first under the command of Lt. Col. Dujols and the second led by Lt. Col. Miguel Primo de Rivera. See Sastron, *La Insurreccion en Filipinas y Guerra Hispano Americana* (Madrid, 1901), pp. 289-282.

2. After the signing of the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato (December 1897), Lt. Col. Miguel Primo de Rivera accompanied General Aguinaldo to Hong Kong and the two became good friends. Later this gallant Spanish officer became an army general and Dictator of Spain (1923-1930). After resigning as Dictator, he retired to Paris where he died on March 16, 1930, at the age of 60.

AGUINALDO'S GUERRILA WAR AGAINST SPAIN

After the collapse of Filipino resistance to Spanish arms in Cavite Province in May 1897, General Emilio Aguinaldo, with his shattered forces, evacuated the province, first going to Batangas Province and later proceeding to rocky Biyak-na-Bato (barrio of San Miguel, Bulacan Province), where he prepared to make his last stand against the enemy. In Biyak-na-Bato, he issued a proclamation to all fighting patriots to carry on the libertarian struggle by means of guerrilla warfare, like that which was being used by the Cuban revolutionists. Full text of this proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION

THE TOWNS of Cavite province have been occupied by the Spaniards after we found it convenient to abandon them.

We must change our tactics and adapt them to circumstances in which we find ourselves. We have learned that it is bad policy to remain fortified in our towns and act on the defensive against the enemy.

We must take the offensive on propitious occasions, adopting the Cuban system of ambushes and guerrilla warfare. In this manner, we can fight Spain for an indefinite period, wearing out her resources and obliging her to give up through sheer weakness, because we should remember that even the Spanish press admits that each Spanish soldier requires a peso per day for his food and maintenance, to which must be added transportation, clothes, ammunitions, etc., the total of which amounts to an immense sum.

Considering that Spanish credit in foreign countries is nil, and that her young men emigrate to France and other countries to free themselves from conscription, it would appear certain that in the end she must succumb. You

know already why [Governor General Camilo de] Polavieja was recalled. Because the government found itself unable to send the twenty thousand men he demanded.

The Cubans, with their guerrilla system, avoiding combats when they would have an unfavorable result, have succeeded in wearing out the Spaniards, who, decimated by the climate, are dying there in great numbers.

Adopting this system, it will be possible to extend the action of the Katipunan to the provinces of Ilocos, Pangasinan, Cagayan, etc., where our brothers, already ruthlessly tyrannized over by the Spaniards, will come promptly to the defense of the cause.

The provinces of Zambales, Tarlac, Tayabas, etc., are already under the control of the government of the Katipunan, and in order that they may be completely won over, the revolutionary movement must be made general to obtain thus what we ardently desire.

It is absolutely necessary to prolong the war and give the strongest possible evidence of our strength, so that Spain will be forced to concede what we desire. Otherwise, we shall be regarded as a degenerate race, and instead of amplifying our rights, they will still further diminish them.

EMILIO AGUINALDO

Biyak-na-Bato, September 6, 1897.

Document 426 (Aguinaldo Launches Guerrilla Warfare Againsts Spain, September 6, 1897) from Gregorio F. Zaide's 12-volume *Documentary Sources of Philippines History* (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1990), p. 454-455.

These excerpts were taken from John Taylor's 5-volume *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971): Vol. I, p. 372-373, Exhibit 44.

For another version of this proclamation, see Document 421 (The "Malabar" Manifesto: A Reply to Primo de Rivera's Edict of July 2, 1897) in the DSPH series.

THE CONSTITUTION OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

On November 1, 1897, All Saints Day, the Constituent Assembly which was convened by President Aguinaldo approved the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution. This Constitution was written by Isabelo Artacho and Felix Ferrer, who patterned it closely after a printed copy of the Cuban Constitution of Jimaaguaya (1895). Consisting of a Preamble and 34 Articles, the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution established a Provisional Philippine Republic, replacing the First Revolutionary Government. It vested the powers of government in a "Supreme Council" composed of a President, a Vice-President, and four Secretaries (Foreign Affairs, War, Interior, and Treasury) and safeguarded the human rights of the people (Article XXII to Article XXV). An interesting provision declared Tagalog as "the official language of the Republic" (Article VIII). The last article, article XXXIV provided that the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution would remain in force for a period of two years, after which a new constitution would be promulgated. This significant constitutional document was signed by 52 revolutionary leaders, headed by President Aguinaldo. Full text of the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution:

Preamble

The separation of the Philippines from the Spanish monarchy and their formation into an independent state with their own government called the Philippine Republic has been the end sought by the Revolution in the existing war, begun on the 24th of August, 1896; and therefore, in the name of the power delegated by the Filipino people interpreting faithfully their desires and ambitions, we, the representatives of the revolution, in a meeting at Biyak-na-Bato, November 1st, 1897, unanimously adopt the following articles for the Constitution of the State:

ARTICLE I. The supreme government of the Republic shall be vested in a Supreme Council composed of a President, a Vice-President, and four Secretaries, for the conduct of our Foreign Relations, of War, of the Interior, and of the Treasury.

ARTICLE II. The powers of the Supreme Council of the Government shall be:

1st. To adopt measures for maintaining and develop its existence, issuing such orders as it believes adequate for the preservation and security of the civil and political life of the nation.

2nd. To impose and collect taxes, to issue foreign and domestic loans, when necessary, and to issue paper money, to coin money, and to appropriate the funds collected for the purpose required by the several branches of the State.

3rd. To authorize privateering and issue letters of marque and reprisal, to raise and organize troops and to maintain them, to ratify treaties, and to make a treaty of peace with Spain, with the ratification of the Assembly Representatives.

4th. To try as a judicial body, should they think necessary, the President or any of the members of the Supreme Council, who should be accused of crimes, cognizance of which appertains to the Judicial Power.

5th. To have the right of supervision and supreme direction of military operations, when they believe it to be necessary for the consummation of high political ends. To approve, reform, or modify the regulations and orders for the army prepared by the Captain-General of the Army, to confer grades and promotions from that of first lieutenant and to confer honors and rewards granted for services in war, on the recommendation of said Captain-General of the Army.

6th. To select and nominate a Captain-General and a Lieutenant-General.

7th. To convene the Assembly of Representatives when necessary, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.

ARTICLE III. The Vice-President shall fill *ad interim* the office of the President in case of vacancy.

ARTICLE IV. For each Secretary, there shall be a Sub-Secretary who shall aid in the dispatch of business and shall, in case a vacancy occurs, fill *ad interim* the place of such Secretary. He shall have, while so acting, a vote in the Council of Government.

ARTICLE V. The President, Vice-President, Secretary and Sub-Secretary can hold no other office in the Republic.

ARTICLE VI. The President, Vice-President, Secretary, and Sub-Secretary shall be more than twenty-three years of age.

ARTICLE VII. The basis of every election and appointment to any office in the Republic shall be aptitude for the discharge of the office conferred.

ARTICLE VIII. Tagalog shall be the official language of the Republic.

ARTICLE IX. The decision of the Council of Government shall be determined by a majority of vote, and all the members of the same shall take part in its deliberations.

ARTICLE X. The executive power shall be vested in the President or in his absence, in the Vice-President, and shall have these powers: To approve and promulgate the acts of the Supreme Council of the Government; to provide for their execution within the period of nine days; to issue decrees, rules or instructions for their execution; and to receive ambassadors and to execute treaties.

ARTICLE XI. In case of definite vacancies in the office of President, Vice-President, and Secretaries, by death, resignation or other legal cause, the Assembly of Representatives shall meet for the election of others to fill the vacant offices.

ARTICLE XII. Each Secretary shall have a vote in the passage of all resolutions and measures of whatever kinds, and shall be able to take part in the deliberation thereon.

ARTICLE XIII. The Secretaries shall have the right to choose and nominate their assistants and other officials of their respective departments.

ARTICLE XIV. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs shall have charge of: All correspondence with foreign nations regarding treaties and agreements of all kinds; appointment of representatives to said nations; issuing instructions for and authorizing the expenses of such officials, as by act of the Council of Government reside in foreign parts; and the preparation of passports for foreign lands.

ARTICLE XV. The Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the collection of all statistics concerning the Republic; opening of roads and bridges; the advancement of agriculture, industry, commerce, art, professions and manufacture, public instruction and posts, depots of cattle and horses for use in the Revolution; establishment of police for the protection of the liberties and individual rights established by this Constitution and the custody of the property of the State.

ARTICLE XVI. The Secretary of War is in charge of all military correspondence; of the increase or decrease of the organizations and instruction of the army; and, as head of the staff, is in charge of enlistment and of providing clothing, hospitals, commissary and ordinance.

ARTICLE XVII. The Secretary of the treasury shall have under his charge of all receipts and payments of the Treasury, making collections and payments

in accordance with the regulations and decrees issued by the Council of Government; coining of money and issuance of paper money; the public debt; administration of the property of the State; and the further duties pertaining to the Treasury Department.

ARTICLE XVIII. The Secretaries shall have charge of the drafting of all laws, correspondence, regulations, and decrees pertaining to their respective offices.

ARTICLE XIX. The Captain-General of the Army shall have command of all the armed troops in the towns, forts or detachments; the direction of the operations of war, except in the case reserved for the Council of Government, as set forth in Article III, No. 5, and he shall give such orders as he deems necessary for the discipline and safety of the troops.

ARTICLE XX. The Lieutenant-General shall serve as Captain-General of the Army, *ad interim*, in case of vacancy.

ARTICLE XXI. Each province of the Philippines may have a representative delegate elected by universal suffrage who shall represent it in the Assembly.

ARTICLE XXII. Religious liberty, the right of association, the freedom of education, the freedom of the press, as well as the freedom in the exercise of all classes of professions, arts, trades, and industries are established.

ARTICLE XXIII. Every Filipino shall have the right to direct petitions or present remonstrances of any import whatsoever in person or through his representative, to the Council of Government of the Republic.

ARTICLE XXIV. No person, whatever may be his nationality, shall be imprisoned or detained, except by virtue of an order issued by a competent court, provided that this shall not apply to crimes which concern the Revolution, the Government, or the Army.

ARTICLE XXV. Neither shall any individual be deprived of his property or his domicile, except by virtue of judgement passed by a court of competent authority.

ARTICLE XXVI. Every Filipino is obliged to serve the Revolution with his services and property to the extent of his capacity.

ARTICLE XXVII. The debts and other obligations contracted prior to the promulgation of this Constitution by the Generals and other Chiefs of the Revolutionary army, as well as their notes and orders, are hereby recognized and ratified today, also subsequent debts, certified to by the government.

ARTICLE XXVIII. The officials of the Council of the Government are entitled to the consideration and respect due to their rank, and if they be constant in them, they shall be entitled to pensions according to the regulations to be published on the subject.

ARTICLE XXIX. The Council of Government has the power to remove any official from the office if there be sufficient reasons for it. Formal charges will be laid for the action of a court to be called the "Sworn Tribunal."

ARTICLE XXX. The Supreme Council of Grace and Justice to be established by the Supreme Council of Government shall have authority to make decisions and affirm or disapprove the sentence rendered by other courts, and to dictate rules for the administration of justice.

ARTICLE XXXI. The Supreme Council of Grace and Justice shall be independent in its functions and shall not be interfered with by any other power or authority.

ARTICLE XXXII. Every official of the Republic shall render assistance to the others in the discharge of his duties.

ARTICLE XXXIII. When the necessary Army is organized, a Navy shall be created for the protection of the coasts of the Philippine Archipelago and its seas; then a Secretary of Navy shall be appointed and the duties of his office shall be added to this Constitution.

ARTICLE XXXIX. This Constitution shall be in force here in the Philippines for the period of two years from the date of its promulgation, in case the Revolution shall not have determined within that time. Upon the expiration of said period, a session of the Assembly of Representatives shall be called for a new Constitution and election of a new Council of Government and the Representatives of the people.

As it has been thus decreed by the Representatives of the people, and in the name of the Republic ordered by the Assembly, thus, constituted:

We, the undersigned, pledge our word and honor the fulfilment of what is set forth in this Constitution at Biyak-na-Bato, November 1, 1897.

(Signatories) President Emilio Aguinaldo, Severino de las Alas, Pascual Alvarez, Mariano Llanera, Mamerto Natividad, Isabelo Artacho, Vicente Lucban y Rilles, Melecio Carlos, Simeon Tecson, Mariano Noriel, Baldomero Aguinaldo, Salvador Estrella, Pantaleon Garcia, Escolastico Viola, Julian de la Cruz, Ciriaco Sartoro, Jose Ignacio Paua, Agustin de la Rosa, Celestino Aragon, Gregorio H. del Pilar, Andres Presbitero, Benito Natividad, Pedro Dungon, Eduardo Llanera, Herminio Miguel, Deodato Manajan, Pedro Gualdes, Ambrosio de la Cruz, Matias San Bruno, Miguel Cohatan, Clemente Valencia, Modesto Porciuncula, Claro Fuele, Emiliano Tecson, Benvenuto Ramirez, Francisco M. Macabulos Soliman, Maximo Cabigting, Ramon Tombo, Artemio Ricarte Vibora, Sinforeso de la Cruz, Agapito Bonson, Valentin Diaz, Tomas Aquino Linares, Cipriano Pachoco, Manuel Tinio, Anastacio Francisco, Serviliano Aquino, Wenceslao Viniegra, Doroteo Lopez, Vito Belarmino (Secretary), Antonio Montenegro (Secretary), and Teodoro Gonzales (Secretary).

Document 429 (The Biyak-na-Bato Constitution, November 1, 1897) from Gregorio F. Zaide's 12-volume *Documentary Sources of Philippines History* (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1990), p. 459-465.

Other sources of the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution: Jaime C. de Veyra's "The Constitution of Biyak-na-Bato," *Journal of the Philippine Historical Society* (Manila, July 1941), Vol. I, No. 1; Taylor's *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971): Vol. I, p. 376-380, Exhibit 47; and G.F. Zaide's *Philippine Constitutional History and the Constitution of Modern Nations* (Manila, 1970), Appendix 2, p. 117-121. For the Spanish text of the Biyak-na-Bato Constitution, see Teodoro M. Kalaw's *Planes constitucionales para Filipinas* (Manila, 1934), p. 25-29.

THE REPUBLIC OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

On November 2, 1897, the day after the approval and signing of the Constitution of Biyak-na-Bato, the Republic of Biyak-na-Bato was established. This was officially announced by President Emilio Aguinaldo in a communiqué to his cousin, Baldomero Aguinaldo:

The Assembly of Representatives of the Philippines convened at Biyak-na-Bato, in this meeting held on the first and second days of this month, has resolved to put into force the provisions of the recently proclaimed Constitution, and to abolish the present Departmental and Regional system of Government.

A Supreme Council of Government has been organized instead as follows:

President, Sr. Emilio Aguinaldo
 Vice-President, Sr. Mariano Trias
 Secretary of the Interior, Sr. Isabelo Artacho
 Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Sr. Antonio Montenegro
 Secretary of the Treasury, Sr. Baldomero Aguinaldo
 Secretary of War, Sr. Emiliano Riego de Dios

which I have the pleasure of communicating to you for your information and guidance.

God preserve you many years.

Biyak-na-Bato, November 2nd, 1897.

(Sgd.) EMILIO AGUINALDO

TO HON. BALDOMERO AGUINALDO

Secretary of the Treasury

Document 430 (Establishment of the Biyak-na-Bato Republic) from Gregorio F. Zaide's 12-volume *Documentary Sources of Philippines History* (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1990), p. 467.

From Taylor's *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971): Vol. I, p. 381, Exhibit 48.

6

THE PACT OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

The famous Pact of Biyak-na-Bato which Dr. Pedro A. Paterno, authorized representation of President Aguinaldo, negotiated with the Governor and Captain-General Fernando Primo de Rivera brought about a truce between the fighting Filipino patriots and Spain. It consisted of three separate documents, namely, Documents A and B, signed by Fernando Primo de Rivera and Paterno on December 14, 1897, and Document C, signed on December 15, 1897. Document A (Programme), provided for the cessation of hostilities, the exile of President Aguinaldo and other revolutionary warlords to Hong Kong, and Spain's payment of P800,000 to the revolutionists. Document B (Act of Agreement) stipulated the surrender of arms by the revolutionists, Spain's promise to pardon them, and reiterated the payment of P800,000 for those who took up arms against Spain. And Document C (Stipulating Total Indemnity of P1,700,000) provided an additional sum of P900,000 to be paid to the civilian population who suffered losses during the revolution, so that the total indemnity which Spain promised to pay was P1,700,000 (P800,000 for the revolutionists and P900,000 for the civilians). These are the three documents, constituting the so-called "Pact of Biyak-na-Bato":

Document A PROGRAMME

December 14th. Departure of Don Isabelo Artacho with the Convention of Peace approved by His Excellency, the Governor-General.

Dec. 16th. Transmittal of orders of pacification by Don Emilio Aguinaldo to all his barracks scattered in various provinces.

Dec. 23rd. Departure from San Miguel de Mayumo of His Excellency Señor

Don Pedro A. Paterno with their Excellencies, Generals Don Celestino Fernandez Tejeiro, Chief of the General Staff, (and) Don Miguel Monet and Adjutant, two orderlies, and Don Miguel P. de Rivera, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry.

Dec. 24th. Arrival at Biyak-na-Bato of their Excellencies, Generals Tejeiro and Monet, adjutant and two orderlies, who will be met on the road by Don Isabelo Artacho and Don Jose Salvador Natividad.

Dec. 25th. Departure of Don Emilio Aguinaldo and his companions, Don Pedro A. Paterno and Don Miguel P[rimo] de Rivera, for Lingayen, where the Spanish government will have a merchant steamer to take them to Hong Kong; the persons going on board may take their revolvers and two rifles asked for by Don Emilio Aguinaldo. On the departure of these gentlemen from Biyak-na-Bato, the Spanish government will give to Don Baldomero Aguinaldo, through Don Pedro A. Paterno, a draft payable to the order of the Spanish-Philippine Bank upon some bank in Hong Kong, for the sum of 400,000 pesos, the cost of exchange being charged to the Spanish government.

Dec. 27th. The above-mentioned gentlemen, having left the port of Lingayen for Hong Kong, and having arrived at Hong Kong, Don Emilio Aguinaldo will telegraph to Don Artemio Ricarte, in order that he may carry out the following:

1st. The surrender of all the arms and ammunitions inventoried.

2nd. The execution of the order of Aguinaldo, given before his departure from these Islands, for the turning in of all arms remaining in the hands of various groups of insurgents scattered throughout various provinces.

3rd. His notification to General Tejeiro and other gentlemen remaining in Biyak-na-Bato that they may abandon their residences in said town.

As soon as 225 firearms, 2,382 cartridges and 20 pieces of machinery belonging to the arsenal, and two sabres, inventoried in Biyak-na-Bato are turned over to the Spanish government, Don Artemio Ricarte will notify Don Emilio Aguinaldo by a cipher telegram agreed upon by Don Emilio Aguinaldo, in order that he may immediately draw upon or cash the draft of 400,000 pesos guaranteed by the Government of the Philippines, and the Captain-General will notify Don Miguel P. de Rivera [*nephew of Governor and Captain-General Fernando Primo de Rivera — Z.*] and Don Pedro A. Paterno that he has received the arms mentioned. General Tejeiro and Don Artemio Ricarte will distribute passes and safe-conducts to the insurgents permitting them to go where they may see fit.

As soon as armed men have come in and surrendered over 700 arms, half at least of the same being modern ones, Don Pedro A. Paterno will be given two checks, one for two hundred thousand pesos payable on sight and other for the amount which will be payable when the *Te Deum* is sung and when the general amnesty proclaimed which will be just as soon as peace reigns in the Philippines. The existence of bands of bandits (*tulisanes*) will not be considered as a bar to this.

The successive surrenders of arms, then the 225 arms and other articles mentioned have been verified, will be made to any body of troops. These arms will be taken upon receipts in triplicate: one for the Governor-General; one for Don Pedro A. Paterno; and third, for Don Artemio Ricarte, in regard to whom the Governor General will give necessary orders and instructions.

This programme is the same as the original project of His Excellency Señor Don Pedro A. Paterno, and the insignificant variations from it, the explanation for which accompany them, are made in agreement with that gentleman, who signs it as arbitrator.

Signed in Manila, December 14th, 1897, by the General-in-Chief and the arbitrator named.

(Sgd.) FERNANDO DE RIVERA
Captain-General

(Sgd.) PEDRO A. PATERNO
Arbitrator

Document B
ACT OF AGREEMENT

In the Royal palace of Malacañang, the residence of His Excellency, the Captain-General of the National Armies, Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Marquis of Estella, Governor and Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and General-in-Chief of its Army, there appeared on the 18th [*sic* 15th] of November, 1897, before His Excellency, in private audience, His Excellency Pedro Paterno, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order “Americana de Isabel la Catolica,” a lawyer and resident of the city of Manila, who stated: That, actuated by his fervent love for Spain and the Philippine Islands, in which latter he was born, and being acquainted with the magnanimous feelings of the nation and of the Government—feelings of which such general proofs have been given by the policy pursued by the present Governor General of this Archipelago—he had determined to cooperate toward the restoration of peace, availing himself of his remarkable and well-known influence among his countrymen; that in order to attain his purpose, he had conferred with the principal Chiefs of the Rebellion on their own fields of operation, exhorting them to lay down their arms and to return to their former allegiance, both for the good of the country and the better working of its institutions, and for the advancement of their own material interests; that his exhortations and efforts have not been in vain, for after lengthy discussions, the said Chiefs, inspired by identical feelings of friendship and of warm love of country, informed him—understanding that the state of war retards rather than hastens the inauguration of advantageous reforms, and trusting in the liberal and generous policy of the Government of His Majesty and its illustrious representative in those islands—that their

hostility is directed against the long-standing abuses and evils of which the Filipino people complain; but they are prepared to abandon their hostile attitude and to cooperate with all their might for the return of peace; and that in accordance with this pacific purpose of the above Chiefs, they have conferred upon Pedro Alejandro Paterno the most ample powers, which he produces and which were granted on November 5th last in Montaña Biyak-na-Bato, by the Supreme Chief of the Insurgents-in-arms, Emilio Aguinaldo, and also by other Chiefs, Mariano Llanera and Baldomero Aguinaldo, under his orders, said powers designating him as arbitrator and conferring on him full authority to conclude stipulations under which the submission of those still in open hostility against the Government shall be made. His Excellency, the Captain-General, Fernando Primo de Rivera, being informed of the mission which has been entrusted to Pedro Alejandro Paterno, and after seeing the power granted by Emilio Aguinaldo, Mariano Llanera, and Baldomero Aguinaldo, in which power it is expressly stated that the above-mentioned, Emilio Aguinaldo fully and absolutely represents those in arms against the established Government in the Philippine Islands, it having been conferred upon him by an assembly of partisans of the rebellion and by the Administration created by the same to act as its government, said Captain-General, congratulating himself upon the attitude shown by Señor Paterno, as also upon the intentions and purposes of those represented by the conference, stated that the services of the latter in behalf of peace, he considers as worthy of praise and gratitude, and that he being animated by the same feelings, as he has shown in his proclamations of pardon and in very many other ways, he is altogether disposed to facilitate pacification, thus, renouncing the laurels of victory in the coming campaign for the sake of avoiding bloodshed and of extinguishing all reasons for the permanent hatred and discord among the people who, having the same God and the same Fatherland, should live in fraternal harmony and be actuated by the same sentiments and interest. The proposition framed by Señor Paterno, which received the approbation of His Excellency, the Captain-General, clearly indicated that chief among the wishes of those he represented was that, before they lay down their arms for the welfare of the country, their future be assured, exempting them

from all punishment and providing them with the indispensable means of subsistence, either within the national territory or abroad; and, whereas some of the wishes expressed were acceptable, and others not, after a conference by both parties with the deliberation and high-mindedness demanded by the importance of the matter in question, His Excellency, the Captain-General, Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, in the exercise of the authority with which he is invested, and the full and unlimited power he has from His Majesty's Government on the one hand, and His Excellency Pedro Alejandro Paterno in the name of and representing the Supreme Chief of the Insurgents, and of the other two Chiefs who subscribe to the power that has been granted him, agree to put an end to the struggle that stains with blood certain regions of the Island of Luzon, under the following terms:

1st. Emilio Aguinaldo, in his capacity as supreme Chief of all those still in arms in the Island of Luzon against the legitimate Government, and Mariano Llanera and Baldomero Aguinaldo, who also hold important commands among the forces alluded to, cease their hostile attitude, surrendering the arms which they use against their country, and submit themselves to the proper authorities, reacquiring their rights as Philippine Spanish citizens, which rights they desire to preserve. As a consequence of this surrender, they engage to surrender all those who follow them at present, and also all those who recognize them as Chiefs and obey their orders.

2nd. The delivery of arms shall be carried out by inventory on ____ day of ____ at the hour and place which may be agreed upon beforehand, the Military Chief appointed by His Excellency the General-in-Chief to this effect superintending the same.

3rd. The surrender of the individuals referred to in the first clause shall be made by the respective leaders of organized parties or isolated

groups, with the formalities and at the places and on the days which may have been previously agreed upon, each one being, at the same time of surrender, furnished with a passport necessary to freely go to any place he may choose. Native-born Spaniards, foreigners, and deserters shall not enjoy this benefit and shall remain in the hands of the Military Authority and shall be dealt with according to clauses fifth and sixth.

4th. All those who may avail themselves of the clauses hereon contained will be exempted from all punishment they may have incurred by rebellion and other crimes connected therewith. His Excellency, the General-in-Chief pledging himself to grant an ample and general amnesty embracing the above named crimes, and to authorize the surrendered parties to freely fix their residence in any portion of Spanish territory or abroad. This clause shall not conflict with the provisions made in numbers five or six of the present agreement.

5th. Deserters availing themselves of the clauses of this agreement shall be exempted from all punishment, but they must serve, in a disciplinary body, as soldiers, the time which on deserting they owed the service.

6th. The Spaniards born in Spain or in Spanish American possessions and foreigners who shall surrender and avail themselves of the benefits herein accorded shall be comprised in the general pardon, but they shall be expelled from Philippine territory.

7th. Armed parties and groups which do not acknowledge the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo nor obey his orders, but which take advantage of the benefits granted herein, shall enjoy the same fully, provided they take their submission before the above-mentioned date.

8th. Armed parties and groups which do not surrender before the date fixed in the preceding clause, shall be pursued and treated in accordance with the laws in force, and even like bands of criminals, if, by their organization, by the character of their respective Chiefs, and by their acts, they should deserve that name. The benefits already mentioned shall neither be enjoyed by those who surrender immediately before an impending engagement, nor to those who do so during their pursuit following such engagement.

9th. His Excellency, the General-in-Chief shall provide the necessary means of subsistence to those who surrender before the date fixed on the second clause in view of the painful condition to which they have been reduced by the war, dealing only for that purpose with Emilio Aguinaldo, through the intermediary of Pedro Paterno. And,

10th. In case of the violation of any one of the preceding clauses all stipulations contained in the other clauses shall have no effect whatsoever.

In testimony whereof, His Excellency, the Captain-General, Fernando Primo de Rivera, in the name of and representing the Government of His Majesty, and His Excellency Pedro Alejandro Paterno in the name of Emilio Aguinaldo, bind themselves in the terms and form herein set forth, and sign the present Agreement, of which three copies shall be made: One for the War Department [of Spain — Z.], another to be kept in the Office of the Captain-General of the Philippine Islands, and a third copy for the Arbitrator, His Excellency Pedro Alejandro Paterno; the said gentlemen stating in the name of those he represented that they hope and expect with confidence from the far-seeing Government of His Majesty that the latter will take into consideration the aspirations of the Philippine people in order to assure peace and the well-being which it deserves.

(Sgd.) FERNANDO PRIMO DE RIVERA
Captain-General

(Sgd.) PEDRO ALEJANDRO PATERNO
Arbitrator

Document C

STIPULATING TOTAL INDEMNITY OF P1,700,000

In peace proposals presented today by the sole arbiter, His Excellency Pedro A. Paterno, in the name and representation of the rebels in arms, and amongst the terms agreed upon and referred to the Government of Her Majesty,* which approved of the same, there exists a principal clause relating to the amounts which were to be delivered to the rebels and their families for the losses of their property as a consequence of the war, and which consisted in the delivery of 1,700,000 pesos, which the arbitrator, Señor Paterno, was to distribute absolutely at his discretion, but the said sum was to be subject as regards delivery to the rules proposed by the representatives of the Government, His Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Army. These rules were definitely arranged and agreed upon the following form:

For the rebels in arms a draft for the sum of 400,000 pesos, payable in Hong Kong, will be handed to the arbitrator Señor Paterno, collectible accordingly as the terms which constitute the Programme are complied with or not.

1. For the families of those who were not rebels in arms and implicated, who have likewise suffered the evils of war, the balance of the sum offered shall be paid in three equal instalments, the last to be paid six months after the date on which the *Te Deum* shall be sung, assuming the peace to be an effectively concluded if, during the interval of these installment periods, no party of armed rebels, with recognized leader, shall exist, and if no society shall have

been discovered as existing here or abroad with trustworthy evidence showing work of conspiracy by those who benefit by these payments.

In witness thereof, and of their agreement, the representative, for the rebels, His Excellency Señor Pedro Alejandro Paterno, and for the Government, His Excellency Captain-General Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, sign, four copies being made, one for the Government, another for the Office of the Captain-General, and the other two for the said representative. Signed at Manila, on the fifteenth day of December 1897.

(Sgd.) PRIMO DE RIVERA
General-in-Chief

(Sgd.) PEDRO PATERNO
Sole Arbitrator

Document 431 (The Past of Biyaknabato, December 14 and 15, 1897) from Gregorio F. Zaide's 12-volume *Documentary Sources of Philippines History* (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1990), p. 468-477.

Please refer to Taylor's *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Pasay City: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971): Vol. I, p. 401-404, 411-412. And 413; General Primo de Rivera, *Memoria dirigida al Senado ... acerca de suggestion en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1898), pp. 121-158; General Emilio Aguinaldo, *Reseña veridica de la revolucion Filipina* (Tarlac, September 23, 1899), Section II; and Pedro A. Paterno, *El Pacto de Biyak-na-Bato* (Manila, 1910), pp. 173-188.

Zaide's notes:

It must be noted that during the long negotiations of the Biyak-na-Bato pact, General Aguinaldo insisted that Spain must grant reforms, including the expulsion of all Spanish friars, Filipinization of the Philippine clergy, equality of Filipinos and Spaniards before the law, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of association, etc.

According to him, these reforms were promised by Governor Primo de Rivera and were, therefore, part of the pact. But there is no documentary evidence that such reforms were promised. (See Aguinaldo's assertion in *his Reseña verídica* and *Memoirs of the Revolution*.) Maybe Paterno led him to believe that these reforms were part of the pact, but Paterno himself cannot show any document to prove it. Until such a document can be produced, the other (Spanish) version tended to show that Primo de Rivera reported to the Spanish Senate: "Money, only money and the security of their persons were discussed; the reforms were abandoned from the beginning." (*Memoria*, p. 142).

*The ruling authority in Spain at the time the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato was concluded was the widowed Queen Maria Cristina, who was acting as Regent during the minority of her son, King Alfonso XIII.

RATIFICATION OF THE PACT OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

*In Biak-na-bato, on December 20, 1897, the representatives of the Filipino people assembled under President Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, Chief of the Revolutionary Army and President of the Supreme Council of the Provisional Republic of Biak-na-bato, to hear the reading by one of the Secretaries of the Assembly of the pact concluded between Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, representing the Government of Spain, and Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno, arbitrator appointed by the Supreme Council of the Government. The representatives manifested their unanimous approval by ratifying the pact and signing it, after pledging their honor to comply with its provisions.**

Antonio Montenegro

Isabelo Artacho

Pascual Alvarez

Gil Maniquis

Luis Carlos

Mariano Noriel

Artemio Ricarte A. Vibora

Mariano Llanera

Anastacio Francisco

Pedro Ma. Salvador

Benito Natividad

Isidoro Torres

Emilio Aguinaldo

Baldomero Aguinaldo

Vito Belarmino

Doroteo Lopez Perez

Vicente Lucban Rilles

Escolastico Viola

Salvador Estrella

Pantaleon Garcia

Esteban Viola

Andres Presbiterio

Jose Alejandrino

Ciriaco Sartou

Document 433 (Ratification of the Pact of Biyak-na-bato, December 20, 1897) from Gregorio F. Zaide's 12-volume *Documentary Sources of Philippines History* (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1990), p. 479.

*From Pedro A. Paterno's *El Pacto de Biyak-na-Bato* (Manila, 1910), pp. 189-191.

THE HONG KONG JUNTA CONTINUES THE REVOLUTION

*Before Aguinaldo and his companions arrived in Hong Kong, trouble had already started as regards the Biyak-na-Bato money and agreement. The Filipino revolutionary leaders remaining in the Philippines had taken steps to receive the second instalment of P200,000 (See Doc.436) through a petition drawn up and signed by Isabelo Artacho and others. When the news came to the attention of the Filipino exiles, their Revolutionary Junta in Hong Kong met, denounced Artacho as a traitor, and disavowed their provisional government in the Philippines. Then they elected new members to the Junta, or government-in-exile. These excerpts from the Junta's meeting in Hong Kong on February 14, 1898, show that the members had decided to repudiate the Pact of Biyak-na-bato, to continue the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of General Aguinaldo (who was assigned the stewardship of their funds), and to select new officers of the Junta, as follows:**

The above-named President [Aguinaldo—Z.] also advised those present that he had received a letter from Señor Don Miguel Primo de Rivera intimating to him, on behalf of General Don Fernando P. de Rivera, that as long as there was any revolt in the Philippines and the society of the “Katipunan” was not dissolved, the payment of the two hundred thousand pesos corresponding to the third instalment would be stopped.

Those present at the meeting were also made acquainted with the contents of a communication from, and a statement of accounts rendered by Señor Artacho. The writer of the communication forwards to the Supreme Council his resignation of the offices of Secretary of the Interior and Manager of the Commercial Junta, which, as per written agreement made at Biyak-na-Bato, Philippine Islands, under date of December the nineteenth of the current

year, is to be established abroad. Señor Artacho, in his communication, requests that he be refunded the sum of five hundred and eight pesos and fifty-five centimos which amount according to his letter, and also set forth in his statement of accounts, was paid out by him.

The President stated all the above for the knowledge and information of those present, who after a long discussion agreed upon the following:

To repudiate and invalidate the written agreement entered into at Biyak-na-Bato, Philippine Islands, under date of December the nineteenth of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, as well as the articles of the Constitution referred to in said written agreement, since their fulfilment has become an impossibility on account of these two reasons: First, the leaders who have remained in the Philippines want the division of the sum of two hundred thousand pesos, corresponding to the second instalment; and, second, because the payment of the third instalment has been seemingly cancelled. These matters are dealt with in the convention of peace, and were responsible for the celebration of the written agreement of the nineteenth of December of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven. In other words, out of the eight hundred thousand pesos which were promised to be paid to President Señor Emilio Aguinaldo, through Señor Pedro A. Paterno, only four hundred thousand pesos have, up to this date, been received by him. Which amount is deposited at 4% interest per annum in the "Hong Kong Shanghai" (The Hong Kong Shanghai Banking Corporation) and the "Chartered" (The Chartered Bank of Australia, India and China). But now the conditions which prompted the drawing up of the agreement of December the nineteenth of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, have changed, and consequently it is deemed most advisable to repudiate and invalidate all that has been agreed upon by the parties who appended their signatures to said document, and to entrust Señor Emilio Aguinaldo with the safe-keeping of the fund amounting to four hundred thousand pesos, no one being permitted to withdraw any of it except the interest thereof, which is in accordance with the estimate of expenditures made on the ninth of January

last, whereby it was provided that said fund of four hundred thousand pesos should remain intact, and that only by the unanimous consent of the parties interested would its division be affected. In the event that someone should ask for the division of the principal and its interests, the parties interested hereby agree to give Señor Emilio Aguinaldo authority to grant or to refuse the request, and in case that his decision should be in the affirmative, he is also charged with the assignment of the amount to be given the petitioner. As he was the leader who has been foremost in the work for our cause he must know the services which each one of his assistants has rendered it. If later on, more advantageous conditions and higher interest are secured for the deposit of the fund of four hundred thousand pesos now in two of the local banks, as well as for the money which we expect to receive from the Spanish government corresponding to the third instalment, than the offered by those two banks, the parties attending the meeting have resolved to consider and act upon it in due time.

It was also resolved by those present to accept the resignation which Señor Isabelo Artacho has tendered of the offices of Secretary of the Interior and Manager of the Commercial Junta, in view of the fact that it has been decided to repudiate and invalidate the stipulations of the written agreement of December the eleventh of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven; and with regard to his claim for the money which he alleges to have paid out, it was decided to suspend any action on same pending an investigation which will be made by Sres. Pedro A. Paterno and Baldomero Aguinaldo, as to whether or not the said Artacho has been paid any money on account of the pacification.

All the above has been agreed to by those present, and in witness whereof they sign their names, to which I, the Secretary, attest with my signature.

EMILIO AGUINALDO
MARIANO LLANERA
DOROTEO LOPEZ
LAZARO MAKAPAGAL

MAXIMO KABIGTING
MANUEL TINIO
VITO BELARMINO
ANASTACIO FRANCISCO

TOMAS MASCARDO	VICENTE LUCBAN
MIGUEL MALVAR	SALVADOR ESTRELLA
CARLOS RONQUILLO	LEON NOVENARIO
ROSENDO BANAAG	PEDRO AGUINALDO
ELIAS MENDOZA	TEODORO LEGASPI
GREGORIO DEL PILAR	ANASTASIO VIDA
SEBASTIAN CASTILLO	BENITO NATIVIDAD
WENCESLAO VINIEGRA	ANTONIO MONTENEGRO

In the British colony of Hong Kong, on this fourteenth day of February, of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight: The members of the Supreme Council of the Nation held a meeting with a view to selecting from among the ex-leaders of the Filipino Revolution now residing in the said Colony, the persons who should fill the offices of members of the above-mentioned Council, in conformity with the agreement signed at Biyak-na-Bato, under date of December the seventeenth of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven. By unanimous vote the following were selected: Señores Tomas Mercado, Gregorio H. del Pilar, Miguel Malvar, Leon Novenario, Pedro Aguinaldo, Carlos Ronquillo, Teodoro Legaspi, Rosendo Banaad, Anastasio Vida, Elias Mendoza, Sebastian Castillo and Vicente Caiton.

The above has been agreed to by all, in testimony whereof they sign these presents with their hands: Emilio Aguinaldo, Vito Belarmino, Mariano Llanera, Vicente Lucban, Lino Viola, Lazaro Macapagal, Maximo Cabigting, Excolastico Viola, Doroteo Lopez, Manuel Tinio, Benito Natividad, Anastasio Francisco, and Antonio Montenegro; all rubricated.

*Taylor, *ibid.*, pp. 453-456.

NO PEACE AFTER THE PACT OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

The conclusion of the so-called “Pact of Biyak-na-to,” (December 14 and 15, 1897) brought no peace to war-ridden Philippines. Despite Governor Primo de Rivera’s proclamation of peace and the exile of President E. Aguinaldo and other revolutionary warlords to Hong Kong, hostilities continued to rage between the patriotic forces and the Spanish troops. [1] For instance, on March 7, 1898, the patriots of Zambales attacked the cable station at Bolinao and seized the telegraph line between this town and Manila. The following week, the Ilocano patriots led by Isabelo Abaya captured Candon, Ilocos Sur. And on April 3, 1898, the fiery Leon Kilat led a bloody uprising in Cebu City. Alarmed by these tumultuous events, the Spanish historian, Manuel Sastron, who was then residing in Manila, lamented the gathering storm, quoting the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah: “Pax, pax et non erat pax” (Peace, peace, and there was no peace). This critical situation was reported by the American consul in Manila, Oscar F. Williams, to the U.S. Department of State, in his consular dispatch No. 9, as follows:

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Manila, P. I., February 22, 1898

SIR:

Peace was proclaimed, and since then many festivities therefore were held; but there is no peace, and has been none for about two years. Conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists, battles are almost daily occurrences, ambulances bring in many wounded, and hospitals are full. Prisoners are brought here and shot without trial, and Manila is under martial law.

The Crown forces [Spanish—Z.] have not been able to dislodge a rebel army within 10 miles of Manila, and last Saturday, February 19, a battle was there fought and 5 dead left on the field. Much of such information is found in my longer dispatch, referred to, and which is at your command.

The Governor General, who is amiable and popular, having resigned, wishes credit for pacification, and certain rebel leaders were given a cash bribe of \$1,659,000 to consent to public deportation to China. This bribe and deportation only multiply claimants and fanned the fire of discontent.

Insurgents demand fewer exactions from church and state, a half of public offices, and fewer church holidays, which seriously retard business.

A republic is organized here, as in Cuba. Insurgents are being armed and drilled; are rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency, and all agree that a general uprising will come as soon as the governor general [Primo de Rivera—Z.] embarks for Spain, which is fixed for March.

While some combatant regiments have recently been returned to Spain, it was for appearance only, and all authorities now agree that unless the Crown largely reinforces its army here it would lose possession.

OSCAR F. WILLIAMS

Consul

[1] *La Insurreccion en Filipinas y guerra hispano-americana* (Madrid, 1901), p. 310

*Taylor, op. cit., Vol. I, p.482, Exhibit 82

Document 439

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS REFUTE PATERNO'S MANIFESTO

A week after the publication of Dr. Paterno's Pro-Spanish Manifesto, the revolutionists issued their own manifesto as a rebuttal to it. This manifesto is as follows:

REFUTATION OF THE MANIFESTO OF SEÑOR PATERNO

“Actions speak louder than words.”

A better phrase, or idea, could not be found with which to reply to the *Manifesto* of Don Pedro A. Paterno, published in *El Comercio* of the 2nd instant, than the epigraph which heads these lines.

Señor Paterno begins by saying that he loves his country as none other does; he wants it to be great, free, and happy, and to shape its own destinies according to its own desires and aspirations. *Would to God such beautiful language represented the truth*, for it is just what we wish and what we have done, long ago, been aiming it, at the risk of our lives and property, as proved by our actions and arguments, especially since the middle of the glorious year of 1896, the period in which we commenced the conquest, by force of arms, of our most cherished liberties. May Señor Paterno forgive us if we cite a little of the history of his movement, so that he may see that neither are we ungrateful, nor we are acting with precipitation, but as a logical and undeniable consequence of the vile conduct and bad faith of the Spanish Government.

For over 300 years the country slumbered in ignorance of all that referred to its rights and political liberties. It was resigned to the Spanish governmental

system of spoliation, and no one thought of reforms. But when the Revolution of September, 1868, [1] broke out in Spain and overthrew the throne of Isabella II, the first revolutionary leaders, inspired by ideas of humanity and justice, caused an Assembly of Reformists to be established here, one of the members of which, if we remember rightly, was Don Maximo Molo Paterno, father of Don Pedro. The Assembly agreed to and proposed good and appropriate reforms, amongst which was that relating to the incumbencies which were monopolized by the friars. What did the Spanish Government do to these reforms? What did the friars do? Ah! Though it may appear cruel to Señor Paterno, historical facts oblige us to remind him that the Government, in agreement with the friars, engineered the military uprising of the City of Cavite in January, 1872, and at the instigation of its authors and accomplices, sentenced the secular priests Father Jose Burgos, Father Jacinto Zamora, and Father Mariano Gomez, parish priests of Manila, Santa Cruz (suburb), and Bacoor (Cavite) respectively, to be garrotted. Moreover, another secular priest, Father Agustin, the Philippine lawyers and landed proprietors, Don Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Don Antonio Regidor, Don Pedro Carrillo, Don Jose Basa, and others, amongst whom was Don Maximo Molo Paterno, the father of Don Pedro, were banished to the Ladrones Islands. This virtuous grand old man (Don Maximo Paterno) did indeed (and we proclaim with pride) make sacrifices of health and fortune for the advancement of the liberties of his native country. From the year 1872 the Spanish Government carried on a persistent persecution of all the Philippine reformers by unjust imprisonment and banishment. In 1888, the authorities went so far as to prosecute 700 representative men of the suburbs of Manila, simply for having presented a petition of rights and aspirations to the Gov. General Don Emilio Terrero. There is not a single insalubrious island or gloomy corner in the country which has not been the forced home of some banished Filipinos. No one was sure of his personal liberty; none were safe in their homes, and if three or four Filipinos met together for an innocent purpose, they were spied, arrested, and banished. Calumny has brought about enough banishments to Fernando Po, Chafarinas Islands, Couta, and other African and Spanish places to demonstrate the bad faith, cruelty, and injustice of the Spanish

Government with respect to the Philippine people. This virile, intelligent people received the supreme decree of reforms with joy and enthusiasm, sharing the feelings of those who felt in their souls and flame of liberty. The people worked, through legitimate channels, to advance its ideals, inspired by the purest loyalty to Spain. How did the Spanish Government fulfil, on its part, the decree spontaneously issued in 1868? By prosecuting and banishing the reformists and employing a system of terror to damp the courage of the Filipinos. Vain, ridiculous fallacy! — for it ought to have known better after three centuries of rule of that country of intelligence, birthplace of Rizal, Luna, Rosario and other living examples of Philippine energy. The Filipinos, lovers of their liberty and independence, had no other recourse open to them than an appeal to arms, to bring force against force, terror against terror, death for death, resolute and sworn to practice the system of fire and blood, until they should attain for the whole Philippine Archipelago absolute freedom from the ignominious sovereignty of Spain. Now let us continue our comments on the *Manifesto*.

Señor Paterno says that a long time ago he risked his existence for the rights and liberties of the Philippine people, even at the cost of his health and fortune. We, however, do not see how he put into practice such magnificent ideas, for what we do know is that Señor Paterno passed his younger days in Madrid, where, by dint of lavish expenditure, he was very well treated by the foremost men in Spanish politics, without gaining from Spain anything whereby the Philippine people were made free and happy during that long period of his brilliant existence. On the contrary, the very epoch of the persecutions narrated above coincided with the period of Don Pedro A. Paterno's brilliant position and easy life in Madrid, where, because he published a collection of poems under the title of Sampaguitas, he became distinguished by the nickname of "Sampaguitero". We knew also that Señor Paterno came back to this, his native soil, appointed director of a Philippine Library and Museum not yet established, without salary, but with a decoration of the Grand Cross of Isabela the Catholic. This was no gain to us, no distinction to him, seeing

the same decoration was given to the Chinaman Palanca and two others, without leaving their homes to obtain them.

How are we then to understand these generous sacrifices of health and fortune for the cause of Philippine Liberty? Perhaps he refers to the recently created Philippine Militia and Consulting Assembly. Well, admitting for argument sake, that with such Militia and Consulting Assembly the liberty and happiness of the Philippines were assured (a doubtful hypothesis, Señor Paterno) This happiness is not due to Señor Paterno's efforts, but simply to the circumstances. Spain is at war with North America, and now offers us this sugar-plum to draw us to her side to defend her against invasion.

We ask you again, Señor Paterno, where are those sacrifices?

We do not see them, although we seek them with the light of impartiality, but, as the splendor of justice shines on our flag, we should not fail to do this even for our greatest enemies, amongst whom we do not count you.

Do you allude to the Peace of Biyak-na-Bato? If so, we ask, what have you done with that peace to which we subscribed in good faith, and which you and General Primo de Rivera together have stupidly and scandalously torn into shreds? You have, indeed, bungled the amnesty when many of the banished are, up to now, suffering the miseries of their sad and unjust fate.

You have put off the promised reforms which, even yet, have not come.

You have delayed the payment of the P400,000 for the second and third instalments of the agreed sum.

You have not delivered into the hands of our chief, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, the money as agreed upon.

Ah!, You thought that when we had surrendered to you our arms and our garrisoned strongholds—when our forces were dispersed and we were absent—you could turn back to the Government of iniquity without reflecting that

Divine Providence could permit, in the hour of great injustice, his emissary Don Emilio Aguinaldo to return to chastise energetically the immoral and impotent Spanish Government.

Then comes Señor Paterno, telling us that however great our efforts may be in the cause of liberty, we cannot live without an ally, and that we can find no better alliance than the sovereignty of Spain. Frankly, we must say that this is inconceivably incompatible with Señor Paterno's clear intelligence. How do you understand an alliance with sovereignty? How can you imagine a people great, free, and happy under the sovereignty of Spain? Señor Paterno cites as examples, the alliances between Russia and France, Germany and Italy and Austria, but, so far, we do not know that Russia is not the sovereign power of the French, nor the Germans that of the Italians and Austrians. Señor Paterno further says that by helping Spain in the war with the United States, if we die, we do so in the fulfillment of our duty; if we live, we shall obtain the triumph of our aspirations without the dangers and risks of a civil war. Know, Señor Paterno, and let all know, that in less than six days' operations in several provinces we have already taken 1,500 prisoners, amongst whom is the Brigadier-General Garcia Peña, one colonel, several Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and officers, besides the Governor of the Province of Bulacan, his wife and all the civil service staff of that province. We also have about 500 Philippine volunteers as prisoners, of whom 10 have died and 40 are wounded, whilst among the European prisoners there is only one wounded. This goes to prove that the Europeans are cowardly to defend the sovereignty of Spain in these Islands, therefore we do not understand the appeal you make to the Filipino to defend Spain as a duty, when the Spaniards themselves heedless of that which ought to be a more rigorous and strict obligation with them, seeing that they defend their own possession which brings them so much lucre and profit. This does not say much of the duty when the favoured ones themselves forget it and trample upon it. To die today for cowardly Spain! This implies not only want of dignity and delicate feeling, but also gross stupidity in weaving a sovereignty of frightened Spaniards over the heads of brave Filipinos.

It is astonishing that in the race of such an eloquent example of impotence there should still be a Filipino who defends the sovereignty of Spain.

Remember, Señor Paterno, we make war without the help of anyone, not even the North Americans; but lo! we have the help of God, who is the eternal ally of the great and just causes such as that which we defend against Spain—our own beloved *Independence!!!*

Señor Paterno concludes by explaining his political and administrative principles on the basis of Spanish sovereignty, but as we have charged that sovereignty with cowardice and immorality, we dismiss this detail.

To conclude, we will draw the attention of Señor Paterno to two things, viz.:

1. That he *commits an injustice in imputing to the North Americans the intention of taking possession of these Islands* as soon as we have conquered the Spaniards, for, besides having no grounds on which to make such an allegation against a nation distinguished for its humanity like the Federal Republic, there is the fact that *its own constitution prohibits the absorption of territory outside America*, in accordance with that principle laid down by the immortal Monroe, of America for the Americans. There is, moreover, the historical antecedent that the independence of South America, once under Spanish dominion, is largely due to the protection of the United States; and

2. That Señor Paterno should reflect on the fact that the Spaniards would never have allowed him to publish his *Manifesto* had it not been for the existence and attitude of our Dictator, Don Emilio Aguinaldo. This ought to serve Señor Paterno as further proof of the cowardice of the Spaniards, who, notwithstanding all that has been shown, insist on creating discord by provoking civil war: on their heads will fall the responsibilities of the moment and of the historical past.

Cavite, 9th of June, 1898.

THE REVOLUTIONISTS

*Foreman, *op.cit.*, pp. 440-445.

[1] The September Revolution of 1868 in Spain erupted exactly on September 19, 1868 at Cadiz under the joint leadership of two generals (Francisco Serrano and Juan Prim) and an admiral (Juan Bautista Topete). It was also known in Spanish history as the *Revolucion de Dignusto* because it was ignited by the autocratic rule of Queen Isabel II, a beautiful but immoral lady.

Document 475

TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

Emilio Aguinaldo

This valuable revolutionary document was written by General Emilio Aguinaldo to appeal to the conscience of the American nation, with whom the Philippines had entered into a war of independence. Written by Aguinaldo in Tagalog and translated into Spanish by Felipe Buencamino, the entire manuscript (containing Aguinaldo's signature on official stationery of the "Republica Filipina, Presidencia") is now preserved in Folder 3 of the John R. Thomas Jr. Collection, Division of Manuscripts, of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The Reseña Veridica de la Revolucion Filipina was originally a pamphlet of 45 pages released on September 23, 1899 in Tarlac, then the capital of the Philippine Republic. It was first published in Spanish by the imprenta Nacional in Tarlac under the direction of Zacarias Fajardo.

Although it carried the name of General Aguinaldo as author, some scholars have expressed disagreement as to authorship because portions of the original manuscript were in the writing of Felipe Buencamino and not in that of Aguinaldo. It is possible that the work was prepared in Tagalog by Aguinaldo and later translated into Spanish and also revised by Buencamino.

According to Leandro H. Fernandez in the Philippine Social Science Review (May 1941) reprint of the document, "A careful perusal of the Reseña reveals that it was a piece of propaganda. Whoever the author or authors were, the main objective was to create abroad, especially in the United States, sympathy for the Philippine Revolution, and to secure the recognition of the revolutionary government. There was, in the pamphlet, an attempt to review the relations between the American and the Filipino officials most favourable, in a way, to the Filipinos. The legitimate aspirations of the revolutionists and the actuations of their government were justified, the veracity of the American professions of

friendship towards the Filipinos was impugned and the methods sought to bolster up a rapidly declining organization in the expectation of an eventual Democratic victory in the presidential election of 1900 which, it was hoped, would result in the immediate reversal of American policy in this country and in the recognition of the independence.”

*Excerpts from the full text of the English translation follows:**

True Account of the Philippine Revolution

To the Civilized Nations, and especially to the Great North American Republic, is dedicated this humble work, to the end that they may know the international events which have occurred and continue to occur in the Philippines from three years ago up to the present time, and to the end that they may know and be convinced of the justice that is with the Philippine cause. The author offers also herein his homage of respect and admiration to the wisdom and the power of other nations, whom he salutes in the name of the Philippine nation with a full heart.

The Author

I. THE REVOLUTION OF 1896

Spain ruled the Philippines for more than three and a half centuries, during which time abuses of the friars and of administration exhausted the patience of the natives, forcing them from the 26th to the 31st of August, 1896, to throw off so heavy a yoke and begin the revolution in the provinces of Manila and Cavite.

In those glorious days rose Balintawak, Santa Mesa, Kalookan, Kawit, Noveleta, and San Francisco de Malabon, proclaiming the independence of the Philippines. They were followed in five days by all the other towns of the province of Cavite without the existence of any previous agreement to execute the movement, drawn without doubt, by the noble example of the former.

As to the province of Cavite, there did indeed circulate orders, in writing, for the uprising, signed by Don Agustin Rieta, Don Candido Tirona, and myself, lieutenants of the revolutionary troops. Yet there was no assurance that they were attended to, or even received, as in fact, one of these orders fell into the hands of the Spaniard, Don Fernando Parga, military and political governor of the province, who reported it to Captain General Don Ramon Blanco y Erenas, who immediately ordered the revolutionists to be attacked.

Providence, which had without doubt indicated the hour of Filipino emancipation, protected the revolutionists, because only thus can it be explained how men armed with only clubs and knives, without discipline and without organization, could conquer Spanish forces of regulars in the rude combats of Bacoor, Imus, and Noveleta, even to capturing numerous rifles. This obliged Captain General Blanco to suspend operations and try to suppress the revolution by the policy of attraction under pretext that he did not like to be "slaughtering" Filipinos.

The government of Madrid, not approving this kind of policy on the part of General Blanco, sent Lieut. Gen. Camilo Polavieja to relieve him of this charge, and sent also at the same time regular troops of the Spanish peninsula forces. Polavieja, with 16,000 men armed with Mausers and a battery of cannons, attacked the revolutionists with energy. He scarcely, however, reconquered half of the province of Cavite, and then fell sick and gave up his charge in April of 1897.

Don Camilo Polavieja having been relieved by Capt. Gen. Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, this old warrior in person pursued the revolutionists with as much firmness as humanly possible succeeded in reconquering all of the province of Cavite, and drove the revolutionists into the mountains. Then I took up my headquarters in the steep and unknown mountain of Biak-na-Bato, where I established the republican government of the Philippines in the end of May, 1897.

II. TREATY OF PEACE OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno was several times in Biyak-na-Bato to propose peace, which after five months and long deliberations stood arranged and signed on the 14th of December, 1897, upon the following bases:

1. That I was free to live abroad with the companions who might wish to follow me, and, having fixed my residence in Hong Kong, in this place was to be paid to me the 800,000 pesos indemnity in three payments, 400,000 upon the receipt of all the arms there were in Biyak-na-Bato, 200,000 when the number of arms surrendered should reach 800, and the last 200,000 when that number should be completed to 1,000 arms, and after the receipt of the cash the *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral of Manila by way of thanks. The second fortnight of February was fixed upon as the maximum limit for the delivery of the arms.
2. The money was all to be delivered to me in person, I being in full liberty with my companions and other revolutionists.
3. Before the evacuation of Biyak-na-Bato by the Filipino revolutionists, Captain General Primo de Rivera should send me two generals of the Spanish army, who should remain as hostages until I and my companions should reach Hong Kong and the first payment of 400,000 pesos indemnity should be received.
4. It was also agreed to suppress the religious corporations of the islands and to establish autonomy in political order and administration, although at the request of Gen. Primo de Rivera, these extreme terms were not committed to writing, he alleging that it was very humiliating for the Spanish government to do so, whose fulfilment thereof, however, he guaranteed upon his honor as a gentlemen and a soldier.

Gen. Primo de Rivera delivered the first payment of 400,000 pesos while the two generals yet remained as hostages.

We, the revolutionists, fulfilled our part with the surrender of arms, which exceeded 1,000, as is known to all the world from its having published in the Manila papers. But the aforesaid captain-general failed to comply with the other conditions—the suppression of the friars and executing the reforms agreed upon; however, the *Te Deum* was sung. This cause me and my companions profound sadness, a sadness which turned into desperation upon the receipt of a letter from Lieut. Col. Don Miguel Primo de Rivera, nephew and private secretary of the said general, advising me that my companions and I might yet return to Manila.

Was this a just proceeding upon the part of the representative of the government of Spain? Let honourable conscience answer.

III. NEGOTIATIONS

I had not long to remain with my companions in so critical a situation, because in March of 1898 there presented himself to me the name of a commander of the North American vessel of war, *Petrel*, soliciting a conference by direction of Admiral Dewey.

Several were had with the said commander on the nights of the 16th of March to the 6th of April, he soliciting me to return to the Philippines to renew the war of independence against the Spaniards, and offering the aid of the United States in case this nation declared war against Spain. Then I asked the commander of the *Petrel* what the United States would concede to the Philippines, to which the commander answered that the United States was a great and rich nation, and did not need colonies. I laid before the commander the propriety of putting the agreement in writing to which he replied that he would lay it before Admiral Dewey.

These conferences were interrupted on the 5th of April by the receipt of letters from Isabelo Artacho and his attorney, demanding of me 200,000 pesos of the indemnity as the part which he ought to receive as secretary of the interior, which he had been in the Filipino government of Biyak-na-Bato, threatening to hale me before the tribunals of Hong Kong if I did not yield to his demand.

Although it does not pertain strictly to the matter in hand, I will state here that Isabelo Artacho reached Biyak-na-Bato and entered the camp of the revolution the 21st of September, 1897, and was named secretary in the first part of November 4, when the peace proposed and worked out by Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno was almost agreed upon, as is proven by the fact that on the 14th of the following December it was signed. See, then, the unjust and unmeasured ambition of Artacho in claiming 200,000 pesos for the few days' service that he rendered the revolution.

Besides, it had been agreed between all of us revolutionists in Biyak-na-Bato that in case the Spaniards did not carry out their agreement the money proceeding from the indemnity should not be divided, but should be destined for the purchase of arms to renew the war.

Artacho then was working as a spy, an agent of Gen. Primo de Rivera, attempting to annihilate the revolution, stripping it of its most powerful element, money. And so the matter was considered by all the revolutionists, they agreeing together that I should leave Hong Kong immediately, avoiding the demand of Artacho, in order that the rest might have an opportunity to meet this new danger against our holy ideals, and they obtained this opportunity in fact. Artacho agreed to withdraw his demand by means of a transaction.

In fulfilment of this agreement I secretly left Hong Kong the 7th of April, embarking on the *Taisan*, and passing by Saigon I went and stopped in the greatest retirement at Singapore, arriving at this port on the *Eridan* the 21st of the month. There I was entertained in the house of a countryman of ours.

Such was the cause of the interruption of the most important conference with Admiral Dewey, begun by the commander of the *Petrel*.

But “man proposes and God disposes,” a proverb which on this occasion was fulfilled in all its parts, because notwithstanding the incognito which I preserved on the voyage, at 4 in the afternoon of the day of my arrival at Singapore there presented himself in the house where I was being entertained an Englishman, who, with the great secrecy, said that the consul of the United States at that post, Mr. Pratt, desired to confer with Don Emilio Aguinaldo, to which reply was given that in that house no such Aguinaldo was known, for so it has been agreed to reply to everybody.

But the Englishman having repeatedly returned, declaring with insistence that it was no use to deny Aguinaldo’s presence, because Consul Pratt had received notice from Admiral Dewey of my journey to Singapore, the I yielded to the interview with the said consul, which took place with the greatest secrecy, from 9 to 12, on the night of the 22nd of April, 1898, in a retired part of the city, Mr. Pratt declaring to me as soon as he saw me that war between the United States and Spain had been officially declared the preceding day.

In the interview alluded to, Consul Pratt declared to me that the Spaniards not having fulfilled their part of the treaty of Biyak-na-Bato the Filipinos had the right to continue anew their interrupted revolution, persuading me to renew the war against Spain, and assuring me that America would give the greatest advantage to the Filipinos.

Then I asked the consul what advantages the United States could concede to the Philippines, I, indicating at that very time the propriety of putting the agreement in writing; to which the consul replied that he would by telegram lay that matter before Mr. Dewey, who was the commander of the expedition against the Philippines and had ample powers from President McKinley.

On the following day between 10 and 12 in the morning the conference was renewed, Consul Pratt declaring that Admiral Dewey had replied concerning

my desires that the United States would at least recognize the independence of the Philippines under naval protectorate, and that there was no necessity to put the agreement in writing, because the words of Admiral Dewey and the American Consul were sacred and would be fulfilled, not being like those of the Spaniards; and he added, finally, that the government of North America was a most honorable, just and powerful government.

I being as desirous as Admiral Dewey and the North American consul to reach the Philippines and renew the holy enterprise to reconquer our independence from the yoke of the Spaniards, I took advantage of the providential occasion which these representatives of the United States offered me, and giving complete credit to their honourable promises, I replied to the insistent solicitation of Mr. Pratt that he might immediately count on my return to arouse en masse the Filipino people against the Spaniards under the sacred ideals above-mentioned, provided I could take with me arms to distribute to the patriots, offering him to do all that was possible to obtain the surrender of the Spaniards and the capture of Manila in a siege of two weeks if I could count upon a battery of 12 cannons.

The consul replied that he would aid me to send the expedition, with arms, as I had planned in Hong Kong; then that he would telegraph immediately to Admiral Dewey the agreement, in order that on his part he might render aid to the said expedition.

On the 25th day of April the last conference closed in the American consulate, where I had been invited by Mr. Pratt, who, on seeing me, said that he had received telegrams from Admiral Dewey charging him to ask me to go immediately on the first steamer to Hong Kong to join the Admiral, who was there with his squadron in Mirs Bay, a port of China, to which I replied affirmatively, ordering immediately my aides to go and engage passage and to prepare our journey under different names in order to maintain ourselves incognito on the journey, as we did coming from Hong Kong to Singapore.

On the 26th I returned to take leave of Consul Pratt to embark on the steamer *Malaca*. The consul, after having said to me that before entering the port of Hong Kong a launch of the Admiral would come out to take us secretly to the North American squadron—a secrecy which pleased me also in order to avoid publicity in my acts—suggested to me then that I should name him as representative of the Philippines in the United States in order to accomplish promptly the official recognition of our independence.

I answered that as soon as the Filipino government should be formed I would propose him for the charge which he desired, although I considered it an insignificant recompense for his assistance; then, in case of not having the fortune to secure independence, I would name him for a high post in the custom house, besides giving also mercantile advantages, and sharing the expenses of war which the consul asked for his government at Washington, since to all that has been set forth the Filipinos beforehand agree as a just proof of gratitude.

Then I went away with my aides, Señores Pilar and Leyva, to Hong Kong on the steamer *Malaca*, in which port we arrived at 2 on the morning of the 1st of May without any launch coming out to meet us. On the invitation of the consul of that colony, Mr. Wildman, I went to the consulate and from 9 to 11 of the night of the same day of my arrival I conferred with him. He told me that admiral Dewey had gone away to Manila without waiting for me, because he had received preemptory orders from his government to attack the Spanish squadron leaving a message that he should send for me by a gunboat. In that conference I talked with the consul concerning the expedition of arms which I had in project and we agreed that the said consul and the Filipino, Señor Teodoro Sandiko, should take charge of the expedition, leaving on the same night, in the power of the gentlemen, 50,000 pesos on deposit.

A steam launch was obtainable for 15,000 pesos and contract was made for the purchase of 2,000 guns at \$7 a piece, and 200,000 cartridges at \$33.50 per 1,000.

At the end of the week, the 7th of May, the American gunboat *McCulloch* arrived from Manila, bringing notice of the victory of Admiral Dewey over the Spanish squadron, but it brought no orders to take me to Manila, and at 9 at night I had a conference with the consul at his invitation.

The 15th of the same month the *McCulloch* returned again and brought the order to carry me to Manila with my companions. Having been immediately notified of the embarkation by Consul Wildman and at 10 o'clock at the night of the 16th, at the city hall of Hong Kong, being accompanied by the consul and the commander of the gunboat and by Mr. Barret, ex-secretary of the American embassy of the Kingdom of Siam, we went in an American launch to the Chinese port of Kowloon, where lay that gunboat. Mr. Barret, on taking leave, offered to visit me in the Philippines, and later kept his promise in Cavite and Malolos.

Consul Wildman charged me that as soon as I should arrive in the Philippines to establish the Filipino government under a dictatorial form and said that he would try by all means possible to end soon the expedition of arms, which in fact he did. (Note that after having received this consignment of arms, pleased, and trusting more and more in the sincerity and good faith of Consul Wildman, I charged him to send another consignment, remitting to him \$64,000 as a deposit for the expenses of the second consignment. But Mr. Wildman did not fulfil this last charge, kept that sum which, according to my information, he refuses to return.)

The *McCulloch* leaving at 11 o'clock in the morning of the 7th May for the Philippines, we came to anchor between 12 and in the afternoon of May 19 in the waters of Cavite and immediately the launch of the Admiral with his adjutant and private secretary came to take me to the *Olympia*, where I was received with my adjutant, Señor Leyva, with the honors of a general by a section of marines.

The Admiral received me in the saloon, and after salutes of courtesy I asked him if all the telegrams which he had sent to the consul of Singapore, Mr.

Pratt, relative to me were true; he answered me affirmatively and added that the United States had come to the Philippines to protect its natives and free them from the yoke of Spain.

He said, besides, that America was rich in lands and money and did not need colonies. He concluded by assuring me that I must have no doubt concerning the recognition of Philippine Independence on the part of the United States. And immediately he asked me if I could raise the people against the Spaniards and make a rapid campaign.

I answered that events would prove it, but that until the arrival of the consignment of arms which had been entrusted to Consul Wildman in one of the ports of China I could do nothing, since without arms each victory would cost many lives of brave and daring Filipino revolutionists. The Admiral offered to send a steamer to hurry up the consignment of arms, apart from the orders which he had given Consul Wildman, and he placed immediately at my disposition all the cannons which were in the vessels of the Spanish squadron and 62 Mauser rifles with many cartridges, which were on the *Petrel* and came from Corregidor.

I then expressed to him my profound gratitude for the generous aid which the United States was giving to the Filipino people, as also my admiration for the greatness and goodness of the American people. I explained to him also that before I left Hong Kong the Filipino colony had a meeting, in which they had discussed the possibility that, after having conquered the Spaniards, the Filipino might have a war with the Americans because of the latter's possible refusal to recognize our independence, and that the Americans would be sure to win, because they would find us tired, without ammunitions of war, and worn-out in the war against the Spaniards, and I asked him at the same time to pardon my frankness.

The Admiral replied that he was delighted with my sincerity and believed that Filipinos and Americans ought to treat among themselves, like allies and friends, expressing clearly all doubts for the most perfect understanding

between both parties, adding that, as he had already declared, the United States would recognize the independence of the Filipino people, guaranteed by the honourable word of the Americans, of greater efficacy than documents that can be left unfulfilled when it is desired to do so, as happened with the written agreement with the Spaniards, and he advised me to make immediately a national Filipino flag, offering to do anything in his power to recognize and protect it before the other nations represented by the different squadrons lying in the bay; though he said that we ought to conquer the power of the Spaniards before “unfurling” (verb *hondear* here used probably should read *ondear*, to wave or unfurl) that banner, in order that the act might be more honorable in the sights of all the world and, above all, of the United States; and in order that when Filipino vessels bearing their national flag should pass before foreign squadrons they might inspire respect and esteem. I thanked the Admiral anew for his good advice and generous offers, making him understand that if the sacrifice of my own life to honor the Admiral before the United States should be necessary I was ready to sacrifice it.

I added that with such conditions I could assure him that all the Filipino people would unite in the revolution to shake off the yoke in Spain, though some few might fall for lack of arms or personal profits.

Thus ended the first conference with Admiral Dewey, to whom I announced that I would take up my quarters in the office of the commander of the marines in the arsenal at Cavite.

*See Emilio Aguinaldo, “True Account of the Philippine Revolution,” *Aguinaldo in Retrospect* (Manila: Philippine Historical Association, 1969) pp. 279-313.

Document 542, DSPH

THE PACT OF BIYAK-NA-BATO

Pedro Alejandro Paterno

Preliminary Pages

Long before the negotiations of the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato, by the intervention of General Aguinaldo for the insurgents, General F. Primo de Rivera for the Spanish government and Don Pedro A. Paterno as the intermediary, the Spanish government endeavored to come to an understanding with the insurgents. Proofs of it are the two letters, whose original are conserved, written during the time of General Polavieja and are hereby transcribed as follows:

The Mission of the Society of Jesus
In the Philippine Islands
Particular

Manila, March 14, 1897

Sr. Don Emilio Aguinaldo:

Most appreciated in Christ: Although without special relations with you, I was encouraged to write you, moved by a sentiment of Christian charity and the strong desire of goodness for this afflicted country. As a minister of God, though unworthy of a religion which is also yours, I have considered it with enough representation to bring peace and love.

Please tell me for the love of God, is it not such a pity that so many people should die? What a river of blood had already run in the Philippines since the end of August! Will this never end? Do Spaniards and Filipinos have to fight one another until one country or the other is extinguished? Could you and I

do something to avoid so much wrong? You, undoubtedly more than I, with very little power, somehow could do something. I would propose to you or to your representative that you arrange an interview with me or whoever of our Jesuit priests or with the Auditor General of the army, or with any of its chief or official or the Commander-in-Chief (General en Jefe) to be able to determine how this conflict could end.

It could be very well that your desires and claims are just and deserved and could be attended to in order to reach an accord to end the war. I do not doubt that in an instant, pardon would be granted much better than those agreed to date, that you, and those chiefs, would come out well liberated with a future full of bright hopes than if war should continue. All these could be taken up in the interview.

I give you all these probabilities or better, securities, because of what I heard from the Author General, who is a person trusted by the Captain General and the Commander-in-Chief. That is why, I said, that the interview, if you so desire, could be with the same Auditor. You be the one to choose the place of the conference. You can assign it inside the territory occupied by our troops, without fear and with all the security to return freely to your camp even if agreement has not been reached. If this one does not seem good enough, do choose a place to the shore between the two enemy camps, each group in its banca, where everything convenient for the conference could be attained.

I pray that you answer me soon through the same bearer of this letter. Another letter like this one will reach you through another channel. I sent out two for security. It is also good that you answer it through the two bearers that I recommended to your nobility of sentiments so that they may return to my presence safe and sound.

Hoping that we would soon give each other a Christian embrace, I remain your attentive chaplain and servant in Christ.

PIO PI S.J

Sr. Don Emilio Aguinaldo

My dear Sir: The bearer, Margarita, will explain to you my intentions. I like to have peace.

If you like, peace could not be achieved in a few days.

No more bloodshed. Ask what you want.

If you desire to hold a conference with me, I shall keep you in my barge or in a place of your choice.

Trust in me, for I am a good friend of the Filipinos.

Awaiting your reply.

RAFAEL COMENGE

(From the *Philippine Revolution* by Felipe G. Calderon)

Part One

THE PROTOCOL

CHAPTER ONE

I. My Departure from Manila for the Province of Bulacan

Delegated by the government of Spain and clothed with all the powers to negotiate peace with the Filipino army in the bloody revolution of 1896, I decided to put my hands on the matter resolving to leave Manila on August 4, 1897 towards Biyak-na-Bato to effect a peace mission. I was disposed to sacrifice my well-being, the comforts of my home, and even my own life for for my adorable country which I idolized and venerated since childhood. Before, though I was away from my native land, I could feel the warmth of her sun and the perfume of her flowers in far exotic Europe.

I was persuaded to negotiate this Peace as a great favor for my countrymen who are up in arms and who are completely unknown to me. But, it was more important to me than they would take my good intentions crookedly and sacrifice me as their embodiment, a victim of their rancour? My idea was of peace, unity and confraternity and Spain guaranteed me of the good and prosperity of those who sought her will, and, I, guided by the words of Jesus, “love one another” asked my conscience if I was doing well, and my conscience cried out. “Work!”

With the pass below, I prepared to leave.

CAPTAINSHIP GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES

Estado Mayor

By disposition of H.E., the Captain General, H.E. Sr. Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno and ten persons accompanying him are allowed to pass through all

the lines and the military posts in the Provinces of Luzon. He may carry a revolver for his use.

Manila, 4 August 1897.

The General in Chief of E.M.
(Sgd) FRANCISCO DE CASTILLA

Annotated on No. 365

The margin reads:

Assistance

There is a seal in black ink which says: *Captainship General of the Philippines: Military Staff*. In the center: *The Arms of Spain*.

It was one August morning. The dawn was red, as if she, too, wanted to be a revolutionist. The first song of the mayas went up in the heavy air, dyed with the purple morning.

Malabon was still asleep.

I was followed by my loyal servant, Andres Cabrera, the most indispensable bearer of my personal things. I was being carried in a hammock by twenty husky *cargadores* who undertook my way through bushes after bushes, and plains after plains across the mountains of Luzon.

The mountains! Our mountains! Like the poor pen of a chronicler that has no gallantry nor colors to be able to paint them in all their magnificence and in its own language. How from its pinnacles crowned with clouds they speak with *Bathala*, who seems to descend from his carriage of lightning and thunder to give us anew the tablets of His laws as He did to the biblical and legendary Moses.

II. In the Revolutionary Headquarters

Finally, we arrived in the province of Bulacan after a thousand hardships; the woody Bulacan, so rich and beautiful called the Garden of the Philippines. Its land area measures 226, 806 hectares. The inhabitants, including the Aetas who live in its mountains, number to 230,000. It has 25 towns, 360 barrios and 35 chapels.

I have to see them... It is necessary to communicate my proposals to them. . . Not all will receive me nor reveal their secrets to me. . . Anyway, the cargadores who transported me are the same *sandatahan* who have been so heroic in the thousand episodes of their lives and are related *sotto voce* in this war for the independence of the motherland.

I lost my thought in a hundred varying ideas and my heart was agitated by a thousand encountered sentiments. We slipped on a wide, profound and large trench which was recently dug. None of the cargadores were able to determine the situation of that trench, of that immense denseness of unknown limit. Some said it belonged to Meykawayan, others to Bokawe and still others to Santa Maria de Pandi. But since no one was able to affirm to which town it belonged, we were all convinced that it was certainly a rocky manigua purposely made for the guerrillas who had to live, defended by the bitterness of the virgin forest and by the assistance of the neighboring towns.

I salute that jungle, headquarters of some guerrillas lost in the fields of immense cane plantations, in his pompous groves, who is the religious silent pontiff and is God. There, I stopped to rest. While resting, slowly a man riding an enormous carabao with curved horns arrived. The said rider was an old man, a Tagalog wearing a salakot decorated with silver.

He was surprised to see me there. I smiled and asked for the Filipino leaders. We seemed jealous of each other though I was less worried; then, we engaged in the following dialogue:

“Yes, do not be surprised. I come to see your generals to confer with them, that is why, as you will understand, I need to know where they are so that I may see them.”

“But who are you?”

I gave him my name. Then the old man, after some hesitation promised to saddle and advise the General of the advance post regarding my desires.

Hopeful, I waited there forming out my plans and projects, eating little of my remaining light provisions and sleeping in the open under the mango trees which protected me from the night dew with its flower cups, twenty four mortal hours! Finally, on the following day, the steps of a human being begin to profane the virgin forest. The one who arrived was a guard of General Paciano Rizal. He told me to follow him towards the general’s headquarters.

III. My Conference with General Paciano Rizal

General Paciano Rizal and I talked for a long while. We were both seated over a fallen trunk of an old pili tree. I introduced myself to him.

The General who have heard my name mentioned a thousand times by his brother, Jose, spoke to me lovingly and with respect.

But he did not extend his hand to me. On the first insinuation of my mission, he stood up almost solemnly.

“What do you want?” He asked me. “What do you want Don Pedro, for us to make peace with Spain and be precisely the bearer of that peace when they have shot my brother, Jose, banished my parents and brothers and even accused us falsely up to the last member of my family, confiscating our lands from us and hurling a thousand horrors on our faces.

“Ah, Don Pedro! Dig a very deep well. Then fill it from top to bottom with all the bolos and lances that you want. Then, later on, command me to throw

myself into it and Paciano Rizal will do just that. But do not ask me the other one, that of peace, because that one, Don Pedro, is impossible and absurd.”

Somehow, I reflected while I listened to the brother of the Martyr of Bagumbayan talk and I read from his eyes the lightning of anger and hatred in the most extreme resolution. He kept on talking, saying that I should ask him for another thing where he can best serve me since he desired to pay me for some favors I have extended to his brother Pepe while in Europe. Finally, I broke my silence and told him:

“General Paciano, you have nothing to pay me for. The little that I have done to your brother is very insignificant. It was my duty to do it as a good patriot and a good Filipino. But since you are so amiable and want to honor me in some way. I ask that you give me an officer of your army for a companion. I am disposed to reach Biyak-na-Bato and present myself to General Aguinaldo to present the claims of the Spanish Government.”

IV. My Exodus to the Mountains

And that was happened: with much appreciation, though smiling maliciously, General Paciano Rizal, after taking me in his headquarters, provided me an escort and, at the same time, a guide for the impregnable and grandiose fortress of Biyak-na-Bato. He was Major Salvador Natividad who escorted me in the long journey towards Baliwag.

V. Entrance to Baliwag

We entered Baliwag, famous for its sweet ladies, and its literature about love. Heaven seemed to give me hopes for my ideal. Those faces of women so beautiful seemed to augur goodwill and success to my plans. We stopped to rest in the house of a good Spaniard, Sr. Don Luis Mesa, who treated us like princes. Once I found them, we hurried to resume the march to San Rafael.

But before that, I encountered Don Jose Ner, a lawyer and a friend of mine, who desired to accompany me to the historic mountain. We parted with

Major Natividad and some people who accompanied us to Baliwag.

I figured out, however, that Natividad notified General Aguinaldo of our approaching visit.

VI. San Rafael and San Miguel de Mayumo

We had to abandon the idea of spending the night in the town of San Rafael. The Philippine army was being shelled and so changed direction in order to proceed to San Miguel de Mayumo through the virgin forest. The way was uncultivated, unplowed and rough terrain. What matters!

The faith is big and the desire to love is even bigger. We reached San Miguel de Mayumo not without having to across unlimited and deep mud holes and a long wooden bridge, in a manner like those iron bridges of the medieval castles.

We rested in the house of Don Ceferino de Leon which was transformed into as headquarters of the Spanish army. We left for Biyak-na-Bato after savoring the pleasant and amiable hospitality of the host. We arrived there approximately at 7:00 o'clock in the evening.

We tried to avoid the rocky thickets and obstacles by moving and turning to one side along the harsh flanks of Biyak-na-Bato so named because of its crushed rocks. It crosses the river that defends it and shelters it from all invasions. We heard its murmurs in a sonorous and lyrical bubbling like notes of a patriotic hymn. We gradually ascended, cautiously, like phantoms, enveloped by the shadows of the veiled, dense and cloudy night.

VII. Biyak-na-Bato

We reached the pinnacle of Biyak-na-Bato crowned with huts that housed the troops and the people who sought refuge on its slopes.

It was eleven in the evening. The nocturnal birds sang and whistled in the virgin forest. Somehow or the other, some lights flickered inside the already quiet huts.

Hurriedly and without losing a moment, we directed our steps to the hut occupied by the Filipino Chief and his wife.

Don Emilio Aguinaldo received me affectionately and lodged me in his dwelling hut. It was so miserable and narrow. He and his wife were not using this as their room but they were sleeping on the *papag* (bed made of bamboo).

They gave me a small room in which I had to draw my feet together. The sister of Aguinaldo, Neneng, a very hardworking lady, the sort of a proud and virile type, yet affable and loving, together with her aged mother were in charged of giving me lodging. They kept me warm from the intense cold. They gave me pieces of paper and soldier's clothes; the only things that could be found available. All was done for God and for peace. I tried to sleep, preparing my plans for the conference for the next day since I would have to be an arbiter on the subject of peace, but it was impossible to sleep.

There was a continuous neighing of horses and buzzing of insects that molest and bite. Finally, I opened my eyes and seemed to fly, fly and fly to the monorhythmic song of the black and stringent hawks and *kalaws*, of the dismal *tictic*, of the owls and *sabucots* of the virgin forest. They protested in continuous mournful and savage cries over the encroachment of man, the guerrilleros who were disturbing their eternal calm and paradisaical tranquillity.

CHAPTER TWO

I. First Conference with the Leader of the Revolution, Don Emilio Aguinaldo

The next day, the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of the Philippines, Don Emilio Aguinaldo Famy, asked the object of my visit and in what way he could be of service to me. I replied that I came commissioned by the Spanish Government to obtain peace which the government desires and that I have decided to undertake task relying on his assistance and that of his generals.

But Aguinaldo did not like peace. He told me briefly and determinedly that there would only be peace if there would be independence. "If the Spaniards are tired of fighting then, let them give us freedom and they could leave our country. The land is ours. This war is costing us too much blood and many lives. Spain would come back to deceive and betray us with promises and words which will never be fulfilled. No! A thousand times, no! Sr. Paterno, you must not tire yourself. Do not waste time on that."

I tried to persuade, convince, and interrupt him wherever he spoke of independence or about death. I told him that "the Spanish government is like all other governments. It is not bad. It does not think of deception. It wants peace and asks it from them. It is powerful I came commissioned by the Captain General of the Philippines for his purpose. Think it over. Every guarantee will be given you so you would not have any doubt as to the sincerity of its resolution to have peace."

II. First Conference with General Mamerto Natividad, 2nd Chief of Biyak-na-Bato

After I have spoken and discussed my proposals with Aguinaldo, I approached his lieutenant, Don Mamerto Natividad, most distinguished knight and brave general of the revolution, who showed his sympathies to me from the

very beginning. We gradually looked at each other squarely on the face, and kept with the following dialogue:

“Believe me, Mr. Natividad, with peace we could examine closely our forces for the future. We would show belligerency and humanity before all the nations that find our own process of honor in actual suspense, and then we would come to the circumspect of politics and intellect.”

“Oh! Don Pedro, all what you say is beautiful and endearing. But you pitifully waste time in trying to convince a man like me who already have made his resolution. It will not take a long time to work for the independence of the nation because we will fight until the last drop of our blood is poured in the battle fields. I know you by name, Don Pedro. I know from my fingertips what you are and what you can do. You are accustomed to all the grandeurs in which you were brought up. Your heart would never palpitate with those unfortunate hearts who were conquered, maltreated and deprived of life and power. These are hearts that roar like tigers, Independence!”

“I protest. How should I not know of pains and human miseries even if I am being surrounded by power and greatness. I know the despair and the anguish of the slave. Ah, Mr. Natividad, you do not understand me. From the depth of my flesh and of my soul, I crave more than anyone of you, for the liberty of my country, for the first ray of the new dawn to come to caress this tanned forehead from the warmth of the political struggles that during the days of my tender youth knew how to put the name of the Philippines among the most civilized country in Europe.”

Mamerto Natividad was serious. His voice seemed to be like the air in the cemetery dragging the cruel phrases and deflecting from the conversation. Then he replied to me:

“I, Don Pedro, have lost my father who was shot by the Spaniards. All my family, like that of Rizal, have been slandered and punished like a *filibuster*. Presently, many members of my family are wandering in the mountains

without shelters. They are at war against those who did not know how to respect the peace of their homes. Tell me, Don Pedro, if I should back out a single step or should I take Spain's offer of peace?"

"Well, well," I murmur, but Natividad, stopped me. I cut short what I have to say and he said sadly:

"Nonsense, Don Pedro! All men upon birth already have their routes marked out. Mine is of desolation, of death. Let death break the heart that knows how to palpitate until the bloodiest sacrifice for the honor of his family and of his race."

Natividad kept on talking while I meditated on his words. With all these, to show by chance in plain light how great, beautiful and magnanimous his golden heart, he secretly assured me of his help in my plans. He also ordered the *cargadores* to take good care of me and to treat me like a king, at the same time, taught them the right way down to Manila through the jungles and then to return quickly to the mountains of Biyak-na-Bato; all with the purpose of presenting myself to the Captain General, with his own message and those of Emilio Aguinaldo. And, he replied as we said goodbye to each other:

"That is it, Don Pedro, with that we will have peace: the independence."

III. Determined to Die for Independence

There was nothing but a no to everything. Discouraged, I tried to convince the other chiefs and in order to get to the bottom of the speech, I talked less about this with the soldiers. It seemed that even the canefields shaking upon being caressed with wind, also wanted independence. I began to whisper for my mistake and for my companion, Ner, who was already getting fearful and faint hearted. We felt like we were two spies of the Spanish government that were being sold out for twenty or thirty thousand pesos.

IV. To Confer with the Generals of the Revolution

Notwithstanding, Aguinaldo courteously concluded by saying that the end of the war does not depend on him. That if I search for peace, I should direct myself personally to consult all of the most prestigious generals of the revolution. An improbable task, almost a heroic thing, in those times but I did not despair and I began to put into practice the “order” of the Filipino Chief.

CHAPTER THREE

I. Very Brief Conference with the Governor General

Inside and hidden, I was seated in a fishing barge paddled by four oarsmen. We followed swiftly the course of the waters of the Pasig River towards Manila Bay.

"Halt!" shouted the sentinel of the Malacañang Palace. The oarsmen slowed my banca.

"Who is in there?" shouted the sentinel.

"What kind of people?"

"Countrymen, good and peaceful," we all answered together.

"Come nearer to be recognized."

That is what the oarsmen did. Later on, after being recognized by the sentinel, he said, "Come in!"

I took his word and asked, "Sentinel, may I speak to the Corporal?" Then the Corporal presented himself while I was formulating my question. He was the same man who saw my banca minutes before it came near the palace.

"Corporal, may I speak to you?"

"Come in, Don Pedro. I am advised to let you pass at whatever hour. It has been fifteen minutes ago that they have turned off the lights of the interior of the palace."

"Well, what time is it?"

“It is two o’clock in the morning.”

“I thought it was much earlier. I have an obligation to talk to His Excellency.”

“Come in, I am still awake. It has been days that your private secretary had come to ask me if I have seen you come near this way.”

I went up the stairs of the wharf and crossed the garden. I purposely strutted to call the attention of the halberdiers who were guarding the portals of the palace. The sentinel at the main stairway made three strokes on the floor with his halberd as I passed by in front of him so that the private secretary would receive me. But, the welcome was solitary and I passed through the gallery where everything was silence and darkness. I crossed the wide gallery and walked towards the left corridor where the door of the hall opened to the office of His Excellency.

I entered and lightly knocked at the bedroom door of the Governor General but no one responded. I lifted the bar of the door and thrust half of my body into the interior of the bedroom, and saw His Excellency profoundly asleep.

Even if I decided to wake him up immediately, my habit of not disturbing the order of things stopped me. I made myself comfortable in the only chair I saw, unoccupied, under the blinking and fading light of the globe lampshade and waited for him to wake up.

It somehow gave me hopes that he would be awoken by the sounds of the bells on top of the cabinet which gave out a shrill repetitious sound every half hour. The passionate meowing of the cats making love at the receiving hall and the barking of the dogs, guarding the palatial garden have all been in vain. Minutes succeeded one after another and the governor was still profoundly asleep until the clock sounded that it was three in the morning. The crowing of the roosters prompted me to wake up His Excellency. I went near his bed and gently touched his arm, murmuring at the same time:

“My General, my General, please forgive me for waking you up.” The General opened his eyes and instantly recognized me and exclaimed:

“Oh, Paterno, it has been days that I wanted to talk to you.”

“I imagined it, my General.”

“How is everything ? What is going on?”

“The revolutionists en masse are gathered in Biyak-na-Bato. They do not want anything but independence or death. With peace, they do not hope for anything but betrayals, banishment, and martyrdoms, meaning to say, that it is like dying in a battlefield. Only this one is with a thousand anguish and with dishonor.”

“No, Paterno, assure them that they would not get anything bad from the Spanish Government, for those who submit themselves to Spain’s sovereignty and surrender their weapons of war, I guarantee and assure them of their life and liberty.”

“Forgive me, my General, with the previous conduct of the Spanish authorities, it is impossible to make them believe in those guarantees that you promise.”

“Well, they should speak what kind of guarantees they want.”

“That, you have to dictate to them, it is you who is powerful.”

“You must speak to them with frankness, Paterno. I shall give them all the guarantees that they believe are sufficient for the security of their lives. As for me, your word is enough that is why you have to ask them and let them speak out clearly. But, we will see. Paterno, do you believe it is possible to make peace?”

“Yes, my General, even if such would cost me my health and life. It is necessary according to General Aguinaldo that I should personally talk to all

the prestigious chiefs of the revolution and that they gather in an assembly to vote unanimously for peace. We will not be able to reach at anything if there would be just one who would not conform to it.

The basis of peace is simply an exchange of two ideas: the *laurels of peace* on your part, and, *the security of life and liberty*, on the part of the revolutionaries. It is a humane and practical thing and I do hope it will be approved unanimously by them.”

“Now, we lack the power of performance. I shall give you ample powers for its performance.”

“My General, would you believe with sincerity everything that I would do?”

“I give you my complete trust. I shall not hear nor believe anything except what you tell me. Do you understand?”

“In that way, I can make peace.”

“My assistance and confidence, do you understand, Paterno?”

“I understand, my General.”

“Spain would be grateful and I shall be the first one to assist you in everything.”

“Understood, my General.”

“Goodbye, Paterno.”

And we concluded this brief conference with a strong handshake.

II. The Return to Biyak-na-Bato

I then returned to Biyak-na-Bato where I declared solemnly that the independence they do desire was impossible, and that we should try to erase it from our minds.

I made propositions to General Aguinaldo, promising him liberty and welfare under our total personal security and to all the revolutionists, not only for those who were up in arms, but also to all the families who suffered on account of the war, or those who suffered terrible consequences according to the things I heard from the lips of the Governor General of the Philippines.

CHAPTER FOUR

The President of the Philippine Republic, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, signs the Protocol of Peace with the second Chief of Biyak-na-Bato, Major General Mamerto Natividad, and General Mariano Llanera.

Aguinaldo, first of all convoked to his intimate leaders and much later to all his chiefs, and ended up by signing the following:

Protocol of Peace

I. Place, date and causes which motivated my presence in Biyak-na-Bato

In the mountain of Biyak-na-Bato on 9 of August 1897, His Excellency, Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno, appeared unexpectedly before the Presidency of the Philippine Republic, manifesting that his presence was the impulse of his vehement love for the country of his birth. He bared the many reasons why we should set aside our weapons, satisfying ourselves with some of the answers to our requests although in order to secure the totality of our desires, it would be necessary to present this out to the Filipino nation and to those who value and appreciate her. That we ought to consider that the Spanish Government has suspended the realization of the reforms inevitably to those who are up in arms.

II. Reforms Suspended Due to War

Mr. Paterno, on various occasions said that he heard the Governor General of the Philippines lament about the suspension of the reforms. He was anxious to try and to acquire during his command the series of reforms, setting out ways to give satisfaction to the nation. That if we do not get all the reforms we asked, it is because it is hard to uproot in a day what has taken roots in more than three centuries.

III. Amnesty

That in many occasions, His Excellency, Señor Marques de Estella, stated that he knew his duty more than anybody else. He placed himself in front of the brigades that took the last trenches in Cavite in order to have the right to give unconditional pardon to deserving persons. The proclamation on the 17th of May lifted all the embargoes and extended welcome even to the deserters.

IV. Truce to the War

Mr. Paterno advised that by having reforms and amnesty, we should give our warlike people a truce so that they could benefit from the reforms revived by the Spanish Government and represented by the very noble and paternal son, Fernando Primo de Rivera.

V. Guarantee of Action

For these and various considerations having been detailed in the battlefields and prevailed upon the indisputable authority of Sr. Paterno on matters regarding the Philippines, he again presented himself to the Presidency and offered his own life so highly esteemed by the Filipinos, as guarantee of his actions.

VI. Appointment of the Absolute Arbitrator

VII. Revolutionists Gathered up in Arms

VIII. Revolutionists not Gathered up in Arms

The undersigned, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, President of the Philippine Republic, appoints His Excellency, Señor Pedro Alejandro Paterno, as arbitrator to sign peace with the Spanish Government, giving him ample powers to determine, fix, and receive the total of the funds and to appeal to the Spanish Government to grant said request. He is also empowered to distribute to them the indemnity according to his knowledge and equity, not

only to those who took up in arms but also to those who have not gone to the battlefields but who suffered damages due to the war.

IX. Oath to Keep the Secrets of the Revolution

Don Pedro Paterno had solemnly sworn before the Council of this Presidency not to reveal any secret of the revolution in whatever time or place, under pain or loss of his life and honor. He also agreed to help in removing all obstacles pertaining to money matters, such as debts, contracts and the like, with the help of the Spanish Government.

X. Economic Guarantees

XI. The Surrender of Arms

Once all these difficulties will be overcome and all its funds and interests will be secured and deposited into the hands of Mr. Paterno after certification by our emissaries, we will surrender all the weapons in our possession to the person designated by the Captain General and General-in-Chief of the Army of the Philippines, Mr. Fernando Primo de Rivera.

XII. Indemnity

The Presidency estimates that the monetary obligations contracted that should be resolved would be about three million pesos.

XIII. Protection of the Spanish Authorities

We have entrusted our lives and those of our families and all those who have taken part in the actual revolution to the most noble and generous spirit of Marques de Estella of Spain. We hope that his paternal foresight would adopt the necessary steps in order for us to live freely under the protection of the Spanish authorities in our country, where our wealth have been destroyed, or to the foreign lands where we would have to make our homes.

XIV. Duration of the Truce

In exchange for this protection of His Excellency, the Governor General of the Philippines, we have made a compromise to re-establish order and defend the peace in the Philippines in the coming three years up to September of 1900, during which time, we hope to implant the desired political reforms—ecclesiastical, civil, administrative and economics—being the principal ones.

XV. Reforms Demanded by the Revolutionists

- a. Expulsion, or at least, secularization of the religious orders
- b. Representation of the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes
- c. Application of real justice in the Philippines, for the native as well as for the Spaniards; Application of laws between Spain and the Philippines; Participation and leadership of the natives in the civil administration
- d. Settlement of the property of the parishes and the contributions in favor of the natives
- e. Proclamation of the individual rights of the natives such as the freedom of association and freedom of the press

XIV. General Assembly

The President takes consideration the spirit and words of this writing for presentation to the general assembly for which it hopes approval. It is its duty to manifest that without approval of the convened leaders nothing effective would be achieved by the Presidency of the Philippine Republic.

XV. Armistice

As a preliminary basis of harmony and definitive peace between this Presidency and that of the Spanish Government, the President who has the honor to accede would give a general order to suspend all advanced movements of

the revolutionary army in the Island of Luzon. When the necessary help for food had been received, they should remain in the mountains but refrain from communicating with the civilians or the towns during the period of convocation and the realization of the general assembly. In support of the truth in this document, I affix my signature, the notarial seal with our usual stamp in Biyak-na-Bato.

EMILIO AGUINALDO
(Head)

There is a seal which reads: “REPUBLICA DE FILIPINAS—PRESIDENCIA”
A radiant sun above the mountains.

MAMERTO LLANERA

There is a seal which reads: “Commander General Central Luzon.”—224.

I registered it in the book as correspondent No.3.

MARIANO LLANERA
(Sgd.)

Such was the protocol of Biyak-na-Bato. All its official writings referring to the Peace Pact were drafted according to their prescribed forms.

This document was the basis of all the pacification efforts in whose environs, army activities revolve around. The revolution lived triumphantly in the mountains enjoying for the first time the liberty which has been yearned for so long. The country maintained and offered her all kinds of material assistance. There was no scarcity of anything, not even nourishments, nor the provisions for war. When the colonel from Tarlac, Mr. Makabulos, was persecuted, he dissuaded the enemy with easy skirmishes, wherein he always came out victorious. When Colonel Gregorio del Pilar saw himself endangered in Bulacan, he outwitted the enemy by reappearing triumphantly in Pampanga. General Llanera, beaten in Nueva Ecija, found his way in Pangasinan and

this was how all the chiefs of the revolution styled themselves. There were no sufficient Spanish troops to prevent or cut the retreat of the rebel forces in the mountain.

The secret of the triumph consisted in being inspired by the present protocol and inculcating its essence in the minds of all the revolutionists, who emulated the example of Aguinaldo and his close associates later on, the unanimous approval by the general assembly convened in Biyak-na-bato was obtained.

Program and two official documents.

One, Referring to the reforms and the other, to the Indemnity of War

Captain General Primo de Rivera, Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Army, signed apart from the program, two official documents to finalize and complete the Peace Pact of Biyak-na-Bato.

The first document referred to the demand for reforms by those who rose in rebellion, which I presented to the representatives of Spain, could be read in the above-transcribed protocol. The second document comprised the concessions and advantages in the economic order, which the Spanish Government wanted to grant us.

I delivered the first one to Don Emilio Aguinaldo in his own home in Biyak-na-Bato. It was later on read before the representative assembly of the Filipino nation by the same secretary of Biyak-na-bato on December 20, 1897. The second one, conserved in my possession, are the memoirs of which I hereby reproduce.

After General Emilio Aguinaldo had signed this protocol, as a proof of his honourable convictions, he gave freedom to various Spaniards who were retained prisoners. This was an act which I immediately communicated to the Captain General Primo de Rivera extreme gratitude to the sovereign of the Luzon mountains, Don Emilio Aguinaldo.

Here is the decree of freedom of the Spanish prisoners:

“Your Excellency:

Extolling the happy event of visiting my general headquarters at Biyak-na-Bato, His Excellency, Don Pedro A. Paterno and Sr. Jose Ner y Quijano, and through their petition, I have the honor and the great satisfaction of informing Your Excellency, that I have decreed on this day, the liberty of the prisoners captured in action at Puray.

I heartily take advantage of this occasion in order to manifest the testimony of my most distinguished admiration and consideration to Your Excellency, Sr. Marquez de Estella, Don Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, who is highly respected and well loved by the Filipino nation.

May God preserve Your Excellency for many more years.”

Biyak-na-Bato, August 11, 1897

EMILIO AGUINALDO

His Excellency, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish Army.

There is a seal which reads: “Republic of the Philippine-Presidency.” A radiant sun over the mountains.

PART TWO

THE CONFERENCES

CHAPTER ONE

I. Beside the Marital Bed

I took a walk along one of the districts of the city of Manila in Sta. Ana, a delightful town of the province of Manila, where my wife is gravely ill, dying. Here, I wanted to spend weeks in grief when suddenly, the Captain General of the Philippines sat beside me at the lounge. The love for my wife comes first before anything else than the love for peace of the men in rebellion. I do not wish to be disturbed by the Captain General nor by anybody else. I am beside a bed of anguish. I am now fulfilling my real mission.

“But, yes, if you like,” I told him. “There is by my house a parade of stars and gallons of gold go immensely and continuously until the very air of Sta. Ana feel weary to hear repeatedly the words. “Peace! Don Pedro, peace!”

My situation is most lamentable. I am dragged by my love for my own country and my love for Spain. I am anxious to see them united in divine abundance of love, in the sweetest kiss of alliance and peace. One, for making me a poet when it swings my cradle to the cooing sounds of the rivers, the winds, and the moon. Its flowers intoxicated me with the aroma of honey and its volcanoes gave my soul the fire of patriotism. The other one, for being the mother, the second mother, who stretched out her arms to subdue my soul against her soul and gave me the most beautiful flower from among its most beautiful gardens, no other than the woman whom I adore, the woman that has loved me. The unforgettable woman that now sleeps under some sampaguita flowers—my wife and my soul!

II. Harmony between Spain and the Philippines

I wanted to see my two beloved countries march united towards their mutual victory and to the perennial glory of their own rather than see them fighting like the maddening waves of the Atlantic in anger.

In the end, the two countries would triumph. It would be the one of those glorious nights and the heavens white with stars, my forehead rested on the sweet perfumed smell of the *ilang-ilang* tree and the wind would rain on me the light of the stars and some dead leaves, golden, dry and pulled out from the *acacia* trees.

And, I remembered the divine precepts, wise words of my dead parents, who taught me to love our country, my country, above everything else. Therefore, I have to follow the Holy mandates. Sadly, gradually, I went into the room of my poor sick wife and spoke:

“My dear Luisa, you do want peace for your country and for the country of my parents, isn’t it? You want that I should be the only one to act and be able to obtain it, true?”

My wife nodded her forehead. Therefore, I did not doubt anymore. I did not cry anymore. With my eyes closed. I decided to depart anew, together with the pass from the President of the Republic of the Philippines. I went towards the forest to suffer again the slanders, and the weight of hard labor and threats. I would be confronting death with the thousands of lives that would fall under the wings of the invisible death.

III. The Pass Issued by the President of the Republic of the Philippines, Don Emilio Aguinaldo

His Excellency, Sr. Pedro A. Paterno and his companions, should not be molested on their travels but instead should be given all assistance in whatever be their needs as they thread along their way.

Biyak-na-Bato, August 15, 1897.

THE PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
EMILIO AGUINALDO

There is a seal which reads: “Republic of the Philippine-Presidency.” A radiant sun above the mountains.

CHAPTER TWO

I. To Kabite

I left for Imus, Kawit, and San Francisco de Malabon (Kabite) where the estates of the friars are located and where I hope to encounter some of the most conspicuous revolutionary leaders.

As a result, in a barrio of the town of Salinas, I enjoyed talking with Major Juan Cailles whom I did not know and so with all the other revolutionary chiefs.

Cailles, peremptorily rejected my peace proposals.

Two days passed. The cargadores left me for dead in the headquarters commanded by the famous Major Lucas. I said, dead, because the hatred of the said officers against Spain was very great and they did not want anything mentioned about her. My men knew I came to work for peace in behalf of the Spanish Government. I was also advised to dance along with the music that the other party was playing.

As I was going towards Indang, contemplating the landscape of this beautiful and plain vegetation, I could see the province of Batangas on one side and the province of Laguna on the other. Some men suddenly approached me and

asked me who I was and what I wanted. I told them who I was, but I did not tell them what I wanted. They then greeted me and told me:

“You are lucky, Sr. Paterno. Had you come half an hour earlier, we ourselves would have killed you right away.”

“Really! And why?” I asked rather intrigued.

They did not give any explanation but they told me that it was fortunate that a letter of Aguinaldo arrived in the town ahead of me saying that I should not be dispatched to another barrio. The letter contained the following:

“If Don Pedro Paterno should go that way, which he would, even if you do not like him, you must not harm him because his plans might serve us well the next day.”

In Indang, I lodged in the house of my relatives from Sta. Cruz in Manila, a mother and daughter who were so well loved by my parents. They both guided me in the town and presented me to the authorities. Indang seemed to be my enemy and, it was. Indang was very red! That was terrible! There was such a thirst for blood and liberty for independence.

They revealed to me that there was a plan to kill me in this town confirmed by the words of those who came to our meeting. The threat of death was all around me, so that I felt dismayed in the undertaking. I took all the necessary precautions even if I smiled before these false alarms. . . manifesting the favors to persons who gave me a thousand assistance in those days, except revealing the most intimate secrets which I swore to keep. But in these pages, all sentiments of gratitude go to them.

I bade them goodbye. I went in search of General Trias and Riego de Dios through the mountains scouring over Naic, Alfonso, Bailen, Magallanes, Look, and Pico de Loro.

From town to town, from mountain to mountain, I finally arrived in Nasugbu, but did not find Trias and Riego de Dios in any of those places. Trias, however, was going from town to town battling his way through.

II. At the Headquarters of General Emiliano Riego de Dios

I finally found Riego de Dios at the summit of Pico de Loro. I then introduced myself and told him the purpose of my visit. Riego de Dios, like his other comrades-in arms, was robust and energetic.

The following day, I went back to do my task and decided to explain to them that we were proposing to the Government of Spain in the Philippines and I, on my part, urged them the cessation of war which was costing us enormous lives, tears, and fortune. Riego de Dios seemed more compliant. I proposed to him to accompany me to Biyak-na-bato. After eight days of long deliberations, he finally consented but not without protest from father Dandan, who was afforded protection as the chaplain of the troops of Riego de Dios in Pico de Loro. In spite of being an intimate friend of my family and having been deported with my father to the Marianas Islands as a result of the 1872 event in Cavite, he was greatly opposed to the idea of taking me to the General. He alleged that we were defenceless and that the very porters of my hammock could serve as spies to the Spanish soldiers.

The threat that six hundred men would die with me also dawned on me. All was in vain. I was able to convince Riego de Dios who left behind the rugged mountain of Pico de Loro that morning. When night fell, we took our seats in one of the bancas that we found along the shore which the fishermen sold to us for half its price. We navigated up to the shores of Tondo where we took refuge in one of the houses of a fisherman. There we have known that we were to meet Doña Saturnina Salazar de Abreu at 4:00 o'clock at dawn.

III. At the House of Doña Ninay Salazar

Said lady did not only welcome me like a mother but also helped me in everything and even went as far as lending me five thousand pesos. She even opened up another account of ten thousand pesos which I needed for my expenses that I did not have on hand because of the impossibility of my going back home. Doña Ninay hid both Riego de Dios and me very well so that no one would suspect of our stay in Manila. She had a letter delivered to the Captain General advising of my arrival in the city with one of the Generals of Aguinaldo. General Primo de Rivera showed interest and ordered the chief of the veterans not to molest us in the slightest manner. So, after a day of rest, we were again able to resume our journey through the forests and mountains. It was what one would call a “blue journey” among the clouds without my companion Ner who refused to accompany me, for reasons that only God knows, to Biyak-na-Bato, wherein the bulwark and the strength of the Revolution’s armed forces authority is located and, which the Spaniards dream to go up and crown with their banner to the gallant sound of their warlike trumpet.

At Biyak-na-Bato once again, not like before, one would stumble with trenches and all kinds of obstacles with traps and springs that at slightest slip, lances and darts would hurl toward you; arms here and there, everywhere, were sparkling under the sun in the custody and the glory of the enemy banners. There were lines of soldiers where one would have to go through with a branch of olive, of peace, to the white lady enchantress.

CHAPTER THREE

I. General Riego de Dios in Biyak-na-Bato and his Return to Kabite

General Riego de Dios conferred with Aguinaldo for a long time. What they talked about, I did not know. The result was our going back separately since I had to protect the march of this general up to Kabite with safe conduct and special passes, and I went back alone to San Miguel de Mayumo passing through the virgin forests, rough grounds and rivulets until I arrived at Sta. Maria de Pandi and from there to Montalban.

II. My Travel to Morong

I climbed Mount Tapusi where its famous cave was an eternal refuge of bandits and the shelter of General Luciano San Miguel who later on gloriously died in Pugad Babuy under the heavy firing of the American canons. This general conducted me to Antipolo passing through the famous Bitukang Manok and presented me to his fiancée, a distinguished mestizo, daughter of a well-to-do Chinese, Ong Capin, who was all sweetness and gracefulness.

There we lodged ourselves in the house of Don Basilio Lim situated at the very entrance of the town of Antipolo and we saw the cave of Talbac that ends in the mountains of San Mateo (Morong) where the fugitives encamped in their arrogance.

General San Miguel promised that I could talk to General Hermogenes Bautista who was in Marikina. I thanked him for such a gesture. I then had to proceed to Laguna, to Nagkarlan, whose august cemetery reminded me of those Roman catacombs. Here, I met with General Taiño.

III. Interview with General Taiño in the Cemetery of Nagkarlan

I entered that cemetery with a pretext to buy candles for the dead. There, in its dark bottom, I discovered a small chapel. Under its crypt, in another underground cemetery, I found Taiño.

IV. My Conferences with the Revolutionaries of the Province of Laguna

There were three generals who were in command of the Province of Laguna. Severino Taiño, Paciano Rizal, and Luciano Taleon, the latter died by the bridge of the Damas de Sta. Ana. After a few years during the struggle, Taiño, was assassinated by an ex-Spanish lieutenant named, Casteltor.

From Nagkarlan, we passed by San Pablo where Mt. Banahaw rises as an immense chalice of emeralds to heaven. There a nomadic tribe seemingly executes a real Babylonian practice of their craft in their laborious pursuit of wordly pleasures in divine virginity and nudity similar to the proselytes of the old communism, the fossilized vestiges of the first social evolution.

V. The Dawn of Peace

Peace seems to smile at me. I am struggling for more, however, and I do suffer much without giving credit to the continuous beatings with which my heart would like to assure me of the triumph.

My object is this: to gather the most prestigious revolutionists to a great assembly in Biyak-na-Bato to discuss the terms of peace. In this efforts, I do not lose time and immediately, I left for Nueva Ecija.

VI. In the Bleak Windy Spots of Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, and Morong

In Nueva Ecija, I encountered the trusted men of General Llanera, whom I did not meet for he was conducting operations in the field. I also looked for Colonel Gregorio H. del Pilar. I found him and stayed with him for a longer time. Later on, I started for Pampanga to see Colonel Makabulos, and from

Pampanga to Morong, in search of General Pio del Pilar, whom I did not encounter for he was with the guerrillas in Kabite.

The opinions, reasoning, and commentaries of all these Filipino generals on my honourable proposals made me wait definitely for an end to what I have been commanded. The woodlands, the mountains that I crossed, the trees and the flowers seemed to tell me: "Go back, Conqueror!" I face obstacles everywhere, hear screams of combat, threats of death, contradictions; what matters? What matters? I shall surrender all the weapons. I shall make all Filipino generals love the law and I would make them great and powerful, with the means that the sovereign government guarantees me, so that when tomorrow comes they would salute the dawn, the true dawn of freedom.

VII. My Aspirations: A Smile from my Dear Country

In return, I do not ask or expect anything but handful of sampaguita flowers for my tomb, a smile from my dear country, and a cover to my coffin with the banner kissed by my own lips three times. Even in the high peaks of Biyak-na-Bato, or in its plains, the sound of the crackling winds along with the horrible noise of struggles could be heard.

CHAPTER FOUR

I. In the Batangas Jungle

I left at once, some events occurred in the province of Batangas, the province whose land does not sleep for it has no important providential miracles.

After roaming through the towns of Imus, San Francisco de Malabon, Perez, Dasmariñas, Silang, and Indang, the latter dominates with the view to its left of Nasugbu, Looc, and all the provinces of Batangas, and to her right,

Carmona, and Biñang and all of the provinces of Laguna. I turned to Indang. From there, to Alfonso, then to Bailen, Magallanes, and Maragondon. From Maragondon, I climbed up to Looc and then to Pico de Loro where I went searching continuously for Malvar and Taiño.

The episode that happened to me in Looc should be noted. The driver of the *carromata* left me at a certain distance, a great distance from the first post of the Filipino army. I protested his warning to hide among the deep forest fearing that the soldiers would come upon him, his horse and his *carromata* without leaving any trail of the three of them. Surely, those troops of Taiño were considered everywhere as the most intrepid and intransigent of all the revolutionaries. Aguinaldo himself bade me goodbye with words of precaution about the places and directed me.

Decidedly, I had to dismount from the *carromata* and proceeded my way to Looc on foot. I took all the necessary precautions. On the other hand, fear did not possess me in any of the places or occasions wherein I had to risk my life.

I undertook the long hazardous walk, pace by pace. Just as I was nearing the first post, I encountered a guerrillero. He appeared ferocious that instinctively, I caressed the butt of my revolver.

The holy questions: What do I want and where am I going? Who am I? I did not answer his suggestive questions but I did say my name. Then, before my incredulous eyes which doubted this specie of a miracle, this man fell on his knees on my feet and murmured:

“Paterno, Don Pedro Paterno! You are my saviour and also of the other unfortunate ones like me. We were once condemned to the gallows in Batangas...”

I told him to explain, which he did. He was a poor condemned man with his other companions whom I do not remember anymore; what sort of

punishments were inflicted on them, whose crimes lack proofs. I continued to move. And, that man was one of those I saved. He showed his gratitude by crying on his knee at my feet.

I made him stand up and frankly revealed my plans to see and talk to General Taiño. He guided me across the forests up to Taiño's headquarters. Taiño upon seeing me, was very much surprised.

"Don Pedro Paterno, where did you pass to come to me? I have all the most indomitable forces, soldiers, who are most feared in the flank which you passed through. I do not know what sort of miracle happened that you have not been thrown and cut into bits like tigers."

I just smiled. Taiño then ordered the troop of heroes to convene to a reunion. I had the curiosity to know above all, what were the means which made me break through their lines of fire.

And, I exclaimed screaming as if, intending to deafen it with my words. "Now, certainly, I do not believe in peace! Yes, I do believe in peace!"

II. In the Precipice of Nasugbu

In two days time another bad omen occurred to me. I heard the bearers of my hammock speak in a low voice as if in earnest discussion. I was far from suspecting that these men who were carrying me on their shoulders and were splendidly rewarded were thinking of throwing me into the ravine for being a traitor to the country. Perhaps, they even thought of robbing me if given the chance, who knows?

But God is everywhere. It is certain according to a proverb that one reaps what he sows. Among my cargadores, there was one condemned man, who because of my influence, was saved from the gallows in Batangas. Since gratitude abounds in our country like a flower that emits its perfume and opens its leaves to embrace its divine aroma, the virtue of the soul, that cargador,

though rough and rugged, saved my life. He fought to save me from the obstinate and inconsiderate arguments with his other companions.

I heard him shout many times. “No! Nobody kills Don Pedro while I live and I am around. The first one among you tries to kill him, I will split his head!” He demonstrated in the air his robust fists, almost herculean. In the meantime, I put my confidence on that man so much so that I placed all my fate in God.

They did not at all harm me. Not only did they abandon the thought of it but they themselves tore the ribbons out of the flowers of the forests as a bait to the enemy. They destroyed the darts, the lances and other deadly instruments placed treacherously on our path. That was how we went along our journey. They were peaceful and friendly even if at times I had my soul hanging on a piece of thread.

III. A Beautiful Country Lass Likes Me

Another episode no less dramatic happened to me in the province of Kabite, in a town whose loving memories I have erased from mind. I shall try in vain to consign them in these pages.

A lady, a beautiful lass of seventeen years came to me one night panting, trembling, with her long hair spread out on her shoulders down to her back like a dark night. Her sweet lips were rosy and quivering, with her eyes filled with tears and her chest palpitating. I asked her, “What do you want?” And, I came to learn that all she wanted was for me to take her along. She told me between sobs and tears that she was very unfortunate, having fallen prey to a revolutionary chief whom she hated. My soul was tearing me to pieces because of this enchanting lady. But what could I do?

I reflected. Finally, I hit the nail right on its head. I gave her a respectable sum of money so she could run away. The poor girl made her escape and left nothing but a great longing and a rosary of sampaguita flowers that she gave

me in return. I kept in among my unredeemed receipts and old documents which were being eaten by years of disillusion.

IV. In the Oasis of Susong Dalaga

Beneath the caves of the branches of trees of Susong Dalaga, a mountain with an oasis of flowers, there lived a Tagalog sorceress in Kabite whom Señores Celestino Aragon, Agustin de la Rosa, and myself went to consult about our future.

We were welcomed by the sorceress with a smile from her precious mouth with luminous eyes over her silky complexion and a youthful face of thirty summers.

The three of us gave her the most respected greeting. We asked her if we could be put in communication with the spirits which she answered affirmatively.

I was the first one to put my hand over the three-legged round table invoking the spirit of Jose Rizal.

Effectively, after a few seconds, I felt the table moving. The Tagalog sorceress taught me how to do the communication. The table where the spirit of the Tagalog Martyr was supposed to be became florid. It answered my questions, rising and striking an indeterminate number of blows on the floor. But since it did not satisfy us, we battered the soothsayer with a downpour of questions which were being answered gradually and respectively.

I remember that after freeing our hands from those of the soothsayer's she was still saying about our future when Celestino Aragon brought out the following questions:

“How can we be of good use to our country?” the soothsayer after raising her eyes to the heavens, as a conjecture of divine inspiration, rested calmly and fixed her shining eyes to the three of us.

“There is much, if you like. Your names and surnames show it. The three of you can form a perfect trinity, the celestial paternal rose of your country shall be the ones to suggest the dawn of liberty.”

We still kept on our conversation with the soothsayer and wondered about our last consultations. After we were through, we left her alone in her hut beneath the dome of branches of the temple by mother nature for seers, birds, and flowers.

CHAPTER FIVE

Intimate Conference with Captain General Don Fernando Primo de Rivera

It was ten in the evening, the usual hour when the friends of Don Fernando Primo de Rivera engaged themselves in their game of tresillo (a Spanish card game). When I suddenly appeared like a nocturnal bird from the mountains of Kabite having crossed the Pasig river in a light banca to the pier of Malacañang. I interrupted the collection of money which the Governor had just distributed to those who would play with him. The Governor amiably left the game to converse with me.

“I come from Kabite, my General, with a group of friends of Aguinaldo who heard about the expulsion of the friars and we are going to Biyak-na-Bato to convince Don Emilio that he ought to accept peace. My companions are keeping me in the hideout of Doña Jeronima at Malapad-na-Bato, and I fear that by some accident, a guard, for example, would see us. On the part of the carabineers and the civil guards of Guadalupe or of Pasig, they might give us a bad time. For this urgency and the inconvenience I have given you and your friends, I ask you to forgive me, My General.”

“That is nothing. What is important is peace. How is everything? How is everything going on?”

“In a little while, I will have something certain.” I replied.

“But that peace, do make it good, Paterno, without detriment to my dignity as representative of Spain. I precisely wanted to talk to you about these reforms that are being asked by the revolutionaries. They are not in my hands, or in any of those in the government of Spain. Those reforms depend upon the Cortes in Madrid.”

“I understand, my General.”

“Therefore, I cannot promise you anything. What I can do is present these reforms that the revolutionaries want in the Senate where I have a seat as Captain General. To present and ask these from them is not the same as giving it to them. Tell your countrymen that I shall present these reforms to the Senate and that they must not depend on me to grant them their wish. It will depend upon the will of both houses, the Senate and that of Congress. And, besides, I will have to find influential people to help me.”

“The expulsion of the friars, who would attempt to propose it to the Queen? Don Pedro, you have dealt with King Alfonso, the deceased. We should have been able to work it out with that impartial Monarch of good qualities. But with the reigning Queen, Maria Cristina, who is a very devout Catholic, it is an impossible thing.”

“I have heard that the Queen told Sagasta, that she prefers to lose the Philippine Islands rather than lose a soul.”

“So you see . . . that is why it is degrading for me to put down the Spanish Government that I represent to attest or promise the realization of such reforms which do not depend on my will. That is humiliating for the representative of Spain.

“Those reforms need prestigious men to defend them in both houses. But I do not know who would be able to defend them. The way I believe it, Don Pedro, not even your friend, Sr. Moret, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, would

attempt to outline it in the Senate and in the Congress of Spain, or to any other renowned people like your friends Labra, Morayta, Regidor, etc. Those reforms are needed for their propaganda and their plans which are not only being discussed only now but for a long, long time on the urgency of peace. I would like to take in an instant the laurels of the peace to Spain. Take away from your mind those plans of the reforms. Tell them, that if those reforms were in my hands, it would be easy for me to grant them, but they are out of my reach. They are of the exclusive prerogative of the Senate and of the Congress of Spain.”

“And, how about the indemnity from Spain, my general?”

“That is another thing, Don Pedro. But there is not much money in the Philippine Treasury or in the Spanish Treasury. They are exhausted by wars. I repeat, that one is another thing. Another transfer could be obtained but I doubt if the whole of Spain has about three million pesos.”

“The Spanish-Filipino Bank as depository of the government could be able to help with your operations,” I suggested.

“That is what I think,” said the Governor “if I should point out that all the capital of the Spanish-Filipino Bank do not sum up to more than the nominal three million pesos.”

“In fact, as a whole, those of the reforms are doubtful and rather inconvenient that they be entrusted in the official documents. But would you try to obtain them from the Spanish Cortes?”

“That is it.”

“That of the money is one thing for sure,” I said.

“That is it,” the Governor noted.

“Even with little deductions?”

“That is it, Don Pedro. I consider that you do understand things of the government, that is why, I trust you. Do you have hopes to carry out my wishes?”

“I believe so, yes, my General. I know people who could talk to by means of their eyes. I understand, they possess a great deal of talent of the first order.”

“May I telegraph your friend, Moret?”

“Yes, but you should always add: counting on the ordinary work of the superior intelligence. That is how I regard Don Emilio Aguinaldo and his second in command, Don Mamerto Natividad.”

“Well, you understand them. You know what is happening in Spain as well as, know how to handle your masters. I trust you.”

“Understood, my General. Goodbye.”

“Goodbye, Don Pedro.”

“Goodbye, my General.”

And, we shook our hands. I went running down the stairs of the Malacañang Palace and took a ride in my banca. I implored my oarsmen to take me fast to the hideout of Doña Jeronima situated in the borders of the river near the town of Pasig, where I had the fortune of accompanying a group of friends of Don Emilio Aguinaldo up to Biyak-na-Bato. We passed through the fields and forests and by the hillsides and mountains and by the jungles, which are known only by the revolutionary chiefs.

CHAPTER SIX

I. Through the Provinces of the Revolutionaries

I continued my journey through the revolutionary provinces holding a series of conferences about peace with the Filipino generals. They were: Vito Belarmino, Pascual Alvarez, Doroteo Lopez, Perez Gil Manikis, Pantaleon Garcia, Salvador Estrella, Mariano Noriel, Artemio Ricarte, Esteban Viola, Benito Natividad, Jose Alejandrino, and Anastacio Francisco, through the provinces of Pangasinan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Bulacan, Kabite, Batangas, Tayabas, Laguna, Infanta, Camarines Norte and Sur, Albay, etc.

In all these provinces, I encountered a thousand obstacles and the chiefs whom I approached to discuss the peace seemed unanimously negative on the subject. Aguinaldo was having a private conference with his men. A conference that did not favor much of my speculations. As a result, therefore, my journey to Luzon became longer and seemingly fruitless, leaving behind me heaps of fortune, health, and money.

I said fruitless because according to Mamerto Natividad, I communicated to them confidential matters rather late although my visit to the headquarters had created a pleasant echo in the heart of the revolutionaries.

II. Limitations of my Report

I should not tire myself with report on the episodes more or less similar to those which happened in Batangas and Kabite to the patient reader unless it would interest him about those intimate episodes, like those of the crypt in Nagkarlan, where lovers used to hang around in romantic flights so that in the splendid moonlight nights they united with one another eternally, or like those other certain mountains in whose caves, a bravado of the Egyptian-Babylonian past liturgies floated and where the ignorant virgins used to go to serve the old sacrilegious priests for their amusement. It was sacred to their

hysterical ecstasies giving themselves to the dizzying dance of their religious rites, giddy and in ecstatic rapture, yearning for the past social evolutions of pristine man.

III. Political Infiltration of the Secrets of the Revolution

For all these episodes, especially on the nights which they called the wake nights, I was able to infiltrate into the secrets of the revolution and to its personnel. I had the maps of the caves in Talbak, in San Mateo, in Magdapio, in the crests of Makiling, in Apalit, and in the rugged mountains of the Caraballo where they used at times to place their loved ones. I kept the profane books. The enchanting forests along those trips somewhat live in me as I passed along the heart of the country's woodlands.

CHAPTER SEVEN

I. Intimate Conference with General Don Mamerto Natividad

One starry night, General Don Mamerto Natividad spoke to me mysteriously.

“Don Pedro, tell me, how do you manage to pass through the enemy lines and attract so many Filipino generals to your peace proposals? Would it not inconvenience for you to reveal to me the secret or the mystery of your negotiations?”

I very much appreciated Natividad when he said I did not have to confide in him, that was why I answered without hesitation.

“I succeed in all these, General Natividad, because I myself explore the whole world until the day would come when I would have to play an occult game. The result, I became the exploiter and emerge the winner. That is my science, my art.”

“But then will you jeopardize us?” Natividad asked. “Do you believe that all those promises given by the Captain General of the Philippines would be accomplished?”

“Absolutely not! There is more, my friend. I have the complete assurance that you would not be given the money and the reforms set forth in the protocol, but only half of its half. And, that is how it is. In Spain, because of her wars, there are no three million pesos left and those reforms are luxuries in the Spanish Cortes on whom you depend.

“But, well, something exists for certain and that is: May the revolution be saved! Simply saved, because you will be completely free to go to Hong Kong or wherever you feel like going. Be it a country or some other place where faith and love for country are alive, then you could labor for that much coveted independence.”

“General Primo de Rivera does not pursue all these but his own self glorification. He desires to obtain the laurels of peace that will crown his forehead even if it would be later on converted by strange causes, into thorns for unhappy Spain. Decidedly, that is his policy and believe me, it is the policy of all those who could not figure out but the butchery of the living. It is without much anxiety nor much ideal but his own advantage; but you are the exception and a few others who constitute the true Filipino revolutionaries.”

“In reality, Don Emilio Aguinaldo and a few others who carry out and really feel the revolution would be saved. To what does the immense crowd who populate Biyak-na-Bato and her great dependents amount to? Living frugally, they keep searching for the rays of the sun that scorches most, he be a Spaniard, German, Japanese or a Filipino national. The latter who do not know how to live properly nor know the art well, are now seeking that support.”

II. Synthesis of my Political Labor

The summary: Two ideas. One in favor of Spain, laurels of peace; the other one, in favor of the Philippines, to save the Revolution. These two ideas when reconciled would produce complete peace.

For the first idea, I do not expect any treachery against the revolution until after the Te Deum was sung and General Primo de Rivera have marched out of the Philippines.

For the second one, I expect a smile from my dear country.

Here is the secret of the pacification in the Philippines. Natividad looked at me sadly. Many times while talking with him, I became aware of the agitations of his soul and the burning fever in his darkened eyes. Quietly, as if conquered by a conviction, I stretched out my hand strongly in silence. Later on, we parted without saying a word, both lost in brotherly ideas of love and justice. With bowed foreheads, we said goodbye to each other.

PART III

THE GREAT ASSEMBLY OF PEACE

CHAPTER ONE

I. Hope Among the Clouds of Ambiguities

It is October 30, 1897. I am here in Biyak-na-Bato surrounded by all the Filipino Generals. General Aguinaldo held conferences with them several times in which I did not attend nor come to know anything about. But I felt it had something to do with their objectives. My spirits, however, continue to be in perpetual exaltation. The idea of independence is still an obsession, it, being the soul and the brains. Something warlike seems to be wrapped around me. It is to dishearten the most intrepid pacifist. But I, firm to myself, continue to wish for its complete victory.

II. The Great Assembly Rejects Peace

They told me that I could celebrate a banquet after confirming the Great Assembly of Peace. In effect, it was a banquet celebrated with great pomp by the Generals, Chiefs of Staffs, Officers and other ranks of soldiers in which Aguinaldo cordially invited me. I listened to speeches delivered during the affair which I found rather subversive. Others were a conversation about a future peace. Then General Aguinaldo taking chance of this gathering of all the Generals stood up, without any doubt and put everyone into nominal votation about the treaty of peace being considered with the Spanish government.

“Will we make peace or not?” There was a sonorous “no” in everyone’s mouth. Even the stones of Biyak-na-Bato reverberated the firm negative vote. I smiled at it. Aguinaldo came back to me and said:

“There you see, Don Pedro; no one wants peace.”

Never like this time that my hopes for success strengthened. I have witnessed a unanimous vote against my project. Later, everyone came to change his mind; everyone became intent on the same theory. I thought then that the moment someone would want peace, that someone could drag the others like the river would drag stones, and then, I smiled and smiled...

Siesta time came and the words flew above our heads like a spit of fire. I engaged in a heated discussion with Aguinaldo who interpreted my ideas in another point of view. He stood up offended and protesting.

“Calm down, gentlemen, calm down!” and the Filipino Generals glanced at me with strange looks, irked, as if scared of my audacity.

“Bah! I know, I said nothing to offend the Chief of Biyak-na-Bato.” My words were taken in contrast with my feelings and I kept on smiling always smiling, trying to explain myself.

Don Emilio finally calmed down. He understood the reason. The ambiguities were cleared and errors were forgiven and we remained friends just like before.

III. My Prophetic Words

I was prophesying, trying to convince them about peace, in spite of the heavy burden that rested upon me. And, told them solemnly, almost prophetically:

“In reality, there is at present an abundance of weapons, ammunitions, and supply of food which you can use to resist courageously the enemy. But these supplies would not last forever. Are you telling me that time would come when your ammunitions and supply of rice would no longer suffice? If this would happen, then you would be forced to go out in order to get them. But keep this in mind: In the initial pursuit which you would intend to do about those things, either General Aguinaldo or his second-in-command, Mamerto Natividad, could be killed. And with this, what would you gain?”

“Foolishness! Exchange the life of a man who is worth hundreds of thousands of guns all for one gun! Well, this needs help from heaven; even once, try to understand me!”

Many faces fell on the palm of their hand. The famous and courageous Generals of our revolution seemed to meditate. Apparently, nothing concrete was done. That was how the banquet ended. It ended with a sad prophecy.

IV. In a Resounding Voice They Asked Me to Stay in Biyak-na-Bato as an Oracle or as a Pontiff

Screaming in unison in Biyak-na-Bato, they asked me to stay there and be with them as an adviser, or as a Pontiff, or even as a prophet. What do I know? As this was going on, a companion of mine cried bitterly with the thought that he might not be able to see his family again in Manila. On account of this, and everything else, I just reacted with cold shoulders. Whatever God wills, let it be! I thought to myself.

They were making frank manifestations for my permanent stay in the mountains. The troops of General Llanera formed its regiment every afternoon in front of the hut I occupied. They were given orders to halt and salute me as they stroke the earth with their rifles and shout that I remain with them.

I appeared then from the balcony and told them “yes” I would stay with them as they requested. With this assurance, they left happily. On the other hand, the situation I was hemmed in was becoming rather difficult.

V. My Faith for Peace to Succeed does not Die

The clouds of hope were overcast. The light of clarity was dying out from my own ideas and plans. However, I was never confused. Not a bubble of doubt nor fear pulsated in my chest. That was how I managed to work on my missions for peace and persevered in giving strength to the unconquerable will of the Filipinos who have struggled for their country’s freedom.

I lived like the way they lived. I ate what they ate. I enjoyed even their own ideas as I was overwhelmed with love for my own land. I was in the end, so revolutionary like General Aguinaldo and so Filipino like the Tagalog blood that keeps throbbing inside my veins.

VI. My Life in the Mountain of Freedom

My life in Biyak-na-Bato was getting monotonous. I figured out that I was kept like a prisoner of war. I went there to do something they wanted and could retain by force. It did not matter what “ends and means” the government has in store. It was certain that my thoughts were fixed in going back to Manila so that I could rejoin my wife whom I idolized and who was dying of an incurable cancer. But I was only in the initial stage of work for pacification.

The impossibility of having a mutual agreement seemed very apparent for I felt utterly affected as if my hands and feet were bound together upon these rugged mountains.

Many times I recalled the unfortunate Prometheus tied upon the rocks. Also, frequently, I felt that my aspirations and eagerness seemed to be suffering!

CHAPTER TWO

I. The Rays of the Revolution does not Want to Falter

The military maneuvering of our soldiers made me understand that my fulfilled ideas were all but a dream. The leaders of the revolution and I would never come to a definite agreement. That was my life. It fluctuated between doubts and hopes, between personal beliefs and convictions, between cries of admonition and the willingness among our disciplined troops to break into the first line of firing against the sacredness of Biyak-na-Bato—upon its slope

in her Oriental grandeur, the first red Philippine banner— like the blood that stains our present fields or like the fires spitting out from our volcanoes, would crackle with the winds.

After the banquet for the Generals, Chiefs, and other officials which was given for the purpose of publicly manifesting peace with the Spanish government, Sr. Mamerto Natividad had decided to cooperate with me. He felt that everyone seemed to be working independently for peace, so he worked privately thinking that we would gain someday an agreement.

These were motivated by the reply of the Spanish supreme leader as entrusted to the protocol of Aguinaldo. The Spanish leader simply washed his hands, finding himself unable to accede to the reforms asked by Aguinaldo and his comrades. For example: the question of independence that he, as well as, the Spanish government itself, would be unable to grant. This matter pertained exclusively to the Cortes and it would take many months, even years, before such petition would be given due consideration.

Sr. Primo de Rivera promised to work for the reforms in the Senate of the metropolis because as Captain General, he had access to it like a Senator.

II. My Last Conference with General Mamerto Natividad

A few days after celebrating the Assembly of Peace, Mamerto Natividad and myself sat by the cliffs of Biyak-na-Bato one pleasant early morning. There, we were lost to the influences of reality, the profound abyss which lured our feet from one side to the other. The beauty which was never experienced by the human eye was unfolding in imposing height, without considering that our hearts were trusting each other. Then quite suddenly, Mamerto Natividad, murmured:

“I believe, Don Pedro, the peace must be maintained and defended as the only truth which I should see in our revolutionary field. The rest are all errors, hypocrisies, or plain uncivic mindedness in order to sustain proudly

its own conviction. I shall support the peace even if the Spanish government will not show any patronage for the reforms that we ask. If we insist with tenacity for the indemnization that we ask, we might later on be branded for whatever pretext or slander as very materialistic and traitors to ourselves by other foreign countries. If we are stubborn in setting forth the terms of peace we needed, they might interrupt it as *sui generis*, thinking that we are ignorant in asking the Governor General for something that does not depend on his decision. As a last recourse, the Governor would just say “yes” but only to deceive us. Since we are tenacious in our ignorance justifying themselves before a civilized world, it does not have any other means but deceit in order to reduce what they call civilization. Tell me, Don Pedro, is ample autonomy not a disguised slavery?”

“That is how I believe.” I answered with candor. “Even if autonomy would be disguised and be adorned with pearls and diamonds by its length and breath, it still is dependency. Such unfortunate dependence! They will always remain a colony! Since independence is something unattainable by the revolution, all others are considered deceptions, fraud or estafa, for the revolutionaries.”

“Such is the naked truth.”

“Now, I know, Don Pedro, why you always use the verb *to agree*.”

“Well, it is understood, my General.”

“That is why, I suggest that the revolutionaries should not think of anything else but independence or death. None of those deceptive transactions. If the first revolutionary action fails, it should be abandoned. Now the truce makes us prepare for another victorious revolution.”

“Don Pedro, I shall now go out to Biyak-na-Bato to look for some victorious action, and, in my return, I shall lay down the terms.”

“And, Aguinaldo?” I interrupted.

“I always count on Aguinaldo,” General Mamerto Natividad replied. Later on, in an impassioned accent he continued:

“Now, Don Pedro, a special request.”

“Speak up, my dear friend.”

“Very personal, very confidential.”

“Say it frankly. You know, I like you and I respect you.”

“If I should die, please remember my wife when indemnization would be distributed to the revolutionaries who did not rise up in arms.”

“Trust me, my General. That is how it would be done.”

A sound of the bugle calling out for the formation of troops interrupted our dialogue. The General instantly rose up and took my hand, saying:

“Goodbye, Don Pedro. Always follow your good star.”

“Goodbye, my General. May God be always with you.”

CHAPTER THREE

I. My Prophecy is Fulfilled. General Mamerto Natividad, the Right Hand of Aguinaldo Dies Heroically in Battle

The peaceful events of the days were broken up by sad and unexpected events. Don Mamerto Natividad with his brigade persisted to search for the Spanish Army, but the unfortunate man was brought back dead in the arms of Pantaleon Garcia.

The Filipino Generals looked at me with terrified eyes. I have predicted this evil. Don Mamerto Natividad was the second in command to Aguinaldo and I predicted that in the first skirmish he, or the Chief leader of the revolution, would die.

They slowly brought up the body of the slain General to the rugged mountains before the grief-stricken soldiers. He was all bloodied with a hole in his forehead.

II. The Last Words of General Mamerto Natividad Before his Death

Natividad, before going out to fight promised that he would support my propositions. There is more to it. He told me that he was going to make some merits by going into combats and winning them so that he may have a patented glory for having a voice and a vote in the treaty of peace. Unfortunately, he paid it dearly with his own life. He had good intentions but in truth, he gave everything to me, even death. His support is now more discernible than he could have given me during his lifetime.

III. A Touching Funeral that Changed the Face of Biyak-na-Bato

He was given a great and solemn funeral in the same mountain in Biyak-na-Bato and before his corpse, loved by all, were elocutions and speeches. I was one of those requested to speak. Here is what I said:

IV. My Mournful Prayer Before the Corpse of the Patriot

“Sirs: We are all gathered here before a great victim of that cruelty, of the madness of life and nations, which is called War. Death, who is his god, has taken away the soul of Don Mamerto Natividad, that good companion, full of vigor and youth, full of valor and civic virtues, who not very long ago was by our side, happy, and a lover of life.

“Faith is cruel. I know, Sirs, that in order to project an idea it needs giant wings to fall. But it is not painful, most painful to toast a flower of death,

lives that would be precious for that same liberty which we ask through the muzzle of our guns?

“All the revolutions of the world are, and have been, ill-fated. We ask for independence because we need it, like the air we breathe in a legitimate manner. Intellectuals and wealth abound in our country that we may be able to aspire for our own form of government. We should throw away our guns far, far away. Fire devastates, desolates. What we need is order and unity.

“Unity and order so that tears would not gush out with force from the eyes as on this occasion when we are just starting to taste the gall of its error. Let no one say it but the victim, the poor immolated life of a companion that has been extinguished by those terrible ramblings. Speak up Mamerto Natividad and say, that after asking Bathala for independence of your country, you deny and condemn the struggle. Because this one does not give anything but bitter disappointments. Because this is a tree bearing distasteful fruits, for there is more power, a thousand more powers in the valor of an idea than in the idea of force.

“May the soil be light on you, Natividad. May the country and its history not forget you. May there be flowers perpetually blooming by your tomb and the blessed sun, the sun of liberty, kindle your bones with its first ray of love.”

Such is the synthesis of my funeral prayer. Then in the melancholic afternoon which descended over the mountain, we gave the brave and glorious hero a burial. Later, a review, sad and silent, sent everyone slowly to his quarters. Biyak-na-Bato is quiet under the light of the stars.

V. The Effect of My Politics

After a few days, I resumed to negotiate the purpose of my business. Now it seems that the spirits are more prone to pacification. A yearning for calmness is now observable among the Filipino leaders.

CHAPTER FOUR

I. The Political-Social Problems in the Revolutionary Headquarters

The reader was advised in spite of my having re-titled the third part as the Great Assembly of Peace. I have not written anything with regard to the Revolutionary Assembly for I have promised not to reveal any secret of the Philippine Republic. In the mountains, debate took place over grave questions on social and political issues that appeared in the following books that I have taken to some headquarters:

- *The Katipunan*, by Andres Bonifacio
- *Agrarian Conflict in the Philippines*, resolved by General Rianzares Bautista
- *The Expulsion of the Friars from the Philippines*, opinions on this respect which came from various generals of the revolution
- *Constitution of the Philippine Republic* by Ferrer and Artacho and approved by the Great Assembly of Peace
- *Notes for a Revolutionary Government* by Apolinario Mabini
- *Social and Political Revolution* by Pedro A. Paterno

I purposely did not deal with said problems in my monotonous notes, what with the publication of such an official document, for I would want the reader to find it light and pleasing. I keep them for works ad hoc for I am thinking of their publication much later in an absolutely political and social manner.

II. Plot of General Artemio Ricarte Wherein I Came Out Unjustly Accused as a Pagan

A grave incident occurred while I was in Biyak-na-Bato arranging with Aguinaldo the program of peace. It almost ruined what we have worked out in advance.

It happened that General Artemio Ricarte found out about my mission which was completely remote from the negotiations of peace with Aguinaldo.

He then formed under his command a laudable project but tainted with conspiracy against the supreme leader of Biyak-na-Bato. They were driven to act with hostility towards some of the leaders and their men who desire to accept Spain's proposal of peace.

My presence in those mountains saved Mr. Ricarte's face. But, in a way, made Aguinaldo mad which made Ricarte think that his last hour had come and that he would be shot. Actually, this did not damaged Ricarte's reputation as much as mine. Aguinaldo was furious. He ordered me to destroy what we have written and we agreed to set aside our negotiations for quite a time.

That bad humor finally passed with Aguinaldo. We came back and renewed our paralyzed friendly relations. From this negotiation the following documents were drafted.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SECOND PROTOCOL OF PEACE

1. Place, Date, and Causes that Motivated My Presence in Biyak-na-Bato

In the mountains of Biyak-na-Bato on the 5th of November 1897, His Excellency Don Pedro Paterno, unexpectedly appeared before me manifesting that he was impelled by the vehement love for his country to explain the many reasons why we ought to put aside our hostile attitude and why it would be necessary not to destroy the Filipino nation in the desire to obtain our quest for independence. That those who value it should consider that the Spanish Government is suspending the reforms to materialize precisely because we have risen up in arms against Spain.

2. Reforms Suspended Due to the Outbreak of War

Don Paterno heard the Governor General lament on various occasions about the suspension of the reforms. Anxious to carry out and unfold during his command the new series of reforms, he directed to give satisfaction to the nation. That not all can be asked because it would be impossible to uproot in one day what has taken roots for more than three centuries.

3. Amnesty

Several times, it has also been heard that His Excellency, Sr. Marquiz de Estella, said that he knew his duties like no one else. That is why he put himself at the front of the brigades who took the last entrenchment at Kabite. He offered any offender an unconditional amnesty. The May 17 proclamation was also extended to other persons and it lifted all the embargoes and opened its arms even to the deserters themselves.

4. Truce of War

5. Hope of Moret as Minister of the Reformists

Sr. Paterno advised that we should cease on our warlike fervors but to unfold our generous and reformed propositions that now animates the Spanish Government as represented in the Philippines by His Excellency Don Fernando Primo de Rivera. In the Peninsula, it is represented by the great statesman, His Excellency Segismundo Moret y Prendergast, author of the order of the religious secularization, the creation of the Filipino Institute, the reforms of the university in Manila, and many other beneficial measures for the country. They were aimed at giving the archipelago a representation in the Spanish Cortes and to liberate this nation from the influential domination of the religious orders, a unanimous desire of all the revolutionaries.

6. Guarantee of Negotiation

7. Oath of Keeping the Secrets of the Revolution

8. Power of the Arbitrator in Disposing the Indemnization

9. Indemnization

10. Protection of the Spanish Authorities

11. Revolutionaries Who Rose Up in Arms

12. Revolutionaries Who did not Rise Up in Arms

Through these and various considerations on being detailed in the battlefields, the influences of Sr. Paterno, the indisputable authority on Philippine matters, had inspired me to admire him. They were presented simultaneously in my presence as a guarantee of negotiation for his own life so well-loved by the Filipinos. He solemnly swore not to reveal any secret of the revolution in whatever place or time, under pain of loss of life or honor. He promised to put an order into it if the Spanish Government would support his peaceful intentions. He would recommend to the very noble and generously active His Excellency Marquiz de Estella, about of our existence, our families as well as those who have taken part in the actual revolution.

As a fatherly foresight, he should furnish the necessary resources to be able to live freely under the protection of the Spanish authorities in our country where our properties have been destroyed, or, go to a foreign country where we could establish our homes without fear. Sr. Paterno could determine wisely and justly what to do with the help the Spanish Government would give us; to distribute them according to the dictates of his prudent knowledge and on the basis of equity that would be unanimously acknowledged not only by those who fought but also those who have not been in the battlefields but have also suffered the consequences.

13. A Petition for Don Fernando Primo de Rivera to Remain in the Philippines

We cannot end up without mentioning that we all desire for the person of His Excellency Sr. Fernando Primo de Rivera to remain in the government and

in the General Captainship of the archipelago as guarantee and expression of love and esteem toward his humanitarian policies.

Founded on this basis, I, the undersigned, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, Leader of the Revolutionary Army and by virtue of the power given me by the assembly of the Representatives of the Revolution in accordance with the Council of Government, hereby decree the following:

14. Appointment of an Arbitrator

(The Only Article)

I hereby appoint an Arbitrator, His Excellency Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno, to negotiate with the Spanish government, and I confer upon him ample powers to obtain and sign the definitive peace of the Philippine Archipelago.

Given in Biyak-na-Bato on the 14th of November 1897.

(Sgd) EMILIO AGUINALDO

(Sgd.) MARIANO LLANERA. (Sgd.) BALDOMERO AGUINALDO

There is a seal which reads: “REPUBLICA DE FILIPINAS—PRESIDENCIA” A radiant sun on top of the mountains.

NOTE: For the execution of the present decree, three programs of the same contents were prepared. Two of them are with H.E. Don Pedro A. Paterno, while one remains in my possession.

Biyak-na-Bato, November 14, 1897

(Sgd) AGUINALDO

There is a seal which reads: “Republic of the Philippines-Presidency”. A radiant sun on top of the mountains.

PROGRAM

MAY GOD GUIDE US TO EVERLASTING PEACE

November 18. The departure of Don Jose Salvador Natividad to Biyak-na-Bato with the results of the conference with the Governor General and with him also are passes to be given to the insurgents.

November 20. The delivery of the pacification mandate of Don Emilio Aguinaldo to all his barracks in the provinces.

December 7. Arrival of Don Pedro A. Paterno at Biyak-na-Bato with Don Miguel Primo de Rivera, General Tejeiro and General Monet. They were lodged in the government house with the families of Don Emilio Aguinaldo, Don Artemio Ricarte, Don Jose Salvador Natividad, Don Isabelo Artacho, and other high-ranking chiefs of the revolution.

December 8. Delivery of weapons of the group of Don Emilio Aguinaldo to the Spanish government in a place located between Biyak-na-Bato and San Miguel de Mayumo.

Simultaneously, the Spanish government would deliver to Don Pedro A. Paterno, the amount of six hundred thousand pesos for distribution to the revolutionaries.

December 8 (P.M.) Arrival of Emilio Aguinaldo and other revolutionary chiefs with Don Pedro A. Paterno in San Miguel de Mayumo.

December 10. Arrival in Manila of Don Emilio Aguinaldo and his companions.

December 15. Departure of the said officials for Hong Kong.

December 19. Don Emilio Aguinaldo would send a telegraph to the

revolutionary leader who stayed in Biyak-na-Bato. This was to inform His Excellency Don Primo de Rivera and General Tejeiro to abandon the government house at Biyak-na-Bato if they so desired.

December 20 to 31. Delivery of weapons left by the other groups of the insurrection.

1898 January 1. *Te Deum* would be sung at the Manila Cathedral and the promulgation of the decree of the general amnesty.

January 2. Two checks would be delivered to Don Pedro A. Paterno. One would be post-dated for the month of April in the amount of a hundred thousand pesos and, the other for the month of June in the amount of a hundred thousand pesos and would constitute the second and third installments.

Biyak-na-Bato, November 15, 1897

(Sgd) EMILIO AGUINALDO

(Sgd) MARIANO LLANERA (Sgd) BALDOMERO AGUINALDO

There is a seal which reads: “REPUBLICA DE FILIPINAS—PRESIDENCIA”
A radiant sun on top of the mountains.

CHAPTER SIX

I. My Trip to the Town of San Fernando Pampanga. General Primo de Rivera Promises to Study the Second Revolutionary Protocol in Malakañang

I immediately left with the second protocol in search of the Spanish Captain-General. I found him in San Fernando, Pampanga where the rural guards were stationed. We conferred for a long time without coming to an agreement.

General Primo de Rivera promised to study in Malakanañang the proposals of the program of peace presented by the revolutionaries.

Emilio Aguinaldo came to know about it; God knows from whom. He told me before leaving my quarters that my wife was gravely ill in Manila. I presented this situation to General Primo de Rivera and without delay I immediately left for Manila.

II. My Sweet Wife on Her Way to the Grave

In the district of Sta. Ana, Manila, I found my poor wife very gravely ill. I kissed and consoled her. I told her: “Do you see this? These papers? Well, they are documents for peace, for your Spain. Do you hear me? Peace for your Spain.”

III. The Captain General of the Philippines Considers Me the Soul of the Revolution

The Captain-General of the Philippines and the Commander-in-Chief of the army, seeing that the negotiations were slow-paced appeared discontented like he had doubts about me.

I ceremoniously grumbled:

“It would have been better if they told me or if they assured me that I was the first revolutionist and that I kindled more the insurgent’s spirit crying for independence to the winds and everywhere. If this was obvious, then I simply could understand it.

IV. I Explained and He was Persuaded

I explained: “My General, for the very reason that I am working out for peace, I frankly predict the Philippine independence without going around the bush. That is my secret and I know we are going to obtain it. In like manner, I may present myself to them as pro-Spanish or against their ideas and they would

lose no time in shooting me four times. And what have we then gained? Be cautious and stretch more patience for peace could be attained.

“Well, my General, rejecting the reforms stated in this second protocol, costs us a degree of sacrifices. It needed a miracle—that is, the second leader of Aguinaldo, Don Mamerto Natividad, the defender of independence or of death had to do. That is, his ghost as the pacifier in the middle of the mountain would appear in order to convince its inhabitants that they should accept peace without yielding to the Pact. Not even the reforms or the indemnization of three million pesos, but the confidence they expect from the Spaniard’s word of honor”.

V. The Trusted Friends of General Primo de Rivera Support Me

After having studied the new protocol of peace, the trusted friends around the Governor General advised him that the second protocol presented has been modified from August 9th of the first protocol to November 5th. In addition to this, the reforms do not rest on him or on that of the three million pesos being demanded by the revolutionaries. The insurgents were only confident in the promise of Don Fernando Primo de Rivera to obtain their demands from the Metropolis. These observations convinced him of my loyalty.

VI. Confidence in My Plans

It has given me the ability to link my ideas and sentiments to my zealous quest for peace. Peace could be attained. The ill-fated soul of Natividad would be unable now to predict the outcome. He had given me full-fledged support in many instances to the point that I became suspicious of him. But in spite of his arrogant ideas of liberty, there was no one else who could be considered as one of the bravest among those who fought for our idyllic country. So much so that he succumbed gloriously for her.

We used to discuss and debate but in the end we would come to an agreement. But I think more of my present sad situation that of being caught in the

middle, at the mercy of two crossfires and I ask myself if I should be the one of those saviours who would come out crucified.

But, no, I tell myself. Although things go slowly, they are also adequately performed and well supported. I shall overcome every obstacle of the protocol as I know how to extricate myself from the entrapments laid down by the enemy along the thickets where I pass through. There is no one to accompany me but my rugged cargadores and my great desire for peace and love for my country.

CHAPTER SEVEN

I. Keeping the Last Breath of My Wife

Immediately after seeing and entrusting to the Captain General the second protocol, I ran quickly to my house to attend to my ailing wife. I find her worse, dying, and for an instant I decided then not to separate from her side and not to leave her alone for an instant.

II. Again, the Activities of the Generals and the Spanish Chiefs in My House. "Planet Mars" Intends to Snatch My Love from Me

The Generals and Spanish leaders are gathered in my house. It is a real procession which constantly and at all hours bother and molest me. They are army men who came to take me away from my heartaches to negotiate peace. "Planet Mars" is intent on snatching from me my loved one and crown my forehead with laurels.

III. Death Envelops My Home with Grief

My proposal is irrevocable. My resolution vigorous, and that the belligerent government should wait and suspend the negotiations. My house is finally filled with consternation and bereavement. My wife died. That same day, they wanted me to leave the house to go to Biyak-na-Bato. They ought to wait. I should bury the one whom I love, no other than my poor wife.

November 27, 1897 – A dreadful day. A day of Pain!

IV. They would be Confused without My Intervention in the Peace Negotiations

During the few days that I attended to my dead wife, the negotiations for peace in which I was unable to intervene have been notably entangled.

V. Again, I Directed Myself Towards Biyak-na-Bato to Work for the Negotiations

The letters that have been crossed between Biyak-na-Bato and Malakañang did not bring any agreement at all. That is why, I had to leave Manila again. The road for peace negotiation is already costing me a great deal.

VI. In Tabor

I am here again in Biyak-na-Bato, the mountain that would be another Golgotha for me, glory or martyrdom. I climb anew painfully with the ultimatum that General Primo de Rivera wanted regarding the negotiations for peace by the noblest Hispanic nation offers to the sons who do not like her.

Aguinaldo receives me smiling.

“Here is the ultimatum, my General.”

“Let us see it”.

It is examined, discussed and opposed. And, myself fearing him, I returned to Manila carrying with me the revolutionary counter ultimatum.

VII. My Return with Angelical Ladies

Before leaving Biyak-na-Bato, many mothers came to me pleading that I take along with me their daughters, the beautiful maidens, to their homes in Manila. I then, approached the widow of Mamerto Natividad and told her that there is no longer a personal obligation for her to remain in those rugged mountains. She accompanied me in the journey to Manila and took charge of the young ladies who were with me.

Those children were so beautiful, so sweetly enchanting that even the Spanish soldiers on our way from town to town, praised them as if they were holy images. I arrived with them in Manila and escorted them to their own homes after a few handshakes, smiles, and sad good-byes.

Truly, the journey with so many beautiful ladies without being despised removed a load and a great responsibility from my soul. It was a real luck.

VIII. Episode of Satires

I will cite the only narrative which we were deeply grieved while we were lodged in Baliwag. Two of the girls, the most beautiful ones, went out one afternoon to take a walk by the village. After a while, they ran back telling me that Spanish soldiers wanted to abuse them at the townsquare taking advantage of the sinking shadows of the afternoon.

I immediately went down and ran to the place where they had wanted them locked up. I arrived just in time as one of the soldiers was already dragging the girl to carry out his carnal desires.

“How indecent of you,” I exclaimed. “Was that supposed to be your mission here? Is that what you came for from Spain and is that how you honor her? You scoundrel! Let go of the lady, if you do not want me to shoot you!”

They obeyed. They ran like monkeys, fleeing and leaving, the poor lady who was in tears came close to me. And I, like a father, put my hands on her lips like the flower of the amapola and her sweet smell like that of the sampaguita.

IX. My Hopes

I should be able to finish a lot of work. My mission for peace would finally come to an end. The Filipino army would embrace Spain. The Malayan leaders would store up their swords as a sign of protest before the strife. To the screams of war would now follow songs of peace and love. Above the skirmishes and the ruins of the towns would rise up new habitations. From the camp, fields would spring anew golden and fragrant, the tall grains of rice and the sugar cane would sprout and glitter as crowned with blue leaves that point to the stars. The hostile incursions, the frights and fears would all end. How beautiful is peace! How tender and affectionate!

PART FOUR

THE PACT

CHAPTER ONE

Preliminaries of Peace

An autograph to Compile the Framework for Peace by Don Niceto Mayoral y Zaldivar, Chargé d' Affaires of the Governor General of the Philippines.

Preliminaries of Peace

General Ideas

The delegates from one and the other party would give modifications to the distribution of four hundred thousand pesos subject to the delivery of arms. Sr. Paterno would decide and order the three hundred thousand pesos in Manila written in checks accepted by the Spanish-Filipino bank.

The amount would be effective upon the return of Sr. Paterno from the encampment.

With the arms delivered and the distribution of P400,000 already made by Sr. Paterno as per instructions he received from those who represents. The fugitives will then be conducted to their chosen place where they could be addressed by the state. In the meantime, they could be placed in the reserves and they could be assigned in the same hours of service like those who have drafted. Upon completion in the service, the same security would be given to them like those who have fully completed it.

Simultaneously, with these operations, passes would be distributed to the non fugitives so that they could direct themselves with safety to the places where they so desire. And, if they think it would be necessary to ask for assistance or custody or as authorities would judge it prudent, it would facilitate them

to the places of their choice in order for them to live unscathed and assured.

The isolated passes, a license given to persons of significance would allow them to go in the manner they so desire. I shall look into it as a question of honor that nothing undesirable would happen to them. May the distrust on this matter or the fear of failure on my part will not be offending to myself and on the chivalric sentiment of the Spanish soldier.

The fugitives once destined to their reserves would not be different in any manner from the other soldiers. They would be treated like companions by way of concern, nourishment, service and food.

Half or most of the remaining amount as agreed would be deposited in the chosen bank at the discretion of whom it has been signed in behalf of the leaders of the revolution. This will be collected for four months after peace has reigned and has been guaranteed and seditious uprising would not occur again.

Two months after this delivery, the remaining amount will be collected.

Some of the partisans of the fugitives who would surely be left after the war would not affect this agreement as long as the leaders would advise the nation that they were thieves and would all be put to death and that everyone within their means and confidence would work for their extinction.

In this kind of relationship, there must exist real trust, otherwise it would be impossible to arrive to something. I guarantee the life of those who trust me. At the same time, I guarantee the complaisance of what could be agreed upon after I would obtain the approval of my petition.

PROGRAM

(This Program has been modified by Document No. IV).

November 6. To facilitate the issuance of a check in favor of Sr. Paterno in Manila in the amount of seven hundred thousand pesos.

November 9. Departure of Sr. Paterno for Biyak-na-Bato to distribute passes.

November 13. Embarkation of Aguinaldo and other leaders of the insurrection in Lingayen Port, the vessel will be provided by the state accompanied by either General Tejeiro, Montero or whoever will be designated. The chiefs of the insurrection could bring with them their pistols. The General who would accompany them should deliver to the said chiefs the sum of 500,000 pesos in Hong Kong upon receipt of the orders, which would take place when Aguinaldo receives his share and inform them that his group had already delivered the arms as previously stipulated.

November 16-17. When Aguinaldo had cabled his arrival in Hong Kong, the revolutionary leader would deliver to the government the weapons in San Miguel de Mayumo. About a hundred armed men would guard the convoy and return immediately to Biyak-na-Bato to preserve order and take charge of the distribution of aid to the insurgents. This assistance would amount to \$50 each.

The amount of this assistance would be received by Sr. Paterno right after the delivery of the weapons in San Miguel de Mayumo.

The renegades would be assigned to the reserves until they would have completed their fifth requirements in the army.

November 18-24. The delivery of arms for the other groups in the barracks as assigned to them under similar conditions which was pre-arranged with another identical aid.

November 25. Delivery of the difference of the P700,000 which constitutes the first instalment and the amount distributed by Sr. Paterno.

November 30. If they had already delivered all the weapons, Sr. Paterno would get a payment in advance for four months in the amount of 500,000 pesos and after two months, another P500,000.

This contract and delivery will be nullified if the government will not fulfill its terms as agreed upon. On the part of the insurrection leaders, if they would not totally deliver the weapons of their respective groups. They have an obligation to see to it that the people would not conceal their weapons in any manner.

Sr. Paterno should manifest the approximate number of arms and their classifications.

(Sgd) NICETO MAYORAL

Niceto Mayoral y Zaldivar was the Civil Governor of Manila, Chief Administrator of the 1st Class, Infantry Colonel under the immediate orders of the Governor General of the Philippines, Prisons Provincial President, President of the Provincial Board of Primary Instruction, and the person most trusted by Governor General Primo de Rivera.

Other Trips to Biyak-na-Bato

Many times, I had to go back to Biyak-na-Bato as bearer of the new amendments, the new programs which were under my power but whose proclamation, I believe, were presently unnecessary. I have limited myself to presenting the last documents which constituted the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato.

CHAPTER TWO

Political Document

We call this document as political because it refers to the reforms presented to the Governor General of the Philippines by the arbitrator, which have been published in the First Protocol as follows:

(XV. Reforms Demanded by the Revolutionaries).

I. Expulsion or secularization of the Religious Orders

II. Representation of the Philippines in the Spanish Cortes

III. Application of Royal Justice in the Philippines, for the natives as well as for the Spaniards. Conformity of laws between Spain and the Philippines. Participation of the natives in the government offices for civil administration.

IV. Settlement of the property of the parishes and its contributions in favour of the natives

V. Proclamation of the individual rights of the natives, like the freedom of association and the freedom of the press

The original text of this political document which bears the signature of the General-in-Chief of the Spanish Army, Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, was read before the assembly of the representatives as decreed by the Act in Chapter V, delivered by the arbitrator to Don Emilio Aguinaldo in Biyak-na-Bato.

CHAPTER THREE

Economic Development

It is named economic document because it regulates the distribution of the indemnization of war.

Here is the official document:

There is a seal in black ink which reads: General Headquarters of the Philippines—General Staff. In the center: The arms of Spain.

In the negotiation of peace, I hereby present the now absolute arbitrator, His Excellency Sr. Pedro Alejandro Paterno, in behalf of and as representative of those who rose up in arms, on the basis of agreement and deliberations with the government of His Majesty which I hereby approved whereby a principal

sum to be delivered to the insurgents and their families for the damages caused on their properties as consequences of the war. This would consist of the delivery of P1,700,000 which the arbitrator, Sr. Paterno, would distribute in absolute freedom. But said amount should be regulated by specifying the rules as proposed by the representative of the government, His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of this army. These rules were compiled and finally edited in the following manner.

1. For those who rose up in arms, a draft in the amount of P400,000 would be delivered to the arbitrator, Sr. Paterno, to be collected in Hong Kong and, another two checks, of P200,000 each, to be collected on the date of maturity.
2. For the families of those who did not rise up in arms but also suffered the horrors of war, the amount that would be left should be given to them in three equal instalments. The last one which would be on the 6th month after the *Te Deum* had been sung, if peace has already been restored. Those persons who have not been identified for these instalments but have shown authentic proofs that they have not taken part in any conspiracy here or abroad should also be given due consideration.

That being the case and with the representatives being in conformity with His Excellency, Don Pedro Paterno for the rebel side and Captain General Fernando Primo de Rivera for the government side. Both parties signed this pact and got four copies: one for the government, one for the Captaincy General and the other two for the appointed representatives in Manila.

December 15, 1897

The Commander-in-Chief

(Sgd). Fernando Primo de Rivera

There is a seal in black ink which reads: Captaincy General of the Philippines-General Staff. In the center: The arms of Spain.

The Arbitrator

(Sgd.) PEDRO A. ALEJANDRO

CHAPTER FOUR

Program

After various amendments and multiple changes, the present official program prevailed.

December 14. Departure of Don Isabelo Artacho with the approval of His Excellency, the Governor General of the Treaty of Peace.

December 16. Departure of those in charge of the pacification orders of Don Emilio Aguinaldo to all his headquarters as spread out in various provinces.

December 23. Departure to San Miguel de Mayumo of His Excellency Don Pedro Paterno, with the General-in-Chief Celestino Fernandez, Tejeiro and Don Ricardo Monet, an assistant, two orderlies and the Lieutenant Colonel of the Infantry, Don Miguel Primo de Rivera.

December 24. Arrival in Biyak-na-Bato of Generals Tejeiro and Monet, an assistant, and two orderlies who will be received by Don Isabelo Artacho and Don Jose S. Natividad on the way.

December 25. Departure of Don Emilio Aguinaldo and his companions, Don Pedro Paterno and Don Miguel Primo de Rivera for Lingayen, where the Spanish government has a merchant vessel ready to conduct them to Hong Kong. The dispatchers are allowed to take with them their pistols and two rifles solicited by Don Emilio Aguinaldo. When these gentlemen have departed from Biyak-na-Bato, the Spanish government, through Don Pedro Paterno, shall deliver to Don Baldomero Aguinaldo a draft payable to the order of Banco Español-Filipino to a bank in Hong Kong in the amount of four hundred thousand pesos.

December 27. Departure from the Port of Lingayen to Hong Kong of the previously mentioned gentlemen and once they arrive in that port, Don

Emilio Aguinaldo will telegraph Don Artemio Ricarte to resolve the following: first, the delivery of the registered weapons and ammunitions; second, the compliance of all the orders of Aguinaldo before leaving these Islands with regard to the delivery of arms by the rest of the group spread out in various provinces; third, notify General Tejeiro and the other men who will stay in Biyak-na-Bato that they can already leave their places or residences. Meanwhile, the 225 arms with two thousand three hundred eighty two ammunitions, twenty pieces of armory and two official sabers, registered in Biyak-na-Bato, shall be delivered to the Spanish government. Don Artemio Ricarte will give an account by telegraph to Don Emilio Aguinaldo so that the amount of the draft of four hundred thousand pesos drawn by the government of the Philippines will be collected. The Captain General will notify Don Pedro A. Paterno and Don Miguel Primo de Rivera that they have already received the arms.

As quickly as they have fulfilled the presentation of men and the entrusting of weapons amounting to seven hundred, half of them at least are considered modern, two checks shall be delivered to Don Pedro Paterno. One, in the amount of two thousand pesos, and the other of the same amount after the *Te Deum* has been sung and the amnesty been promulgated so that peace will soon reign in the Philippines even with the existence of some obstacles.

Once the successive delivery of arms and the 225 pesos, triplicate copies and the other effects been verified by the chiefs from different detachments are to be distributed as follows: One will go to the Governor General; the second one, to Don Pedro Paterno, and, the third to Don Artemio Ricarte with whom the Captain General will give his orders and instructions.

This program like the one prepared by Don Pedro, with minor changes, which have been introduced with the attached explanation and with the common consent of the abovementioned gentlemen as arbitrator, is hereby signed in Manila on the 14th of December 1897, by the Commander-in-Chief, and the appointed arbitrator.

The Captain General

(Sgd). FERNANDO PRIMO DE RIVERA

“Captain General of the Philippines—Staff.” In the center: the arms of Spain.

The Arbitrator

(Sgd). PEDRO A. PATERNO

CHAPTER FIVE

I. Ratification of the Assembly of Representatives of the Filipino Nation

Paragraph XVI of the first protocol reads: “The Presidency of the Republic of the Philippines could not decide on anything without the approval of the Assembly of Representatives of the Filipino nation.” Such is the origin of the official document which we transcribe.

In Biyak-na-Bato, 20 December 1897. Gathered altogether here in the assembly, preliminary convocation of the representatives of the Filipino nation under the presidency of Don Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, leader of then Revolutionary Army and President of the Supreme Council of the provisional government of the Philippines, one of the secretaries of the assembly proceeded with the integral reading of the treaty. It was celebrated between His Excellency Fernando Primo de Rivera on one side as representative of Spain, and His Excellency, Don Pedro Alejandro Paterno, on the other as arbitrator appointed by the Supreme Council of the Government. With the representatives being aware of the said treaty and its basis for pacification, they have manifested unanimous conformity and approval by duly ratifying the contents of one or the other document. All those who have agreed signed

their names under oath after promising with their honor, fulfillment of what has been agreed upon in Biyak-na-Bato, this 20th of December of 1897.

(SGD). EMILIO AGUINALDO

(SGD). ANTONIO MONTENEGRO	(SGD). BALDOMERO AGUINALDO
(SGD). ISABELO ARTACHO	(SGD). VITO BELARMINO
(SGD). PASCUAL ALVAREZ	(SGD). DOROTEO LOPEZ PEREZ
(SGD). GIL MANIQUIS	(SGD). VICENTE LUKBAN RILLES
(SGD). LUIS CARLOS	(SGD). ESCOLASTICO VIOLA
(SGD). MARIANO NORIEL	(SGD). SALVADOR ESTRELLA
(SGD). ARTEMIO RICARTE	(SGD). PANTALEON GARCIA A. VIBORA
(SGD). MARIANO LLANERA	(SGD). ESTEBAN VIOLA
(SGD). ANASTACIO FRANCISCO	(SGD). ANDRES PRESBITERO
(SGD). PEDRO M.A. SANDOVAL	(SGD). JOSE ALEJANDRINO
(SGD). BENITO NATIVIDAD	(SGD). CIRIACO SARTOU
	(SGD). ISIDORO TORRES

II. Order of Pacification

In order to correct the deficiencies of statistics and its calculations of renegades, arms, ammunitions, armory and other provisions of war and, showing our confidence and good faith which guide us and the sincere desire of assisting the Spanish government in the pacification of the Philippine Islands with the agreement of the Supreme Council of the Revolutionary Government in an extraordinary session celebrated on this day, I come to resolve the following:

Article I. Approval in its highest degree of the program presented by the arbitrator, His Excellency, Don Pedro A. Paterno.

Article II. I declare such persons to be outside the dominion of the constituted government by the revolution that they do not have the right to call themselves insurgents or revolutionists, nor will they be able to enjoy the benefits and the effects of the treaty with the Spanish government.

Article III. If those who disobeyed me and contradicted my mandate of pacification are still enjoying their ranks, charge or employ in the revolutionary government, they will be deprived of the privileges and be declared outside of our dominion.

Biyak-na-Bato, 16th December 1897.

The President
EMILIO AGUINALDO

The Secretary of Interior
ISABELO ARTACHO

The Secretary of War
VITO BELARMINO

There is a seal which reads: “REPUBLICA DE FILIPINAS—RESIDENCIA”.
A radiant sun on top of the mountains.

I return to Manila as bearer of the last documents of peace to the government of Spain. In her behalf, the last reform is made and obtained. Some of its difficulties are ironed out. Peace is a solemn act which is proclaimed officially in the Manila press and its made known to Spain and to the whole world.

But I still have to go back to Biyak-na-Bato to fix some matters that are left undone and must be finished.

The two generals of the Spanish troops, the Honorables Don Tejeiro and Don Monet are treated like kings by the Filipino chiefs who anxiously keep the definitive embrace of peace but necessarily remain in the mountains like hostages.

We are all prepared to leave for Lingayen where much later we will embark for Hong Kong. The struggle, the disappointments, and death itself should be ended. The red banners of the revolution will shift into white banners of peace. The air will no longer be fuming with the black smoke of war.

On the ground, we will no longer stumble over men stretched on the cross, dead, with gunshot wounds.

You can rise up in peace, sampaguita flowers of the forests! You can shine even more brilliantly like stars of our heavens! And you, oh, Biyak-na-Bato, stay with your bulk of granite, your secrets and the revolutionary mysteries. We flee from you to leave you, palace of the eagles whose wings give shade to the tombs of Mamerto Natividad and other glorious heroes of our race!

PART FIVE
THE PEACE

CHAPTER ONE
TO HONG KONG

Peace finally succeeded. Happiness must have reigned over souls and everyone's foreheads. To celebrate and make some offerings, we happily proceeded to San Miguel de Mayumo in the house of Don Ceferino de Leon, where a banquet was given for everybody. This was given at midnight while the bells of the churches pealed in their glory that even the enemy's lips were accosted the kiss of peace.

Peace to all men and glory to God in the highest!

The banquet is magnanimous and the wife of Don Ceferino is the soul of the feast. She lovingly goes from one direction to another offering and smiling to everyone, specially affectionate to me for she treats me like a real brother.

"Don Pedro, try this; Don Pedro, have some of those. Don Pedro there is more over there". Everything being offered every time and obliges me to answer. "Thank you, thank you."

When the midnight meals finally ended, we left for Lingayen for Hong Kong on board the vessel *Uranus*. In this trip, my companions were brother Maximo, His Excellency, Don Juan Macleod, the aide-de-camp of the Governor General of the Philippines, Don Miguel, Colonel of the Infantry, Don Celestino Espinosa, Captain of the Cavalry, and my loyal mayordomo, Miguel Lopez. On our way, we felt dizzy because of the gigantic waves. Our ship was likened to a doll played by a child.

We finally reached Hong Kong, thanking the Lord from the bottom of our hearts for a pleasant arrival, and we lodged at the Victoria Hotel.

About the Indemnization

Of the 1,700,000 pesos offered by the Spanish government, only P600,000 pesos was paid. This one was completely not mentioned in the pact. With respect to the revolutionaries who were not up in arms, not a single cent was allotted for them. For those who rose up in arms, the Spanish government entrusted to me as its first instalment P400,000. I delivered it then to Don Emilio Aguinaldo without a cent missing, not even to pay my lodging expenses in Hong Kong. Not one revolutionist wanted to accept the distribution of the money. Therefore, even the most frugal soldier defended the money in order to conserve it, so they said. This treasure was to be used for journeys to Europe, Asia, and America in order to acquire knowledge.

During the distribution of the indemnization in Manila, there were several informalities and faults committed. The distribution of the two hundred thousand pesos for the second instalment, offered by the Spanish government, was accomplished with an obvious offense conceived by the Filipino generals who waited to receive it from my hands as agreed upon in the treaty of peace. I do not know what may have been the reasons why the Governor General of the Philippines distributed it himself.

This gave way to indescribable disappointments. If somebody would ask me: "Where can I find the rest of the P100,000 which have not been paid?" I would answer without vacillation: "It is totally in the hands of the Spanish government."

We admire Hong Kong, a cosmopolitan city, beautiful and commercial. Its high mountains remind us of our own Biyak-na-Bato; its hotels and also its public and private palaces are magnificent. We wonder when should we ever have similar aspects of this commercialism and the wonderful treasures of

their streets in our country. I am sure my friends have thought about this much more than I did. I am tired of seeing imperialistic cities in the world yet, I would never exchange the brown hills of Banahaw for all of them.

Life in the English colony is monotonous and frustrating. With my job being fulfilled and indisputably successful, nothing remains for me but to stay besides my elated companions. Goodbye, then, Hong Kong! May your shores give sanctuary to the flower of the Philippine revolution, trusting in the exodus of peace and dreaming of a magnificent and grandiose morning! Once again, we will hear the sound of canons along the camps of the Filipinos with the banner of our independent nation waving with the winds.

CHAPTER TWO IN MANILA

Manila, likened to a genteel Sultan of the Orient, is dressed in full gala, in streamers of red and yellow banners over which shone Spain's towers and lions.

Bands of music are played joyously converting the atmosphere into festive moods. The brightness of the sun glitters everywhere; the sabers and the beautiful military uniforms scintillate. The Captain General has ordered the holding of the royal festivities to celebrate peace in the Philippines.

The revolutionaries who rose up in arms, as well as those who did not, fulfilled the terms of the treaty. The Spanish government has also fulfilled their word of honor, referring to reforms as well as those of the indemnization. That is why, the Governor General has ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung.

I did not attend in the religious *Te Deum* in order to give thanks to the Almighty at the cathedral. There, all civil and military authorities of Manila and nearby towns congregate along the ailes of the temple.

Smell of incense, murmuring of Latin words could be heard from liturgical sacerdotal songs, the priest's cape are brilliantly embroidered in gold. The convent is in full splendor, the fragrance of the flowers, the flame of the wax candle, and the prayers on everyone's lips are offered to God in His altar, perhaps, as atonement for all the blood spilled out in the last fratricidal struggle.

There is also a grand ball in Malacañang which I decide not to attend. I wish to renounce all my glories in favor of the Captain General of the Philippines and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Don Fernando Primo de Rivera y Sobremonte, Marquiz de Estella to whom the grand cross of San Fernando and the Spanish nation are indebted with gratitude. I am grateful that I am still keeping up with my work, with the difficulties and expenses that I have totally paid in advance. I do not resent saluting His Majesty Alfonso XIII, the day I least think about it.

From the *The Pact of Biyak-na-Bato and Ninay* (National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2012), p. 1-115; translated into English from the Spanish text, *El pacto de Biyak-na-Bato por Pedro A. Paterno* (Imprenta [La Republica] Calle Quiotan, 1910)

ALBUM

Mga Lumang Imahen ng Biyak-na-Bato at Sibul, San Miguel, Bulacan

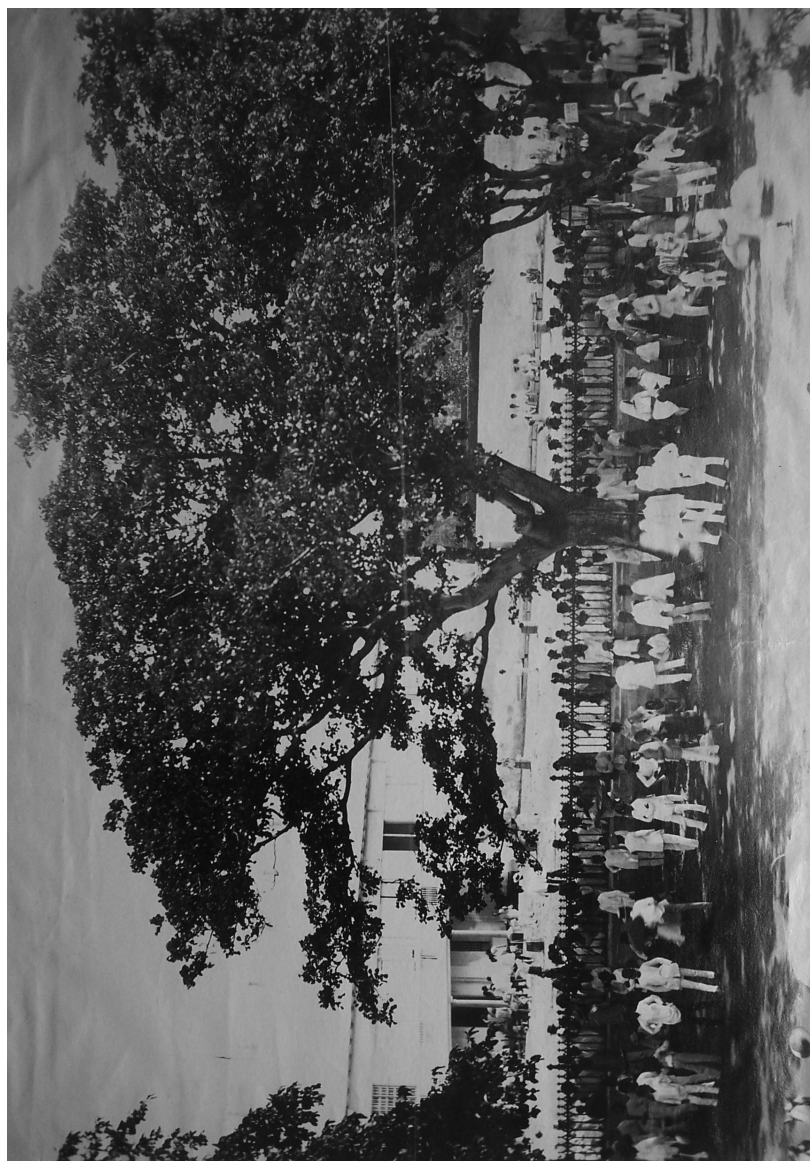


EL IMAGINARIO, 1860-1898 (2007)

Tanaw sa malawak na punong himpilan ng mga rebolusyong puwersa sa pamumuno ni Emilio Aguinaldo

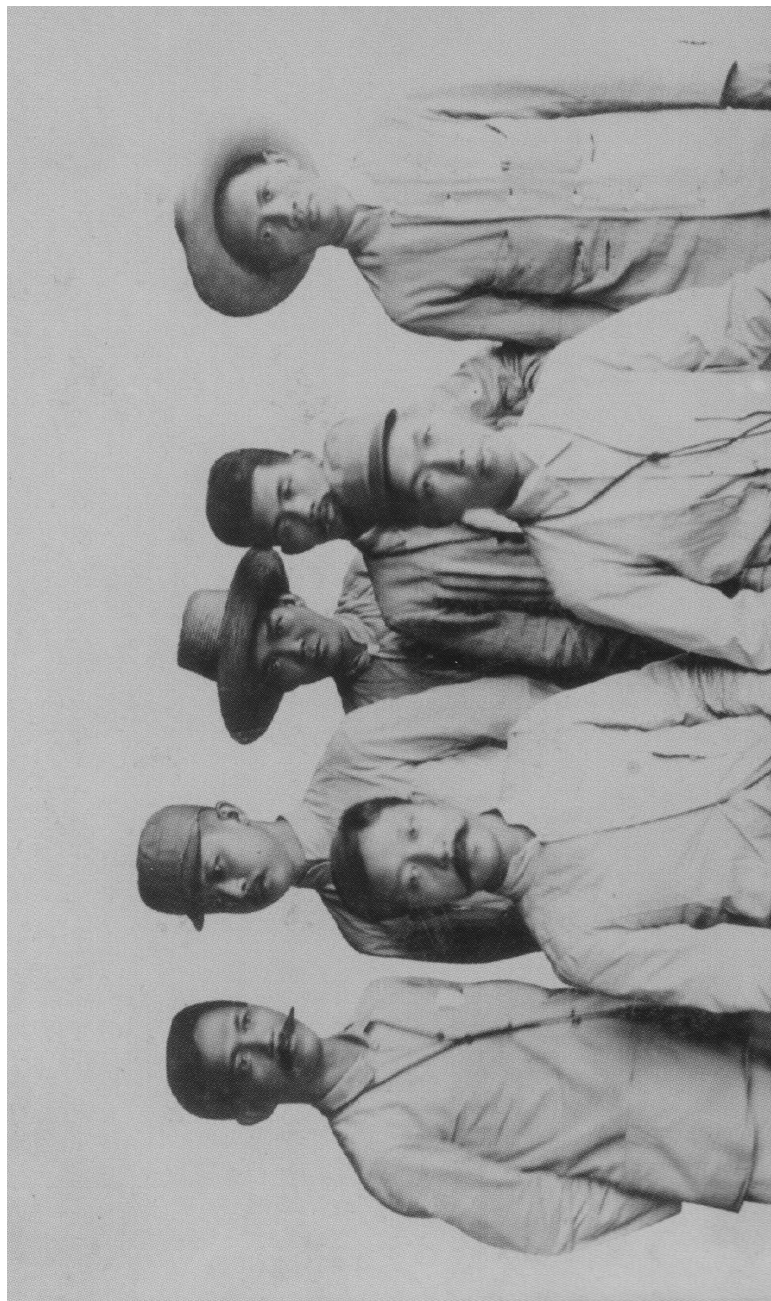


Casa Residencia sa punong himpilan ni Emilio Aguinaldo sa Biyak-na-Bato



RECUERDOS DE LA INSURRECCION FILIPINA (1897)

Pagdiriwang ng mga tao sa barrio San Sebastian, sa Maynila matapos lagdaan ang kasunduang pangkapayapaan sa Biyak-na-Bato



Mula sa kaliwa: (harap) Pedro A. Paterno, Emilio Aguinaldo; (likod) Isabelo Artacho, Baldomero Aguinaldo, Severino de las Alas, Antonio Montenegro at Vito Belarmino, circa 1897.



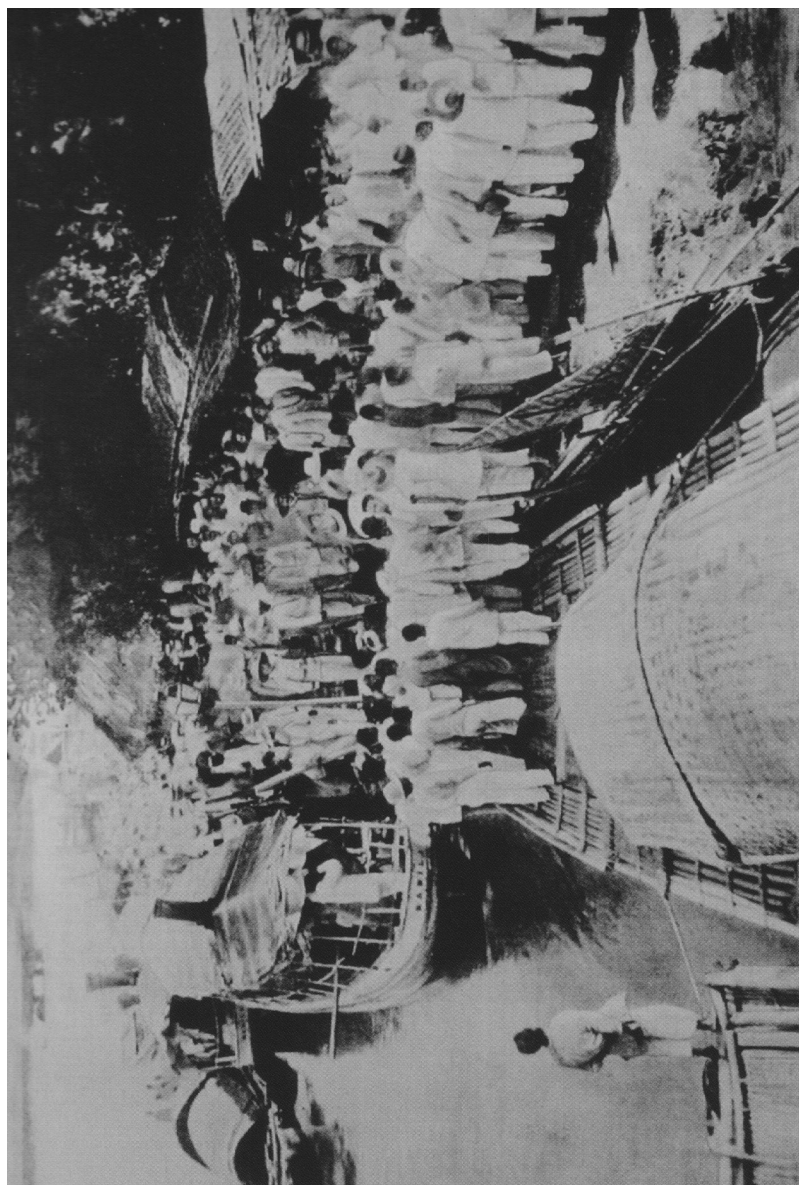
EL IMAGINARIO, 1860-1898 (2007)

Emilio Aguinaldo



EL IMAGINARIO, 1860-1898 (2007)

Pagtulak ng mga rebolusyonaryong lider patungong Dagupan upang sumakay sa bapor patungong Hong Kong. Mula sa kaliwa: Gregorio del Pilar, Wenceslao Viniegra, Emilio Aguinaldo, Vito Belarmino, at Pedro Paterno (tagapamagitan).



EL IMAGINARIO, 1860-1898 (2007)

Si Emilio Aguinaldo at ang dalawampu't anim na iba pa sa Sual, Pangasinan noong Disyembre 26, 1897



Ang Pangkat ng mga rebolusyonaryong Filipino na pinamunuan ni Aguinaldo sa Hong Kong.

EL IMAGINARIO, 1860-1898 (2007)



SIBUL AT MADLUM



*Sibul Water Falls.
Bulacan.*



Mudlang Cave. Sibul Springs.



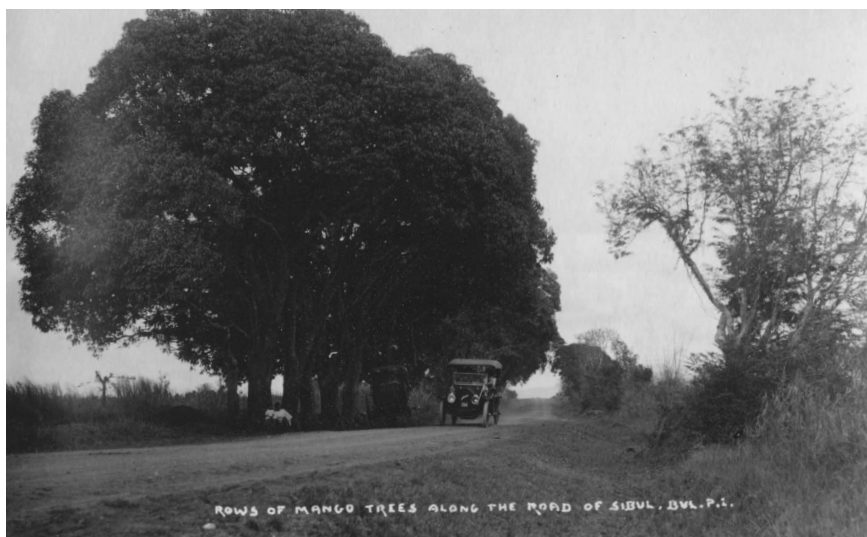
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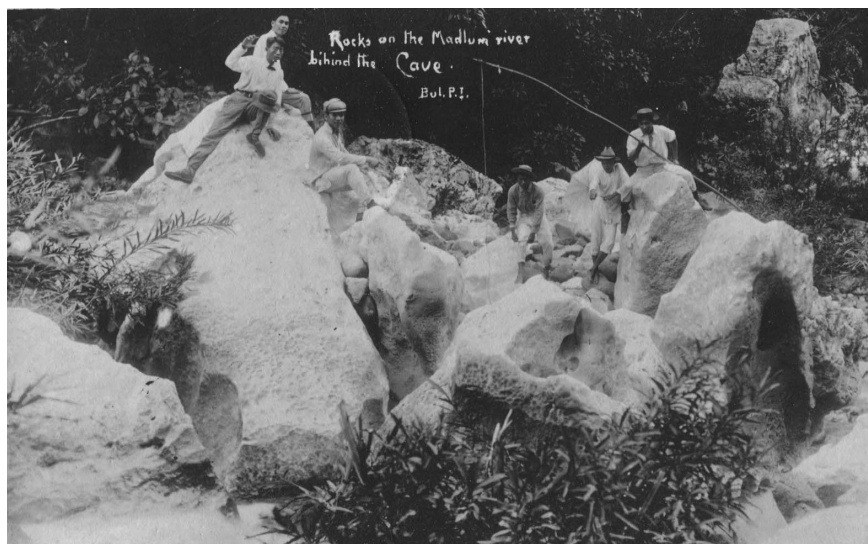
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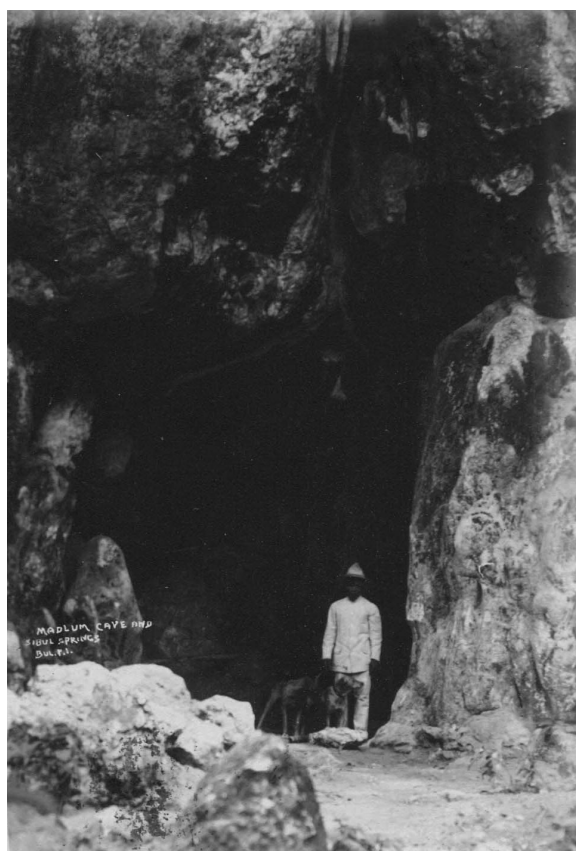
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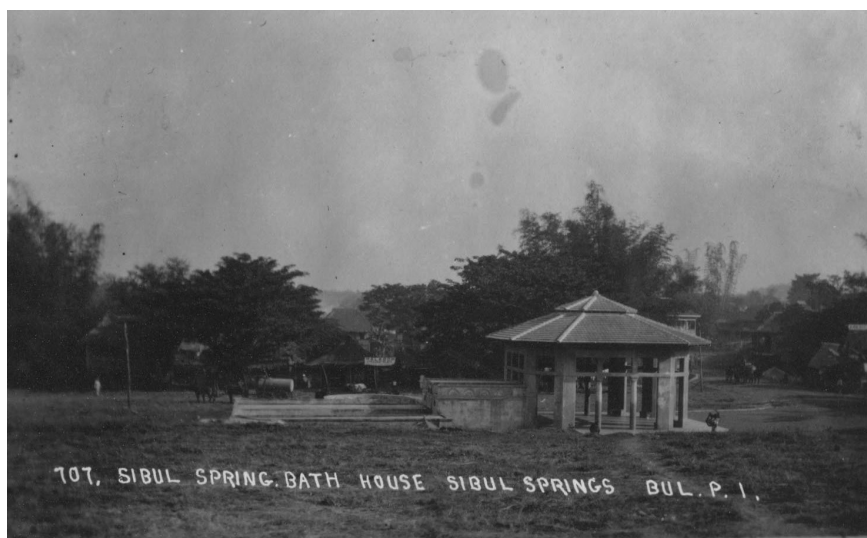
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BIYAK-NA-BATO

Luwalhati ng Isang Panahon

Ni Virgilio S. Almario

Ang pagdalaw sa Biyak-na-Bato ay tila paghahanap ng sariling kaluluwa, ng piping paggunita sa kaluwalhatian ng isang panahong wari'y ibinaon nang walang pagkukuro sa dawag ng paligid at lumot na nagkapit sa mga batungbuhay.

* * *

Magmula sa kabayanan ng San Miguel de Mayumo ang sampung-kilometrong Magsaysay Avenue ay tila-gulugod-ahas na bumalatay sa mga hubad na pinitak, makugon-talahib na parang at sunog na gulod. Ang feeder road, na ipinangalan pa sa magiting na nagnasa minsang magpadaloy ng kabihasan sa bukid at ilang na pook, ay isang impiyerno. Kung tag-araw ay isang mina ng alikabok. Naranasan na ng marami ang maging blonde sa gustuhin at sa hindi, sa pagparoo't pagbalik sa Biyak-na-Bato. Kung tag-ulan ay mistulang pusali't kumunoy. Ang mga naninirahan sa mga nayun-nayunang tulad ng Pulong Bayabas ay kailangang maglakad pagtungo sa kabayanan kapag bumahagyang ulan lamang. Walang dyip o kariton man lamang na makabagtas sa mga balaho—mga balahong sa tag-araw ay tila pisngi ng buwan (kapag sinisilip sa teleskopyo) o pugad ng naglaksang bulkang kinakailangang pagluksong-tinikan ng mga eskursiyunista't maliligaw na kaluluwa.

At ang pinakapook ay isang kabiguan. Ang Biyak-na-Bato sa ngayon ay isang larawan ng kawalang-lingap sa kagandahan ng kalikasan at paglimot sa kasaysayan. Una'y sa pagwawalang-halaga sa kasaysayan ng ating pagkabansa. Bawat bitak sa mga higitang batongbuhay sa paligid ay tila sumisigaw ng paghihimagsik sa lamig-damdamin ng kasalukuyan.

Ilang panahon pa lamang mula noong 1897 at ang Biyak-na-Bato ay waring bahagi na lamang ng isang pinagpipilitang iwaglit na alaala. Naglaho na ang taginting ng proklamasyon ni Heneral Emilio Aguinaldo noong Hulyo, 1897 nang tawagin niya ang lahat ng anak ng bayan upang humawak ng sandata. Nanlamig na ang silakbo ng mga Isabelo Artacho at Felix Ferrer noong isabalangkas nila ang Constitucion o Reglamentos de la Republica de Filipinas na naglalayon ng isang malayang Pilipinas na hiwalay sa monarkiyang Kastila. Ipinahayag din ng saligang batas ang paggamit ng Tagalog bilang wikang opisyal ng republika. Namatay na ang damdaming pansamantalang pinahupa ng kasunduan o pakto ng Biyak-na-Bato noong ika-14 at 15 ng Disyembre, 1897. Noong ang Biyak-na-Bato ay isang moog. Noong si Gobernador Fernando Primo de Rivera man ay umamin sa harap ng Cortes na “Kaya kong lusubin at kunin ang Biyak-na-Bato. Kahit sinong kawal-militar ay kayang kunin ito. Subalit hindi ko matitiyak na kaya kong durugin ang paghihimagsik.” Sapagkat noon ang Biyak-na-Bato ay higit sa isang kuta, higit sa isang lipon ng aping mamamayan. Ito’y isang diwa ng pagkakaisa noon; isang damdaming-bayang tila tinggang itinubog sa tubig ng kasalukuyang pangyayari.

Huwag nang bakasin ang yapak ng mga bayaning namuhay at nabuwal sa Biyak-na-Bato—nina Pedro A. Paterno, Mamerto Natividad, Emilio Aguinaldo, Gregorio del Pilar, Artemio Ricarte at daan-daang magigiting na naglipon dito. Isaalang-alang na lamang ang likas na kagandahan ng naturang pook. Bukod sa halagang pangkasaysayan ang Biyak-na-Bato ay isang pangganyak sa mga turista at bakasyunista. Ang mga yungib at batis na matatagpuan dito ay halinang-likas. May yungib pang ang batis sa loob ay tila nanggagaling sa reprehiradora ang tubig. Ang luntiang kakahuyan at kapaligiran ay nagbibigay-hamon sa damdaming mahilig sa abentura—amamaril ng ibon, panghuhuli ng isda, at pag-akyat bundok.

* * *

May sampung taon na ngayon marahil nang minsang balaking ayusin ito bilang pook-bakasyunan. Noon nga pinalas at tinambakan ang daang ngayo'y Magsaysay Avenue. Sa isang piniling araw ay dumagsa rito ang mga panauhin. Natipon ang mga pinunong bayan. Naroon ang matanda nang Magdalo sa huling pagsulyap sa kanyang moog. Bawat nagtalumpati'y dumangal sa pook at naghandog-tulong. Natapos ang pagdiriwang sa isang masaganang pananghalian at tagayan. Magmula noon, palad nang may magawing greyder ng army upang patagin ang Magsaysay Avenue matapos ang isang tag-ulan o baha.

* * *

Hanggang ngayon ang Biyak-na-Bato ay naghahanap ng katuparan sa mga pangakong binitawan noon. Ang pinatag na gulod na pinagdiwangan noon ay naging dawagang pamuli. Liban sa lunang pinamahayanan ng ilang mag-aanak—mga magkakaingin, mag-uuling, mangangahoy at mangunguha ng sako-sakong guwano (patabang naiimbak sa mga kuwebang pinamumugaran ng mga paniki).

* * *

Isa nga palang di malilimot na tanawin ang dapithapon sa Biyak-na-Bato. Paghihingalo ng araw, pupuslit sa nag-uuling nang kalawakan ang kawan-kawang mga paniki, tatakip sa papawirin, at pupunuin ang paligid ng lagaslas ng naglipanang pakpak. Noon tila mawawala ang anino ng dawagan, maruruming batuhan (sa mga pinagbalutan at labi ng mga eskursiyunista), at ulilang batong-pananda o marker na ginagawang pugalan lamang ng kalabaw. Noon tila nawawala ang guniguni ng baku-bako at maalikabok na sampung-kilometrong-daan pabalik sa San Miguel de Mayumo. Ang minsang pagdalaw ay nakadadala. At ang isang naghanap ay waring hindi na makababalik pang muli upang mabigo sa ikalawang pagkakataon.

SIBUL

By A.V. H. Hartendorp

I had been ill for several days. I felt a little better on Saturday, so I went to my office in the afternoon and got through quite a little work. Afterwards I went to see John Barrymore at the new Lyric Theatre. Barrymore was good, as he always is, even though “When a Man Loves” proved to be Abbe Prevost’s “Manon” partly spoiled by the director, as usual, trying to improve on the book. The Lyric now presents a very attractive interior. After the show, I had a plate of soup—being still on a liquid diet, and then home and bed, but, alas! Not sleep.

The padre in my neighbourhood—Santa Ana—was having some kind of a fiesta, and had hired a very brass band. This band kept up its martial airs for hours and hours after I got home, with grand finales—or what each time I hoped would be the grand finale, every five minutes. By the time these musicians were tired out and quit, I was too tired to sleep. However, I did catch an hour or so before dawn.

About seven o’clock in the morning, while trying to summon up enough resolution to get up, I suddenly said to myself:

“I wish I could get out of Manila for a few days; Baguio—too far; Los Baños—accommodations not so good since the McVean Hotel burned down; Sibul Springs—haven’t been there for three years—Why not go?”

I called up the Manila Railroad Company Office, and found out that a train left at 9:10, I shaved, bathed, and dressed, had some toast and risked a small piece of bacon, packed a *tampipi*, called a garage car, rode to my office where I left a note for my assistant, found I still had thirty-five minutes and decided to get a hair-cut, and asked the driver to find out for me how much it would cost me to go by automobile if I decided on that means of transportation.

About the time the barber was through with me, the chauffeur came back and told me it would cost me twenty pesos to go by car. As the railroad ticket to San Miguel de Mayumo, the station nearest Sibul Springs, cost only P2.76, and as I thought I should like to ride on a train for a change, I decided on the train, bought a box of Reina Victorias, extra fina, my favorite cigar, and got to the station with ten minutes to spare.

I took my seat in the first class compartment of a combination first- and third-class coach, and I found I was the only passenger in a compartment large enough for “12 VIAJEROS”, according to a sign painted over the door of the compartment.

The train started to move and I was off on my first railroad trip out of Manila for over a year. The conductor came in and punched my ticket, which I put back in my pocket, and five minutes afterward, another conductor came in and asked for my ticket. I fished it out again and decided not to become irritated. I was beginning to enjoy myself. I gave the conductor a cigar, and asked him how far it was from San Miguel de Mayumo to Sibul Springs. He told me it was twelve or thirteen kilometres. I said:

“Is that so? ‘Information’ told me over the phone this morning that it was only one kilometre, and the girl who sold me the ticket said it was two. Serves me right for asking the same question so often!”

“Well, it might be seven or eight kilometres,” said the conductor.

“Can one hire a car there?” I asked.

“No, only a caretela.”

“How much do they charge for the trip?”

“I think about three pesos.”

We were travelling through the wide rice fields of Bulacan, now dry and brown except for an occasional rectangle of vivid green. Here and there stood small, low, home-like looking nipa cottages, usually surrounded by a few trees or clumps of tall, silvery green bamboo, with numerous happy children playing in the yard.

Along the railway embankment for many kilometres ran a large concrete irrigation ditch, with smiling, sleek-haired girls climbing out after taking a bath, their *patadiongs* tucked sougly over their breasts and their pretty shoulders and arms bare. Boys in knee-pants, with beautifully muscled bodies, shouted and waved as the train passed.

So through the wide plains and one small town after another—Bigaa, Malolos, Quingua, Pulilan, San Ildefonso—we were on the Cabanatuan branch of the railroad. At one station a boy came into the coach to sell me the Sunday Manila papers, and he was obviously disappointed when he saw that I already had them. At other places women and children were offering bottled soft drinks, fruits, sandwiches, and balut for sale, but I remembered I was on a diet.

We were now coming into somewhat more rolling territory, and Mount Arayat, with its notched, crater top, grew large to the west.

At 11:10 we arrived at San Miguel de Mayumo. The train trip had taken just two hours, and as I had expected to have a hot, dusty, sooty time of it, I was agreeably surprised when this proved not to be the case. It was a little hot, but there was no dust or soot, the wind being such as to drive the smoke away from the train, except for the last ten minutes, when my compartment, which came right behind the locomotive and the tender, became somewhat smoky.

Several men rushed toward me to relieve me of my old bamboo *tampipi* which has gone around the Islands with me several times, and to inquire where I wanted to go. I engaged the first man to reach me, but took the precaution of

asking the station master how much one usually paid to go to Sibul Springs. He told me P1.50.

I took my seat in a vehicle that looked like a cross between what we in Manila call a *carretela* and a *carromata*, but when I asked the *cochero* what it was, he insisted in voluble Tagalog that it was a *carromata*, pointing out the various details of construction that entitled it to the name. The springs were not so good, and the stuffing in the oil-cloth covered seat was in the wrong place, but I was in the mood to enjoy this ride too.

I now learned that the distance between San Miguel de Mayumo and Sibul Springs is thirteen kilometers, and that, therefore, the conductor was right the first time. The tough little horse, in his harness made mostly of rope, trotted all the way. The road ran through a dry, sandy, and rather rocky and rolling country, with scattered trees and small second-growth forests, and a few lonely houses at intervals. We passed no less than three small country school houses.

A little before twelve we arrived in front of the Sibul Hotel. I gave the driver P1.50, but he wouldn't have been human if he had not asked for more, and I had another half-peso all ready to give to him in case he did, and he did. He left me with a wave of his hand and several "Po's" (Po is "Sir").

Ten minutes after my arrival, and after two tall glasses of Sibul water, I sat down before a table piled with food, and generously partook of vermicelli soup, *arros Valenciana*, and roast beef stuffed with pork, and ended up with real egg custard—something of an accomplishment for a man who had nothing but broth for a week, but I had faith in the efficacy of the water, and by six o'clock I was ready for dinner.

Some people from Manila, friends of mine (I hope they don't see this), wouldn't drink the water but ordered beer instead, and drank water from a thermos bottle filled in Manila.

I remonstrated, but they said they didn't like either the smell or the taste of the water. I said:

"Nobody does, but it is good for the health."

"But my health is all right!" said one lady.

What more could I say?

The people of the town are all sturdy and healthy looking, and I did not note a single case of the skin sores and itches so common elsewhere. This is without doubt attributable to the water, which is used both for bathing and drinking.

According to a Bureau of Science analysis, the water is sulphureted and only moderately mineralized. But it is among the most radioactive waters in the Philippines, and to this it probably chiefly owns its therapeutic qualities. A table in "Philippine Water Supplies" by G. W. Heise and A. S. Behrman (Bureau of Science, 1918) shows for Sibul water an alkalinity of 380, Calcium 148, Magnesium 14, Chlorine 32, and Bicarbonates 460.

Physicians recommend the water highly for stomach and intestinal troubles and for skin diseases. But the water is contraindicated for persons suffering from kidney trouble, and the baths are somewhat too cold to be beneficial in the case of people with weak hearts. Sibul Springs is an ideal place for convalescence from most diseases.

The following paragraphs regarding Sibul water occur in a monograph published in Spanish times, "Memoria Descriptiva de los Manantiales Minero—Medicinales de la Isla de Luzon, Filipinas" by Centeno, del Rosario, and de Vera (Madrid, 1890):

Aplicaciones terapeuticas.—*Indicaciones*.—En las dermatosis humedas, ulceras atonicas, herpetismo, catarros gastro-intestinales cronicos, dispepsias, disenterias cronicas, infartos hepaticos y en los desarreglos menstruales.

Contraindicaciones.—Afecciones del Corazon y de los grandes vasos, gota.

Sibul Springs (*Sibul*, by the way, means “spring”) is a pretty little town of a hundred or so scattered houses, and a population of around 700. The streets are hilly and well shaded, and all lead to the center of the town, the plaza, in the middle of which, surrounded by large, old tress, and green hedges and flower bushes, stands the rather elaborate concrete bath house and pavilion built by the Bureau of Health in 1912. Before this was erected, and in Spanish times, there were two rickety bath houses, built of nipa and sawali, one for men and the other for women. The spring and the land immediately around it has been declared an insular reservation.

The story goes that many years ago, a Spanish missionary asked for a drink and was given this water. He spat it out, saying there must be a dead fish in it, but when he learned this was not the case, he reported the matter to Manila, and from that time on, Sibul became one of the favorite health resorts of the Spaniards as it had been for the Filipinos for ages.

The present bathing facilities are first class. There are seven private bath rooms containing tiled tanks several meters long and four or five feet deep, and three “special” baths somewhat larger, a “family” bath, and two public baths, one for men and the other for women. The fee charged is 20 centavos, 50 centavos, and P1.00, respectively. The time limit is fifteen minutes, but this is enough, since the water is rather cold to remain in long. The water is continuously renewed through an intake, and several times a day the tanks are drained and cleaned. The water is very clear and has a decidedly sulphurous odor.

Government revenues from the baths amount to P3,000 to P4,000 a year, which is more than enough for ordinary maintenance.

Many people maintain private cottages in Sibul, among them Mr. Vicente Encarnacion Singson, Mr. John Russell, Mr. Mariano Limjap, Speaker Roxas, Mr. Jose Guevarra, the Sisters of the College of Santa Isabel, and others, and various Protestant denominations hold annual meetings there. The baths

are especially popular during the months of February, April, May, and June, when people and parties come from all the surrounding provinces, camping in the plaza, and dancing in the pavilion, and having a good time generally.

The two principal hotels—the International and the Sibul Hotel—are owned by the two leading property owners of the town, Mrs. Modesta Pengson and Mr. Francisco de la Concha. The International is a large, frame structure, with its own electric light plant and other modern conveniences. The Sibul Hotel is the older of the two, and less pretentious, but the abundant and well-prepared food one gets there makes up for other short-comings. Those who want a cocktail before dinner can get a very good one from Mr. Pedro de la Concha, son of Don Francisco, across the plaza.

Sibul Springs is not a municipality, but a barrio of San Miguel de Mayumo. The “teniente del barrio” is Mr. Francisco Tayag, a young man from Manila who was for several years in charge of the Kiosko Habanero on the Escolta. He married a San Miguel girl and went to Sibul Springs to live, where he now has a little store and engages in the rattan business.

The people of the town are largely engaged in cutting lumber and firewood in the nearby mountains. Most of this is sold in San Miguel and other surrounding towns. There are three bottling and soft drink works, two owned by Filipinos and one by a Chinese.

Rice, corn, and tobacco are raised, but Sibul Springs is not principally a farming community. Most of the land is in the possession of Mrs. Pengson and Don Francisco, already mentioned. Mangoes and water melons are abundant.

An interesting industry is iron smelting, although this is done at the mines on Mount Kamaching, 23 kilometers from the town, the property of Don Francisco de la Concha. The iron is for the most part manufactured into plow-shares. The total output amounts to only some five thousand pesos a year in value, but the ore is said to be of excellent quality, and Mr. de la

Concha told me he is now organizing a company to properly capitalize the enterprise.

There is a little stone church, built for the town by Mrs. de Leon, mother-in-law of Speaker Roxas, 1914, although it looks older, the stones having come from the ruins of an older building in another town. The priest in San Miguel officiates on special occasions.

The school is a three-room, wooden building, with shell windows. The enrolment is around 130. Neither of the two teachers was in town when I was there.

At the post-office one can buy stamps and get his mail. Telegrams must be telephoned to San Miguel and sent from there.

A small dispensary building, dedicated as a memorial to the late Director of Health, Dr. Vicente de Jesus, was erected last year out of provincial funds. There is no resident physician, but Dr. Alfredo Lopez, division health officer at San Miguel, is on part-time duty at Sibul.

There are several interesting side-trips that may be taken from Sibul Springs. The Madlum Cave is some three kilometers distant. Madlum comes from *madalumdum*, Pampangan for "dark." It is a limestone cave of many long and tortuous passages, and torches are needed to make one's way through them. The cave used to be a refuge for bandits. During the Revolution, the Filipinos used to make their bullets in the neighbourhood.

The Renacimiento Cave is a smaller one about a kilometer from the town, and was so named by a member of the staff of the famous newspaper of that name. Still another cave, called the Victoria, is about five kilometers away. It is said to be rather dangerous because of a hole in the passage five or six meters deep.

Historic Biac na Bato is some nine kilometers distant. Here General Aguinaldo signed his famous pact with the Spaniards in 1897, which temporarily brought

the Insurrection to a close. I was told that the house in which the pact was signed is no longer standing, that, in fact, there is only one house there at the present time. There are a number of caves in this neighbourhood also. Guano is obtained in some quantities from one of these. The whole country seems to be riddled with caves, and one can understand that it would be an ideal terrain for the operation of guerilla bands.

I visited the Madlum Cave some three years ago, but I must confess that I didn't take any of these side-trips on this occasion. I preferred to lie around and rest, bathe and eat.

From *Philippine Magazine* (June 1929), p. 27-28, 36-38

APENDISE 1

Resolution No. 1 s. 1996

DECLARING BIYAK-NA-BATO IN SAN MIGUEL, BULACAN AS A HISTORIC SITE

WHEREAS, Article 14, Sections 14, 15 and 16 on “Arts and Culture” of the Constitution of the Philippines, respectively, state that: “The State shall foster the preservation, enrichment and dynamic evolution of the Filipino national culture...; The State shall conserve, promote, and popularize the nation’s historical and cultural heritage and resources, as well as artistic creations. All the country’s artistic and historic wealth constitutes the cultural treasure of the nation and shall be under the protection of the State which may regulate its disposition;”

WHEREAS, Presidential Decree No. 260, dated August 1, 1973, officially vested the National Historical Institute with the power to conserve and promote the historical and cultural heritage of the country, and is, therefore in-charge of identifyng, maintaining and caring of historical shrines, monuments and landmarks and/or developing the historical sites and structures that may be declared as National Shrines, Monuments, and Landmarks;

WHEREAS, General Emilio Aguinaldo and his followers, as a strategic move on their part, encamped themselves in Biyak-na-Bato, San Miguel, Bulacan where they resorted to guerilla warfare, thereby transforming the Filipino struggle for independence into a people’s war;

WHEREAS, on November 1-2, 1897, fifty-two revolutionaries convened in Biyak-na-Bato and signed the Constitución Provisional de la República de Filipinas, thereby establishing the first constitutional republican government of the Philippines, on the basis of a temporary constitution;

WHEREAS, the Pact of Biyak-na-Bato signed on November 18, 1897 was a truce agreement between the Filipino revolutionaries and the Spanish colonial government, thereby suspending the hostilities between the two forces stipulating the terms which included the surrender of the Filipino arms, the exile of Aguinaldo and the other members of the Revolutionary Committee to Hong Kong, and the payment of money to the said committee according to an agreed schedule;

WHEREAS, due to the significant events associated with this site, a historical marker was installed by the National Historical Institute in 1973;

WHEREAS, in the celebration of the National Centennials from 1996 to 1998, Biyak-na-Bato serves as a historical site and as a national reminder and inspiration for all Filipinos for their historic struggle against Spain and the perpetuation of the ideals of liberty for which their forefathers had consistently fought and defended a century ago.

NOW THEREFORE, the National Historical Institute, by virtue of the powers vested in it by Presidential Decree No. 260, dated August 1, 1973, as amended by the Presidential Decree No. 1505 dated June 11, 1978, hereby declares Biyak-na-Bato and its environs as a Historic Site.

APPROVED: April 24, 1996

Signed by:

Serafin D. Quiason
Chairman and Executive Director

Marcelino A. Foronda
Member

Gabriel S. Casal
Ex-Officio Member

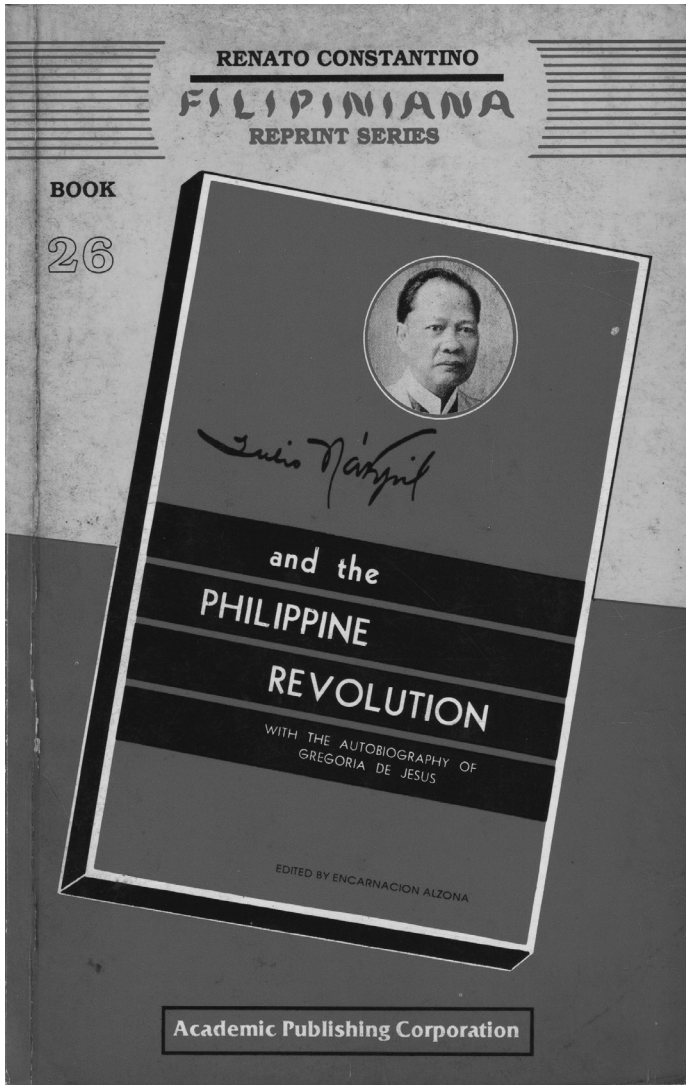
Samuel K. Tan
Member

Onofre D. Corpuz
Member

Helen R. Tubangui
Member

APENDISE 2

“Biyak-na-Bato,” a musical composition of Julio Nakpil (from *Julio Nakpil and the Philippine Revolution*, Filipiniana Reprint Series Book 26, 1997; based on the 1964 edition.



6. Biyak-na-Bato

"Biyak na Bato." Paso-doble militar por JULIO NAKPIL.

Principal

Charinetes en Bb

2^a y 3^a

Sopranos

Saxophones en Bb

Tenor

1^a y 2^a

Trompas en Eb

3^a y 4^a

1^a y 2^a

Trompetas en Bb

3^a y 4^a

1^a y 2^a

Slides o Trombo-
nas

3^a y 4^a

Tuba

Contrabajos en Bb

Tímbar

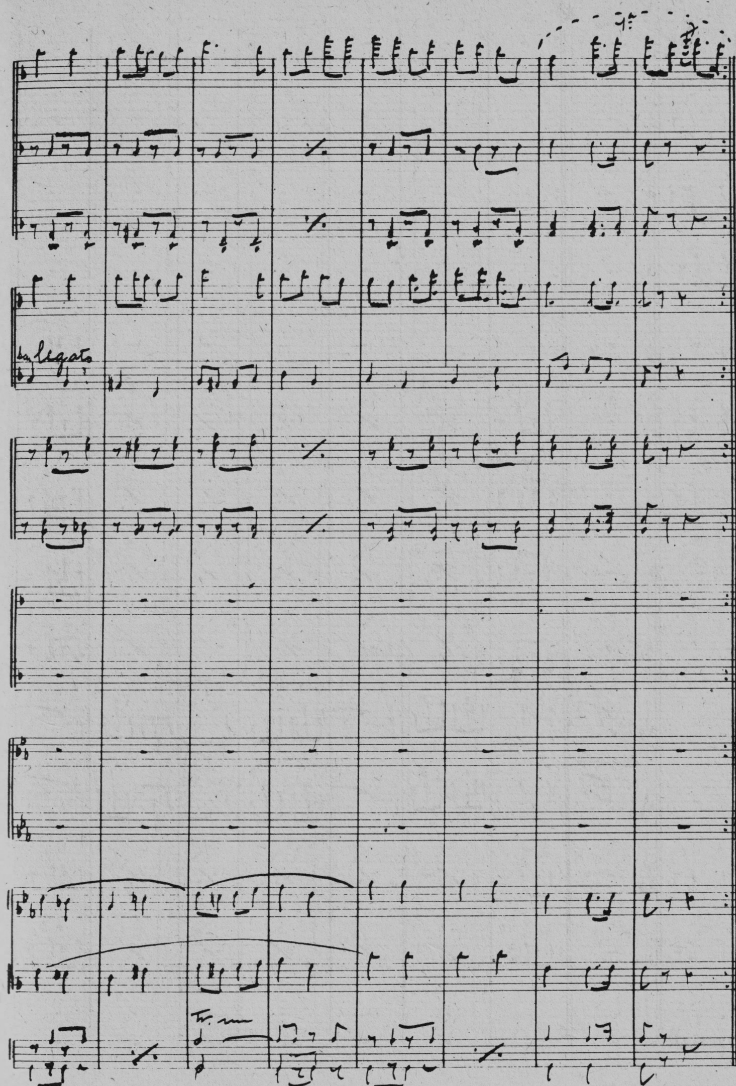
Bombos y platillo

JULIO NAKPIL
325 BARBOSA, KIAPD
MANILA, P.I.

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in a historical style, featuring various note values, rests, and bar lines. The word "FIN" is written above the staff in the upper right section. The score concludes with a double bar line and a small flourish.

Handwritten musical score for guitar and voice. The score consists of 11 staves. The first staff is a single melodic line with various ornaments and slurs. The second and third staves are guitar accompaniment, featuring chords and rhythmic patterns. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics written below it. The fifth and sixth staves are guitar accompaniment. The seventh and eighth staves are empty. The ninth and tenth staves are guitar accompaniment. The eleventh staff is a vocal line. The score is written in a handwritten style with various musical notations including notes, rests, slurs, and ornaments.

JULIO NAKPIL
325 BARBOSA, KIABO
MANILA, P.I.



Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols, clefs, and dynamic markings.

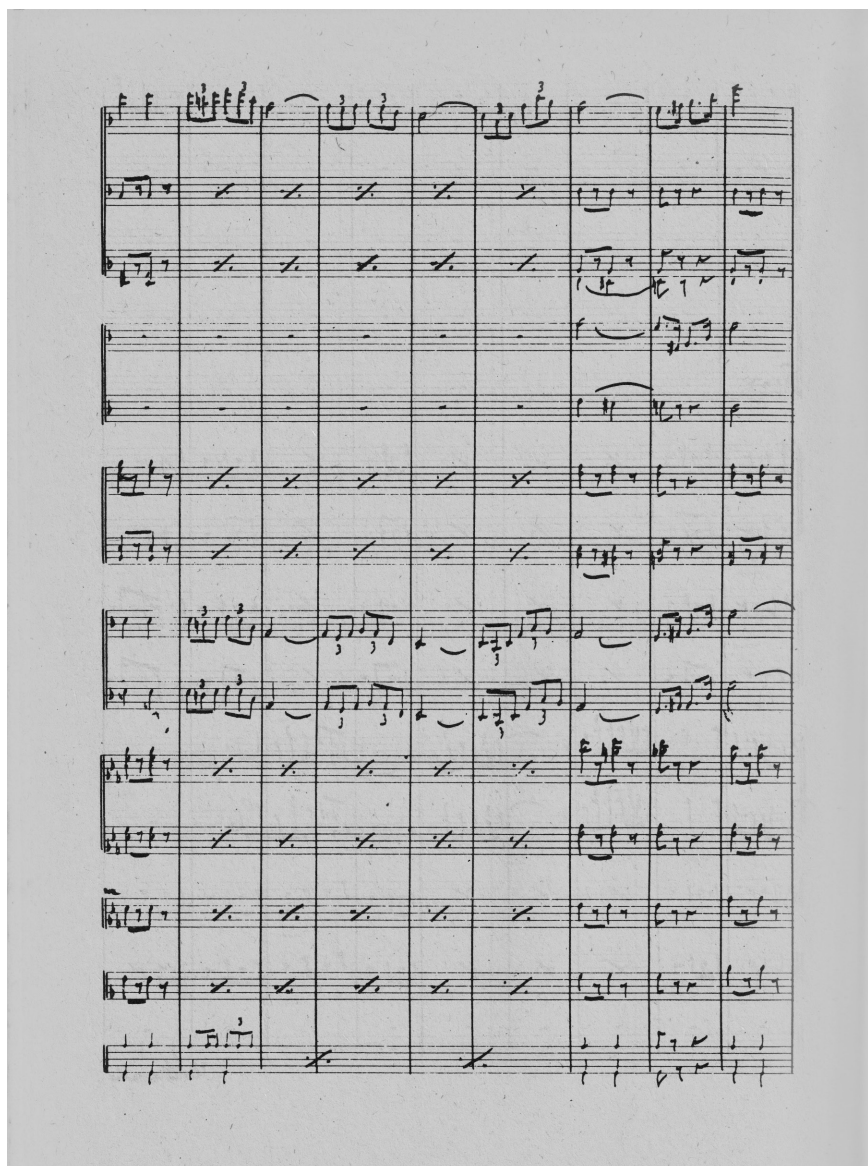
Key markings and features:

- Trino**: Handwritten above the first staff.
- Staccato**: Handwritten above the fifth staff.
- legato**: Handwritten above the seventh staff.

The score consists of ten staves. The first four staves are mostly empty with some initial notation. The fifth staff begins a section marked "Staccato" with rhythmic patterns. The sixth staff continues this section. The seventh staff begins a section marked "legato" with flowing melodic lines. The eighth and ninth staves continue the "legato" section. The tenth staff is mostly empty.

A handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in a historical style, possibly 18th or 19th century. The first two staves are mostly empty, with some notes at the end of the first staff. The third staff has a few notes. The fourth and fifth staves contain rhythmic markings, possibly 'x' or 'v', and some notes. The sixth and seventh staves have more complex notation, including beams and slurs. The eighth and ninth staves continue the notation. The tenth staff has a few notes and the word 'Platello solo' written below it.

Platello solo





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