

Gems of Philippine oratory ; selections representing fourteen centuries of Philippine thought, carefully compiled from credible sources in substitution for the pre-Spanish writings destroyed by missionary zeal, to supplement the later literature stunted by intolerant religious and political censorship, and as specimens of the untrammelled present-day utterances / by Austin Craig ...

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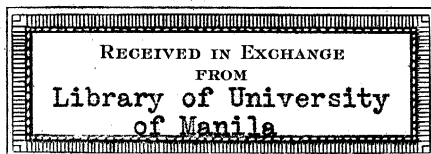
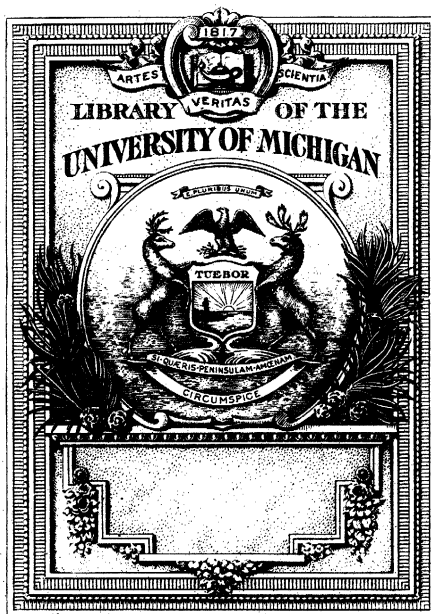
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GEMS OF PHILIPPINE ORATORY

AUSTIN CRAIG



GEMS OF PHILIPPINE ORATORY

SELECTIONS REPRESENTING FOURTEEN CENTURIES OF PHILIPPINE THOUGHT, CAREFULLY COMPILED FROM CREDIBLE SOURCES IN SUBSTITUTION FOR THE PRE-SPANISH WRITINGS DESTROYED BY MISSIONARY ZEAL, TO SUPPLEMENT THE LATER LITERATURE STUNTED BY INTOLERANT RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CENSORSHIP, AND AS SPECIMENS OF THE UNTRAMMELED PRESENT-DAY UTTERANCES

By

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FOREWORD

IN this modest little book is revealed the soul of the Philippines' whole past time, for here are recorded the outstanding utterances of the makers of its history.

And it has ever been a soul that dares! Its keynote is: "Independence now and Independence forever!", that independence by which the Filipinos can be enabled to remain true to themselves.

Certainly in these islands of sugar and spice, and of many other things nice, the sons of the soil may not be reproached with having been so dead of soul as never to themselves have said this was their own, their native land. They said it early, they have said it often, and they have never hesitated to affirm it publicly in those soul-testing times when merely whispering it brought death to the body. In the Philippines, history, as in few other lands, has been written in the blood of generations of martyrs.

The most has been made of the scanty materials available, but restorations have been consistent and contain nothing which the records of the times do not justify. Meager as it is, that part of the work which covers up to fifty years ago has been accumulated through twenty years of specialized study and is confidently submitted as a distinct contribution to Philippine History, permitting a better understanding of the Filipinos' part therein than has heretofore been possible. Only orators are here, not the writers, remember.

If the speeches seem simple, still they were made at personal peril for the most part, brave words from brave men who knew that they were risking their lives by their outspokenness. And to forestall further criticism Plutarch's dictum should be recalled: "It is a thing of no great difficulty to raise objections against another man's oration, nay, it is a very easy matter, but to produce a better in its place is a work extremely troublesome."

The compilation has aimed at being representative rather than comprehensive and inspirational instead of instructive. To give biographical data for the orators quoted would necessitate a history and if the texts now available fail to mention many of the names it is because Philippine History has not yet left off being the story of Spain in the Philippines and become what it should be, salient facts about Filipinos.

Selections from the democratic speechifying of today and from current oratorical-prize winners have been shortened in order not to overshadow the more important survivals from the early past. Also the example of brevity is timely, for in modern Manila, as in Boston a century ago, the injunction is needed, "Make no long orations."

Mr. Jose N. Topacio some years ago made an interesting collection of prize-winning orations of that time, publishing them in full, and Miss Carmen Sevilla's thesis at the University of the Philippines this year carried this work much further, including practically all the principal orations by Filipinos now available in their full form.

ANCIENT HONESTY AND SUPREMACY OF THE LAW

QUEEN SIMA

(From Chinese dynastic annals translated in Groeneveldt's Notes on the Malay Archipelago with the date given as A. D. 674 and the place as Kalang, or Dj-Apo, corresponding to the Cotabato region of southern Mindanao.)

Our country has had an enviable reputation for honesty. It has been our custom not to disturb even things dropped in the road, leaving these for their owner's return, that he whose they rightfully are may recover them however long his delay.

A ruler from faraway, an Arab, doubted our fame and thought to test it by sending a bag of gold to be left in the road as a trap.

For three years it remained in the road. For three years those of our people who saw it passed around it. It was left for you, the expectant future ruler, to be careless.

You thought that your rank privileged you to not turn out, so you stepped over the purse. Yet you should have set the example. You ought to have been the most careful of all.

Because your rank is greater your fault is graver. Death was the penalty at first in my mind but my ministers have dissuaded me. Then, because your fault was in your feet, I would have had them cut off, but even that my ministers advise is too severe a penalty.

I sentence you to have the toes of both feet cut off, to remind you to set a better example, as a warning to others, and to prove that in our land no one is so high in rank as to be above the law.

PANAY MALAY PIONEERS FLED BORNEAN OPPRESSION

DATO PUTI

(At the mouth of the Andona river, Panay, sometime in the 1300s; from Janiway MS.)

We ten datos, with our families, followers and slaves, have left the home of our ancestors in Borneo because we can no longer endure the misrule of Tuan Makatunaw. We want to escape the annoyances that he is constantly causing and to avoid the injustices of which he is continually guilty.

Our recent ruler exercises no self-restraint, regards not the rights of others, and has no respect for the law. Whatever he sees and wants, that he takes.

Here we would settle, purchasing of the ancient owners of the soil the land whereon we shall make a new home, dwelling in harmony with our neighbors and living ourselves under the rule of law.

PANAY'S LIMITED MONARCHY OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

DATO MAREKUDO

(From the legend of the negotiations between the Borneo Bisayans headed by Dato Puti and the chief of the Negritos of Panay, probably in the 14th century; in the Janiway MS.)

You told me that you ten datos from Brunei, with your families and followers, are seeking a place to make your home and that you are willing to pay for land.

So I called together the elder men of our country, and presented your proposition. I am the Timway, or king, but my authority is controlled by the council of the elders. The council now has authorized the sale.

You offered me a golden hat of a weight greater than fifty pieces of coined money together with another gift twenty times as valuable. For me the former present is sufficient, but my wife, Queen Maniwantiwan, insists that her rights must be purchased too. She considers that the wife of your chief dato is unduly haughty and wants it settled that her own social position shall be recognized as superior to this newcomer's. She sees that the lady is proud of a long gold necklace and so insists on your giving a longer necklace for herself, one so long that it will trail on the ground.

Upon these terms, then, the land is yours. We prefer the mountains, so do you take the sea-coast, as much of it as you choose to occupy. For the distance that a runner could cover between seedtime and harvest, during which the circle of Panay might be made, you and your children and your children's children to the remotest generation shall be joint owners with us in this fertile island. In peace and friendship, let us hope, we shall dwell together, neighbors and allies.

ANCIENT FILIPINO CULTURE AND PROMINENCE OF WOMEN

PRINCESS URDUJA

(From the Arab traveler Ibn Batutu's account of a land identified by Doctor Rizal as Northern Luzon, in about 1344. The paragraph about the European visitor is from the travels of the Italian Franciscan, Friar Odoric, who was there twenty years earlier.)

You, Priest, I have had brought here by my guards because, of all your ship's company, you alone scorned my invitation. You told your captain that we people of Northern Luzon are infidels; and that it would be against the prophet's law for you, a holy man, to eat our food.

You behold about me, seated around my throne, the elderly ladies who are my counselors. Do their chairs of sandal-wood, does my silk-canopied and gold-plated throne, suggest the court of a barbarous people?

I greeted you with the usual salutations of courtesy in the Turkish tongue, and had one of my attendants fetch ink and paper so I could write for you in Arabic characters what you recognized as the name of the merciful and compassionate God. Are such tokens of culture common among barbarians?

When my father Dalisay, the aged king by whose name you call his kingdom, was a much younger man there visited here a priest of another faith from far-distant Europe. But he did not shun novelty in food as do you. Our sago-trees, that produce flour, interested him, he admired the sugar-giving buri palms, and liked our coconut wine. And I hope you will appreciate the cordials, pickles and preserves which, with some other gifts for your acceptance in remembrance of the land of Dalisay, I have had sent to your ship.

But let us speak no more of your mistaken notions of us. We pride ourselves upon our hospitality, and you, holy man though you are, need have no compunction of conscience in eating the food set before you.

You have been told all about me. You know that I am governor of this port in place of my brother because, with my army of free women, slave girls and female captives,—all of whom fought just as well as men could,—I won a big battle. And you have heard, too, I'm sure, that I am still unmarried because I will marry no man except him who shall conquer me, and all the eligible suitors in this vicinity are afraid to try for fear of being beaten by a girl.

Now tell me of great India, which we know as the Pepper Country. I want to hear all about it. The little I know has fascinated me. Would there be any chance, if I should go to war with India, of my getting it? Its great wealth and great forces attract me.

PUTTING FAITH IN A FORT

RAJAH MAMAGTAL

(Defiance to the Camucones, Buglasan, Negros, in 1372; from Pavon MS.)

Lungib-sang-Kabilagoan, our fort, fears not sea rovers from Malacca. Its walls are mighty rocks, its floors of coral. Two hundred defences does it present. Seven stout bulwarks surround it. And if these all should be taken still there would remain fifteen secret passages for our escape.

Here Datu Kamatel and I with our followers shall make our stand, in a fortress as inaccessible to you as Mount Marapara, the highest peak of yonder distant mountains.

ANCIENT JUSTICE IN THE BISAYAS

RAJAH BENDAHARA KALANTIAW

(From the Pavon manuscripts, following the form in which the old maritime code of the Malays was adopted in Malacca; Panay, 1433.)

These are the laws which I lay at the feet of the Rajah Besar and request that they be established for the government of the Bisayans and their posterity.

Competent men, knowing the ancient ways of the Bisayans, were assembled and, after consulting and advising relative to the old usages, compiled in conformity thereto this code of Undang Undang or Institutes.

Let them be known and descend to posterity, that men may not act according to their own wills and inclinations, but that order and regularity may prevail, as well during prosperity as adversity, and that what is established be not done away.

If these laws are attended to, no one can question the authority of the datos for authority will have been conferred upon them by the Rajah Besar, the highest authority in the land, that they may administer the law in their respective towns, and whoever shall not admit this authority will offend against the law of the land.

THE BEGINNING OF MANILA'S LAST ROYAL DYNASTY

SULTAN-EMPEROR NAKODA RAGAM

(In Manila, about 1480; from Brunei Selesilah and Malay Annals.)

I am the Sultan Bulkeiah in Borneo where I rule from the city of peace, Dar es Salam, on the river Brunei. In Magindanaw, and in Sulu, whence comes my incomparable wife, Empress Lela Men Chanei, men call me Rajah Baguinda. And now in Maynila I am Sultan and Emperor.

Twice have my fleets attacked Selurung, which you style Lusung, and this time I have conquered. The boastful Dato Gambang, your late ruler, lies dead, and a princess from his house shall become a wife of mine to carry on the dynasty of Pasig. Our son will be your lord, and, because you esteem ancient lineage, know that I am descended from the great Iskander, the Alexander of far off Europe, by his queen, the daughter of Porus, most valiant of Hindus, through Sang Sapurba who crossed the sea to Java and whose descendants ruled in Johur whence my great-grandfather, Tuan Alak ber Tatar, stole the princess royal for his bride. And in my veins, from Hassim, runs the Arab blood of the true prophet of the merciful and compassionate God. Chinese blood, too, by a princess of Kina Balu, have I, and for five hundred years have the kings of Brunei worn the imperial yellow by recognition of Tchina's emperor. We have long had as well nobat and bells from Malacca and Menangkabaw, regalia of royalty for Hindu and for Islamite.

But prouder than of being a king am I of my well-earned title of Nakoda, for none captains better a ship than I and my praus have ridden out the storms in these stormiest of seas, and in blood I boast of being a Bisayan. Though Chinese and Arab heralds appear in my court, its chiefest ornament is the lengthy loin-cloth, the chawat, that forty men always bear aloft before me. When I gird up my loins with it for battle, they are well-girded and the battle is well-fought.

From Malacca to Maynila men know the name of Nakoda Ragam and dread the man, regardless of my royalty. So do you, men of the Lusung rivers, fail not in your duty to my future son, your rajah, nor forget to pay yearly a ganta of gold in Brunei, as tribute, since of old yours was the Island of Gold.

WHY THE CEBUANS BECAME CHRISTIANS

RAJAH MUDA FERNANDO

*(Address of welcome by the Crown Prince, to Magellan, Cebu, April 19, 1521,
as reported by Pigafetta)*

In the name of my uncle, King Tupas, I greet you and pledge peace to you.

His Majesty has no sons, but I, as the husband of his eldest daughter, am the heir apparent, or Rajah Muda.

Your leader tells of a God Who made sky, earth, sea, and all else there is, and Who commands us to honor our parents. Such has not been the custom of our country for when our fathers and our mothers grow old they receive no

further honor from us but we, their children, command them. Your way, we realize, is the better, and we shall be glad to learn of the religion which teaches it, if you will leave us teachers here.

But first we must tell these things to our king, and obtain his permission.

Of our own free will and accord we are becoming Christians, not just to please you or at your command.

We place ourselves in your hands, and ask that you make use of us as your most faithful servants.

FAITH AND GRATITUDE OF CEBU'S FIRST CHRISTIAN KING

RAJAH BESAR CARLOS HUMABAD

(Address to Chevalier Pigafetta, as recorded by him, at Cebu, April 19, 1521; through the Sumatran interpreter Enrique.)

You ask me for ground in which to bury your comrade who died last night. But I and all my vassals belong to your sovereign; how much more ought my land to be his.

Take, then, what ground you will, and consecrate it as you desire. I shall be satisfied with whatever seems best to you, and the cross that you raise there I, too, will adore.

THE GRATITUDE OF AN ANCIENT MANILA KING

"THE KING'S SON OF LUSUNG," MAHOMET BEN SULEIMAN

(Speech to the men of Magellan's fleet, off the Bornean coast, July 29, 1521; according to Pigafetta and Aganduru Moriz.)

You find me just returning from the punishment of a rebellious city which chose rather to pay tribute to the Maharajah of Java than to its rightful lord, the Sultan of Brunei, my grandfather, whose captain-general I am.

My father was ruler of the great island of Lusung to the north but after his death, while I was still a child, my mother was unable to guard the throne of Maynila for me against my powerful cousin who rules in nearby Tonduk. So she sent me here to Borneo and I have been learning war in my grandfather's service. The fleet which you mistakenly thought was intending to attack you has been gathered to recover my inheritance.

You captured my flagship but you have released me and my ship because of the kindness shown you at my grandfather's court. Let me show that we of this land are equally capable of gratitude. Here is the Koran, the sacred scriptures of my religion, and upon it, I, Mahomet-ben-Suleiman, swear that should at any future time you or any other Spaniards meet me I will remember this day and not make war upon you for any cause, but receive and treat you or them as friends who have been my benefactors.

THE DISAPPOINTING ROMANCE OF THE RAJAH'S DAUGHTER

PRINCESS MAKANDALA

(In Manila in 1543; from the account of Padre Agandaru Moriz, official historian of Manila.)

Let me hear no more, my father, of marriage with this Spanish captain. It is not seemly for a Malayan maiden to be flouted by such an adventurer.

He reached here with a shattered ship and a starving crew, driven back from his attempted voyage across the great sea to the distant land whence he came. All he has wanted has been to repair his ship, restore his men to strength, procure provisions and stores, and to make his escape to the Moluccas, where are others like him, taking the jewels and gold that your liberality has lavished upon him.

You are grateful to the generous Spanish commander who, one year before I was born, captured your flagship but released it and you when he learned that you were the grandson of his benefactor, the Emperor of Borneo. That apparently kindly act may have been calculation, for he and his two ships were still within the Emperor's power, but at any rate, whatever his motive, you have kept the oath that you swore on the Koran.

You have given friendship, because he is of your benefactor's country, to this unlucky voyager who during the many nights that he has come to dances at our home has done nothing but boast of the might of the gods that protect him and of personal prowess that his condition belies. You have kept your word, but Captain Bernardo is not repaying your kindness with good faith.

You want a stranger son-in-law who shall save you from the perplexity of choosing one from among the many suitors who are rivals for my hand, and enable you to avoid possible ill-will from those that would be disappointed. Then you think that you can best do your duty by the people of Lusung if you

give them as their future leader one well-skilled in the warfare of these invaders who have mastered the Moluccas, though fortunately they are fighting among themselves, and may yet seek to take our land.

But a braggart is not likely to be a great warrior, and this Bernardo de la Torre is not a true man. The Raneë, my queen mother, and I have noted how with one pretext and another he has ever postponed the setting of the wedding day.

And now comes this flimsy excuse that he set sail in the night and rushed across the bay with all speed till the wind failed him beyond Kawit just to try his ship. He is not a finished prevaricator and I, at least, am no longer in doubt about him and shall not be further deceived.

I had rather die a maid with no one to help me to cross the bamboo bridge over the river of eternity, if there is any truth in the belief of the kaffirs of this country, than have a husband unwilling and so unworthy.

And for a man of any self-respect, would not that wedding in which he owes all to the bride be too humiliating? Think how for the ceremony all his presents must be begged or borrowed, one giving him nipa wine, another betelnuts, this one lending him a wedding-ring, you yourself providing the ceremonial cotton cloths and foregoing the groom's gift of gold. Now I dress in silks and eat out of golden dishes as the favored child of my powerful father, but as a married woman those luxuries would embitter my life by reminding me that I had a husband who could not provide for his wife as a man should but was dependent upon his father-in-law for even the barest necessities so that but for charity I should be poorer than the most poverty-stricken in the land. Is it of such a future that any girl, much less a princess, dreams?

CEBU'S KING EXHORTS HIS FOLLOWERS TO DEFEND THEIR LIBERTY

RAJAH BESAR TUPAS

(From the address to the Cebuans, at Cebu, April 27, 1565; recorded by the Augustinian chronicler Medina)

Let us, then, arm ourselves and repel these invaders. We must defend our country.

We can make an end of them as the men of Magtang did of their predecessors who came here in the days of our grandfathers.

Get a store of darts, prepare your lances, sharpen your kampilans, and bring forth your largest war shield, the kasarag. Here, in the boats and on the shore, we shall make our stand.

These strangers are not here to benefit us. Instead they will deprive us of our liberty, and we shall no longer be rulers in our native land.

Our religion is in danger and our prophetesses warn us not to let a Spaniard set foot on Philippine soil, for already they have given a name of their own to the country of the Bisayans.

FREEDOM IN THE PRE-SPANISH PHILIPPINES

RAJAH MUDA SOLIMAN

*(From a speech before Governor Legaspi on the Spanish flagship in Manila Bay,
May 19, 1571, reported by the Spanish notary Hernando Riquel.)*

Yesterday the other chief men of Manila welcomed you, but I did not accompany them for fear that you might have misunderstood my attitude when your *maestro-de-campo* was here last year.

You have sent word that I have nothing to be afraid of and that my fault has been forgiven. But you do misunderstand, just as I feared. What happened was no fault of mine and I have done nothing that needs forgiveness.

As you already must know, our ruler is not despotic in his power and still less am I, the heir apparent, though I am the military commander. No man among us exercises absolute authority. In this land every free man has a right to his own view and opinion, and decides for himself what course he shall follow.

There were those in Manila who together were more powerful than I and they acted without consulting me. It was they, and not I, who broke the peace and they were not parties to the friendship plighted between your commander and myself.

Had the hostilities not begun without my knowledge and been beyond my control, you would have been justified in condemning me as perjured and false to my oath. I should then have been deserving of punishment. But in fact I had no advance notice of what was going to happen and was powerless to prevent it.

Were I lord of this land, as you seem to have thought, instead of merely master of my own estates, events would have happened otherwise. But I was not, and am not, and I can only assure you that my word has been kept. Peace in Luzon depends on many. You have made peace with some here, but there are others for whom we cannot speak, for such is the custom of our country.

Only for ourselves, our followers and our friends are my venerable uncle, Rajah Besar of Manila, my cousin, Rajah Bendihara of Tondo, the Admiral Salalila, and myself, the military commander, able, and claiming, to speak. Let there be no further misunderstanding, in good faith we have observed peace and respected friendship, and with no apologies for the past, since none are needed, as we have done we shall continue to do.

A PATRIOTIC THREAT THAT WAS MADE GOOD

DATO UBAL

(In Cotabato, in April, 1596; Argenensola's account, quoted by Rizal in his Morga Notes.)

Countrymen, I have killed a beef animal and invited you to the feast that the sacrifice may consecrate, and you witness, my solemn vow to dare and do in defence of our native land.

We are here in our own country, and have neither offended nor declared war upon the Castilians. Yet a Spaniard who calls himself governor of Mindanaw says that he has bought, from his king over the seas, the right to conquer us and to rule in our land for two generations, during his own lifetime and that of another who shall succeed him.

A self-confessed hireling, he has brought his fellow mercenaries and has been fighting along the Rio Grande against the soldiers of Salalila Longa, our leader on sea and land.

Should our Buhahayen patriots dignify with honorable warfare those who fight only for plunder and pay? In what way do they differ from pirates, these who prate of religion and service to their God but who think only of gold and care not how dishonorably they get it? Such are not deserving of being met steel to steel, shield against shield.

Their leader deserves death, but not as a soldier, and then, leaderless, his ruffian band will leave us in peace. I myself will shorten his purchased governorship by one life, his own.

Hear now my vow. May a thunderbolt strike me on land, a cayman devour me in the sea, and may never a woman look with favor on Ubal if I rid not the land of the Buhahayanes of this mercenary invader.

FOR THE CHURCH, BUT NOT FOR THE STATE

GOVERNOR PHELIPE KUDAPAY

(Remarks of the Gaddanes' spokesman, at Abutan, in northwestern Luzon, Nov. 6, 1621, as noted in Friar Aduarte's Chronicle.)

Our parish priest is wasting his time, and ours, in promising that no harm shall befall us if we will abandon our intended insurrection.

Neighbors with whom we have waged bloody wars have joined us. They have not been lacking in the friendship and subjection they pledged Spain. They have fought for the government and for the Christian religion. But they can endure no more. Oppression has revived the natural desire for liberty.

We Gaddanes are mountain-bred and think less of trafficking than others do, so we are more devoted to freedom, ever enemies of subjection. We are all overweary of the oppressive acts of the Spaniards.

But we must not forget our reverence for our religion, our respect for its priesthood. Toward Apostolic Roman Catholicism we have no resentment. No one can foretell what some excited person might do in these disturbed times. So let the Friar depart, taking with him the silver and ornaments of our churches.

If you, Reverend Father, or any other ministers of our religion desire to come to our villages you will be welcome, always provided that you do not come as Spaniards nor bring Spaniards with you.

FIGHTING FOR THE FORMER FILIPINO FREEDOM

BABAYLAN TAMBLAT

(From an exhortation of the leader of an early uprising against government and church abuses and exactions, at the beginning of a battle in the mountains of Bohol, January 2, 1622. The attacking forces were also Filipinos and of equal numbers, a thousand fighting men on either side, so the sixteen Spaniards with firearms were the deciding factor, but the effect of the rain was obviated by the Spaniards' allies holding their shields, like umbrellas, over the Spanish guns. Medina and Diaz, Agustinian chroniclers, tell the story with perhaps greater fidelity to the truth because the uprising was against Jesuit parish priests.)

We people of Bohol like to live free. Now that we see our chance, let us not lose it.

Of all Filipinos, we have the reputation, as well as of being the tallest and of the finest Filipino features, of being the stoutest hearted. Now the time has come to rid ourselves of the oppression of the Spaniards. Let us show our spirit and live up to our reputation.

The Gods of our fathers have provided us homes in these mountains and for all our needs. We are not dependent upon others. Food, yes and drink, too, are in the trees about us, and from the plants here our wives and daughters can weave clothes for our wear. Here happily we may pass our lives, freed from the burdens of paying tribute to the Spaniards and tithes to the church.

Our allies and friends will soon be coming to our support. Unfailing in courage, we have naught to fear. Who would not prefer death to the conditions of a Castilian conqueror?

See, rain is falling. Is not that evidence that the *diwatas* have not forgotten us? What could aid us more than this downpour which makes the firearms of our enemies useless? The battle is already half won.

All the archipelago is awaiting our action. If we win this day there is not a Bisayan who will not rebel. But if we lose those who desire to throw off the yoke of Spanish oppression must continue on under it, and we ourselves, whoever do not wisely choose rather to die fighting here, will have again to place our necks under that same yoke, harder than ever to bear.

THE STUPIDITY OF SUBMITTING TO SPANISH SOVEREIGNTY

SULTAN KUDRAT

(From a speech by the great Mahometan ruler of Mindanao, Corralat as the Spaniards garbled his name, to the Malanaos of the Lake, or Lanao, region, in 1638. In Friar Luis de Jesus' history of the Recollect missions)

You men of the Lake, forgetting your ancient liberty, have submitted to the Castilians. Such submission is sheer stupidity. You cannot realize to what your surrender binds you. You are selling yourselves into slavery to toil for the benefit of these foreigners.

Look at the regions that have already submitted to them. Note how abject is the misery to which their peoples are now reduced. Behold the condition of the Tagalogs and of the Bisayans whose chief men are trampled upon by the meanest Castilian. If you are of no better spirit than these, then you must expect similar treatment. You, like them, will be obliged to row in the galleys.

Just as they do, you will have to toil at the shipbuilding and labor without ceasing on other public works. You can see for yourselves that you will experience the harshest treatment while thus employed.

Be men. Let me aid you to resist. All the strength of my sultanate, I promise you, shall be used in your defence.

What matters it if the Castilians at first are successful? That means only the loss of a year's harvest. Do you think that too dear a price to pay for liberty?

MINDANAO CONTEMPT FOR "SAFETY FIRST" FIGHTING METHODS

SERGEANT-MAJOR ALONSO MAKONBON

(Remonstrance, on behalf of comrades, with Spanish commander, at Palapag, Samar, in May 1650; recorded by the Jesuit chronicler Combes.)

Why are you wearing us out with profitless labor? You weary yourself and keep your men exhausted on fortifications that are wholly unnecessary.

We Lutaos came here from Zamboanga not to haul logs but to fight. If there is to be no fighting, then permit us to return to our homes.

For the coxcombs and foppish adventurers from Manila, an assault may seem too dangerous an enterprise. But we are veterans and eagerly await the chance to distinguish ourselves.

If you think us boasters, please assign to us the brunt of the battle that we may employ our courage in carrying out our own advice.

THE SERVICES OF THE PAMPANGANS AND THEIR ILL REWARD FROM SPAIN

DON NICOLAS BAKANI

(Address on behalf of the principal men of Pampanga, in Manila, June 12, 1680; Artigas' Galeria de Filipinos Ilustres, vol. 2, page 43.)

Ever since Spain came to these islands, the men of our nation have served His Catholic Majesty with arms, side by side with the Spaniards.

We fought together against the Dutch in the island of Ternate, and in the forts of Zamboanga, Cebu and Iloilo we have faithfully kept watch and ward against the Moros of our race, the Mindanans, the Suluans and the sea Samals.

In the shipyards the boss carpenters and master ironworkers, all except the one chief of all, have been, and are, Pampangans.

A royal order has come from Spain that the crews and ship's boys on the galleons to Mexico shall be Pampangans because long experience has proven them most trustworthy for this service.

There is no mechanical trade nor liberal profession, whether in the King's service or for the public good, in which we have not been the first to engage and the most skilled in carrying on.

By the side of the Spaniards no one has surpassed us, not even Europeans. Yet despite our being so essential to the royal service and the King's most loyal vassals in this furthest part of his dominions, we are the very ones who experience most vexations, have to bear the heaviest burdens and can complain of the most misfortunes.

It is true that from Spain have come many royal orders, both general and particular, in our behalf, but not one of them has been obeyed here.

HOW A FILIPINO GOVERNOR-GENERAL STOOD UP FOR HIS RIGHTS

ACTING GOVERNOR-GENERAL MIGUEL LINO DE ESPELETA

*(Address to the Royal Audiencia, or Supreme Court, Manila, July 22, 1759;
noted in Zuñiga's Historia de Filipinas, Chapter XXXIII.)*

My position as Acting Governor of these Islands follows the precedent of Acting Governor Archedera. You will recall that he was bishop-elect of Ilocos and the metropolitan see was without a head when Governor Gaspar de La Torre died, September 21, 1745. Conformably to the royal regulations, he became Governor. On August 27, 1747, Archbishop Trinidad, who had been consecrated in Spain, arrived and took charge of the archdiocese. But the Bishop-Governor did not surrender his governorship and the question was referred to Spain for decision. Meanwhile the regularly appointed Governor, the late Señor Arandia, arrived and so no decision was made.

Upon Governor Arandia's death, on June 1, acting upon the royal decree that the temporary filling of a vacancy in the governorship devolves upon the archbishop and, in default of him, upon the senior bishop, I as Bishop of Cebu became the unquestioned Governor. Now after less than two months of my administration Archbishop Rojo, who was consecrated in Mexico, arrives and takes charge of the metropolitan cathedral. Two of the Audiencia, I under-

stand, think that he should become Acting Governor in my place and two favor my continuing till a regular appointee arrives or until the King's decision can be obtained.

I shall decide this tie myself. I am acting as Governor and as such I shall continue till regularly or legally displaced. The artillery are ready and the troops are under arms to support my authority. Let no one here question it.

A PIONEER OF THE NEW ORDER AND HIS EXPATRIATION

ATTORNEY SANTIAGO ORENDAIN

(In Manila, in March, 1764; from government records.)

Today has come news of the treaty between Spain and France, and the British. Curious is the fate that I who have been ever truly loyal to Spain can only find safety for myself and family by leaving with the invaders. I must join the great army of Filipinos who in order to live in peace, aye, even to live at all, have had to expatriate themselves.

I recall the troubled events of the last few years and the great changes. But a little while ago and men called me the foremost Filipino, now I am the most unfortunate Filipino.

There came here a liberal Governor-General, one disposed to benefit the country and to treat fairly its inhabitants. He sought advice and I gave it, disinterestedly and patriotically. I proved to him how the horde of Chinese shopkeepers and middlemen, each taking an exorbitant toll, were strangling the business of the country, and induced him to substitute a company in which Spaniards and Filipinos cooperated. The plan was not given sufficient trial for the landlords who had rented shops to the Chinese and lent them capital at usurious interest, succeeded in defeating it. And I was so ill-advised, in my righteous indignation, as to point out that these missionary merchants were like the traffickers whom Christ scourged from the temple.

Then there came a charge against me that I had misappropriated money from the Crusades funds for which I was treasurer. The Governor was now another, and the case dragged along while I spent two years in prison. With a third governor I was fortunate enough to have the five thousand pages in my expediente read and as he found no proof, only repetition of charges, I was released. Later the King's ministers reviewed the trial and ordered the punishment of the judges who had mistreated me.

When the Archbishop surrendered Manila to the British I supported him, not only because he had been my benefactor but because he represented the law and I am a lawyer. Surely such a course was more creditable than that of the military officers who counselled the surrender without being willing to share any of the responsibility, accepted its terms and then fled from the city in disregard of their oaths, breaking their plighted words of honor.

I counselled Diego Silang whom the British would have made governor of northern Luzon and pointed out to him the advantage of the British regard for law over the anarchy under Anda. The Government of Spain was vested in the Archbishop and he had surrendered the country. Anda himself justified my forebodings for he joined those who applauded the assassination of Silang whom in a military way he was unable to conquer. Such an example is bad for a country and Spain must not be surprised if some day there are used against her the evil ways she has taught here.

There may be justice in Spain but it takes too long in reaching the Philippines for it to benefit the suffering and oppressed here. So I am saying farewell. A hundred years ago a historian wrote: "There is no liberty in the Philippines to enable any one to complain or to speak his mind against what the government manipulates." That is true today, and until there comes a change, of which there now appears no prospect, there can never be good government here, which is why I am leaving, not because I love the Philippines less but because I love liberty more.

EVEN KINGS ONLY RULE BY THEIR PEOPLE'S PERMISSION

ATTORNEY JOSE DE VERGARA

(From address in Manila cathedral, September 19, 1813, at election for deputies in the Spanish Cortes; from a printed copy in the Philippine Library.)

The slightest alteration in the political foundation of the state is highly perilous and doubtful, and always costs those who profit by it enough in ill will and lawlessness. The instability of, and continual changes in, the basic statutes of Rome were the cause of the otherwise incomprehensible evils which afflicted the ancient republic until her legal fickleness brought her to the fatal precipice.

Here we have what should be the chief care of monarchs who aspire to govern rightly, and equally it should concern the subjects who are to be chosen

for deputies in the Cortes now that, through the absence in captivity of our sovereign, all civil and temporal authority has vested in that body, as it unquestionably has.

Although monarchs inherit the scepter from their ancestors, it is well known that in the beginning the nation placed it in their hands. By those proclaiming themselves to be absolute rulers, the kingdom was made the patrimony of their successors, but at first it was not so. The earliest kings owed their rank to the free consent of their vassals. Later sovereigns have come to the throne by birth, but anciently popular suffrage was what adjudged them this right and prerogative.

To put the idea in few words, since the primary source of their authority sprang from us, kings ought only to exercise their authority for our benefit. And equally, when our lawful sovereign is unable to exercise it, the delegated sovereignty reverts to the people of the entire nation who now are re-depositing it with various individuals of their choice who are styled deputies. May the Cortes now being elected know how to shower blessings on the Spanish dominions in both hemispheres and rule them in righteousness!

THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT THAT TAXATION SHALL BE EQUAL

DOMINGO OF SARRAT

(Arousing the common people to a sense of their wrongs, Sarrat, Ilokos Norte, March 15, 1815.)

The Governor at Manila has sent us his proclamation explaining why under the democratic government established by the Constitution of Cadiz it is still necessary for Filipinos, though now recognized as Spaniards, to pay taxes. Of that we do not complain.

But His Excellency has not explained why under a system that is supposed to make men equal before the law, it is right for the rich to be exempt from the burdensome personal service whereby those who have to earn their own living must labor for several weeks each year without pay while the rich out of their abundance make no equivalent contribution to the government.

Here we are met under God's sky, owing nothing to any man for shelter. It is the only home that the oppressive rich folks would leave to the *kailan*, he whose work has made their wealth.

I do not want to be your leader, let others do the directing, but I do want to point out the wrongs that you and I alike suffer at the hands of our rich countrymen. What redress you may seek I leave to you. Only remember that we have nothing, not even, many of us, a family name. The laboring class are but slaves. With or without a constitution, we are overtaxed, overworked and unprotected.

Now we are told that the constitution has been abolished, but that story may be only another deceit of the *principales*.

HOW DISTRUST AND INJUSTICE KILLED LOYALTY

CAPTAIN ANDRES NOVALES

(Address to comrades in inciting insurrection, on the eve, too, of his execution, in June, 1823, in Manila: Edmund Plauchut's account.)

You all know how during the French invasion of Spain the revolutionary Cortes acknowledged overseas subjects to be Spaniards of equal rights with peninsulars. And you cannot have forgotten that on King Fernando VII's return from captivity His Catholic Majesty specially thanked us Filipinos for our loyalty to him.

Now comes a new governor-general from Spain, bringing, as none of his predecessor has ever done, a hungry horde of peninsular non-commissioned officers that he proposes to make lieutenants and captains in place of Filipino commissioned officers whom he will retire. The first victims are to be those who, on account of the distance and necessary delay, have not yet received from Madrid the written evidence of their rank. From these acts you may judge how sincere were the former words of appreciation, how genuine was the expressed gratitude, how grateful the King really is to those who have made sacrifices in his service.

Like you I am a Filipino. I feel the injustice done to the loyal sons of the soil, and I know that what has happened to some of you will eventually happen to the rest of us. Our turn to be displaced will come.

The authorities have doubted my honor by exiling me to Mindanao, but the storm has kept in port the ship on which I was to sail. Providence seems to point out to-night as our opportunity for my brother Mariano is in charge of the guard of Fort Santiago, and the weather will relax the vigilance of the high officers.

Let us imitate Iturbide and our comrades in Mexico. We have the same rights, let us show the same valor in fighting for them. Who among us will be so mean-spirited as longer to stay in an ungrateful service where we are distrusted and wronged?

A FEARLESS SERMON DURING A LIBERAL INTERVAL

RIGHT REVEREND PEDRO P. PELAEZ, S. T. D., D. Cn. L.

(Sermon in honor of Nuestra Señora de la Guia, before the liberal Governor Camba and other government and church dignitaries, in the Manila cathedral, Dec. 28, 1838. The preacher's death in the 1863 earthquake, in the same cathedral when he was ecclesiastical governor of the archdiocese during a vacancy, undoubtedly saved him from being garroted on the scaffold with his disciple, Professor Burgos, in 1872. The sermon appears in a memorial volume published in Madrid in 1869 during another liberal interval.)

And thou, Luzon, hast thou reflected sufficiently upon the era of utter darkness out of which this dawn has begun to draw thee? Ah, hadst thou realized how horrible was the night enveloping thee, thou wouldst have longed for the light with greater anxiety than the lost traveller awaits the coming of day.

Thy tractableness would have been even greater than when thou receivedst the light of the Gospel, and, confusing thy present with thy past misery, thou wouldst have wanted to tear from the histories also the pages which tell of it.

Of a truth, how pitiable was thy ancient idolatry. It was like a blindfold that covers the eyes, or as one who walks in darkness, falling over this or that precipice.

Just as the Babylonians adored fire, the Egyptians worshipped a sacred bull Apis, and Greeks and Romans had as their gods men worse than ourselves, so the ancient inhabitants of these islands were sunk in inconceivable ignorance. They had scarcely any idea of a supreme being or of their future destiny, for they revered outstanding trees, rocks, reefs and headlands, or in the interior forests gave to their ancestors a ridiculous deification.

Their errors in moral practices were not less than those of dogma that have been described. They did not indeed have horrid sacrifices of human victims as did the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians and the Mexicans, but they had a thousand impious superstitions, unfounded fears, vain observances, and errors of all kinds.

They considered slavery lawful, deceit legitimate, and permitted unjust wars, usury, fraud, drunkenness, and other graver faults that I may not mention in this holy place.

How lamentable is the lot of man who finds nature mute, though for the understanding it so eloquently preaches of his Creator! Shameful, too, is the lack of human reason which fails to comprehend the teachings of natural law. Frightful is such misfortune, for although the Apostle tells us that those who have not heard the Gospel will not be judged by it, human judgment is severe enough to condemn to eternal infamy the idolaters.

But let us leave off looking on this unpleasant picture. It moves to compassion every fibre of our souls and covers our countenances with blushes of shame in spite of the fact that the whole world has been in as pitiable darkness and would be yet had there not descended from Heaven the religion which enlightened us.

AN ATTORNEY UPHOLDS HIS RIGHT TO DEFEND HIS CLIENT

ATTORNEY JOSE RAMIREZ FLORENTINO

(Defence on the charge of implication in the Tayabas uprising, Manila, December 1, 1841. Attorney Florentino was a relative of Doctor Rizal, whose maternal grandmother was a Florentino.)

I am a prisoner for supposed complicity in the alleged uprising of Brother Apolinario de la Cruz in Tayabas. The leader has been executed, his head placed in an iron cage on the Luchan highway, and the quarters of his dismembered body are similarly exposed on the main routes of travel of Tayabas, Laguna and Batangas provinces. Four hundred of his followers, women and children as well as men, have been shot by the soldiers of the punitive expedition.

It is true that the man was my client, but now for the first time have heard the charge that the altar society, which he founded some ten years ago, was disloyal to Spain. The sodality professed devotion to Saint Joseph, father of the Savior, and practiced deeds of charity and mutual assistance.

So long as the semi-monthly masses added to the income of the Lucban parish there was no complaint of the society or of its leaders. But lately its phenomenal growth has apparently cut in on the revenues of other church organizations. Rather recently I was instrumental, as a lawyer, in calling attention to what seemed interference, by the local authorities, with the society's rights and the higher powers so far agreed with my contention as to censure those responsible.

As an attorney I am obligated to look after my clients' interests, and particularly as a member of the bar must I defend the innocent and protect the weak. What I have done I have believed to be proper for my office and my duty.

Some years ago, when these islands had the right of representation, the people of the Philippines elected me to be one of their deputies. Yet that unquestionable honor I deem no greater than the privilege I now have of suffering for loyalty to a client's interest in the face of powerful opposition.

It is true that I have a police record, but my deportation to Spain, nearly twenty years ago, was because I welcomed the reforms that the return of the Constitution of Cadiz brought. With my relatives, Attorneys Quintos and Mendoza. I was charged with being in a conspiracy because I visited the former's home at San Pedro Macati and we all favored a constitution that, after the brief suspension during which I suffered, has been restored as the supreme law of Spain though not of the Philippines.

DOWN WITH THE DEAD LANGUAGES!

ATTORNEY FELIPE BUENCAMINO, SR.

(Remarks to his fellow students of Sto. Tomas University, on the occasion of an ovation for having recited in Spanish instead of in the Latin customary for non-Spanish students; the speech earned him four months in Bilibid Prison whence he was pardoned by the new liberal governor-general; in Calle San Juan de Letran, Manila, Feb. 1, 1869.)

I say with Doctor Regidor, "Down with Latin!" Our textbook is in Latin but it ought to be in Spanish. We are Spanish subjects and we ought to study in the language of our country. We are studying this Roman Law to fit ourselves for the legal profession and lawyers here, just the same as in Spain, practice their profession in Spanish and never in Latin.

Hurrah for Spanish and down with Latin!

AMERICAN PRESTIGE IN MANILA FIFTY YEARS AGO

T. ROMUALDO DE JESUS

(An incident, occurring in Manila before the Cavite trouble of 1872, often related to me by Rizal's old teacher of sculpture, my friend during many years.)

When I was a lad, the swiftest ships, and the trimmest, seen in our port flew the American flag. From America arrive the shoes we think to be best. When our merchants want us to accept their goods as first-class they affirm them to be American-made.

Even the dentists who charge us highest prices but whom we patronize for best work are American at least in name. And the political ideas for which we long come from America.

So to my goddaughter, in the fervent hope that she may grow up to be the best ever, I have asked her parents to have given the baptismal name of America. Long life to Miss America, the newest Christian, and may she live up to her name!

THE MARTYRED TEACHER'S FAREWELL TO HIS STUDENTS

RIGHT REV. JOSE BURGOS, S. T. D., D. Cn. L.

(From the recollections of those who knew him; this was the message of final farewell from the death cell in Fort Santiago, Manila, on the eve of the execution of February 17, 1872.)

Get educated. Use the schools of our country for as much as they can give. Learn from our older men what they know. Then go abroad.

If you can do no better, study in Spain, but preferably study in the freer countries. Read what foreigners have written about the Philippines for their writings have not been censored. See in the museums of other lands what the ancient Filipinos really were. Be a Filipino always, but an educated Filipino.

Heretofore we have had thinkers among us but their thoughts have died with them. Such progress as has been made has been individual and not of the country. I have tried to pass on to you what I received from my teachers. Do you now do the same for those who come after you.

THE PHILIPPINES HALF A CENTURY AGO

JACOBO ZOBEL DE ZANGRONIZ

(Remarks before a Manila masonic lodge, of which he was secretary; reproduced in a letter of October 25, 1874, that was published by a Berlin journal in April, 1897, after his death. He was imprisoned but released upon representation by the German Government that he had an international reputation as an archaeologist, just as the British Government, in 1892, protested against Rizal's exile in Dapitan on the ground that his work in science had done credit to Spain thruout Europe.)

The religious orders rule this land, exploiting the Filipinos and getting millions from their immense haciendas.

The friars finance the foreign banks. And the Carlist movement in Spain is also backed by their shipments of tobacco to be sold in the London market as well as by remittances by draft. Of this the Madrid Government knows, having captured some of the drafts, but apparently it dares not punish them.

The orders are the real owners of this country for the authority of the Viceroy (formerly Captain-General, now military governor, sent here for a six-year term but usually remaining only two years) is purely nominal.

Their Excellencies know nothing about administration but are often obstinate and impetuous in their anxiety to get reputations for bravery and patriotism. They are schemers and of little capacity. With a few honorable exceptions, like Governor de la Torre, they are venal, and even when they themselves do not profit still they are surrounded by employees who steal. These same employees are servile tools of the clerical party to influence the governor-general.

The directing heads of the different departments are accountable only to the governor-general for their acts. The governor-general's secretary-general bears the entire responsibility for the administration with the Madrid government. Until now, never has a governor-general received the punishment he deserved for the many injustices that have been committed.

So military despotism and clerical intrigue control the destiny of our country. Let me add that since the dethronement of Queen Isabel II every friar fears that some day a revolution may expel him from the islands and his influence be lost and his wealth confiscated.

The clericals' great anxiety is to convince the Madrid government that they alone of the true Spanish element can be relied on to help Spain effectively in these islands since only they, through their moral influence, can restrain the natives.

True it is that the Malayan native, timid and without initiative, fears and obeys the white clergy, but he does not love them. And the mestizos, due to their want of confidence in the friars, hate all white men. Besides these disaffections, no Filipino priest can ever attain to any high dignity in the church now.

Another trouble is found in the justified, but unrecognized, complaints against the civil government over tobacco-raising. In provinces which grow tobacco the government obliges the Filipino farmers to devote themselves exclusively to its cultivation, and, while selling for cash, makes payment in vales that frequently are not redeemed for two, three and even four years. So the Filipino grower, needing money, must sell these vales to Chinese or Spanish usurers at a small fraction of the face value.

Religious fanaticism, according to the clericals, has already once given rise to a rebellion, that of 1842. So, though liberals are ruling in Spain, the religious orders make the government believe that the country is in a state of insurrection and that no one but the friars, through the confessional, can save the situation.

A FILIPINO TRIBUTE TO COLUMBUS

GRACIANO LOPEZ JAENA

(From speech in Royal Theater, Madrid, October 12, 1883, on 391st anniversary of the discovery of America; in "*Discursos y Artículos Varios de Graciano Lopez Jaena*," Barcelona 1891, page 26 et seq.)

One should not be surprised at this gathering of Spaniards and Americans. It is in no way wonderful when we remember that the great Columbus originated the thought of universal unity that now is agitating the minds of the nations.

Take note that this is but an elaboration of his great achievement of joining the new world to the old in history, languages, traditions and customs. See the similar solidarity gaining ground in all spheres of society. Behold great and small nations preserving their independence by associating themselves in confederation.

Columbus' name signifies Liberty, for which he strove against the prevailing ideas of his century. It is an emblem of Equality, for he got a queen to work with some of the lowest class of his day. Columbus is the word of

Fraternity made life, for with brotherly love and affection he treated the poor Indians of the new world as their weakness demanded, and he protected them against his companions.

* * * Nearer Asia are rich possession which, better than any other portion of her shrunken empire, could recover for Spain her lost splendor and grandeur.

America's fortunate situation geographically is making her the brain of the commercial world, but the Philippines, in front of China and Hindustan, between Suez and Panama, may become the heart. That will be when the spirit of progress shall lift that land from the prostration in which now it lies. It will come when the influence of liberty and law shall prevail in those Spanish dominions of the Farthest East. Then, and not till then, the Philippine Islands will be the heart to which inevitably must converge all the arteries and all the veins of mercantile and industrial wealth in the seas of both hemispheres.

For this desirable result it is necessary that the Filipinos enter upon the development of contemporary civilization. And so Spain, freeing herself from her ancient prejudices, must lift forever the centuries-long interdict which has prevented her youthful and loving sons on the further side of the Pacific from enjoying the liberty, the spirit and the life of modern progress.

It is true that in those provinces, where everywhere are the germs of wealth and hidden beauties and marvels, slavery by law does not exist. But there is a slavery in fact a hundred time worse than legal slavery, moral slavery so our minds and our consciences are slaves,—our every act, even our breathing, is enslaved. Ours, a famous traveller has called the Land of Vice Versa, upon which the sun of justice and of truth never shines.

Nine million Filipinos,—a people I glory in belonging to—inhabit the great Philippine archipelago, are proud to be Spaniards and call beloved Spain our mother. But we are humiliated over the restraint in which we are held, at being denied our just rights. We want to be treated like our brothers and fellow citizens of the Peninsula because we want to be, and are, Spaniards in heart, in conscience and in truth. That we are Spaniards, our past loyalty guarantees. But we do not want to continue being a semi-feudal people, as we have been up till now. We want a free press in order that the truth may shine in all its splendor. We want free trade to develop our resources. We want, finally, voting rights and representation in the Cortes, and we don't want Friars.

IN HONOR OF TWO FILIPINO PAINTERS

DR. JOSÉ RIZAL

(At banquet in honor of Luna and Hidalgo, Madrid, June 25 1884.)

In rising to speak I have no fear that you will listen to me with superciliousness, for you have come here to add to ours your enthusiasm, the stimulus of youth, and you cannot but be indulgent. Sympathetic currents pervade the air, bonds of fellowship radiate in all directions, generous souls listen, and so I do not fear for my humble personality, nor do I doubt your kindness. Sincere men yourselves, you seek only sincerity, and from that height, where noble sentiments prevail, you give no heed to sordid trifles. You survey the whole field, you weigh the cause and extend your hand to whomsoever like myself, desires to unite with you in a single thought, in a sole aspiration: the glorification of genius, the grandeur of the fatherland!

Such is, indeed, the reason for this gathering. In the history of mankind there are names which in themselves signify an achievement—which call up reverence and greatness; names which, like magic formulas, invoke agreeable and pleasant ideas; names which come to form a compact, a token of peace, a bond of love among the nations. To such belong the names of Luna and Hidalgo: their splendor illuminates two extremes of the globe—the Orient and the Occident, Spain and the Philippines. As I utter them, I seem to see two luminous arches that rise from either region to blend there on high, impelled by the sympathy of a common origin, and from that height to unite two peoples with eternal bonds; two peoples whom the seas and space vainly separate; two peoples among whom do not germinate the seeds of disunion blindly sown by men and their despotism. Luna and Hidalgo are the pride of Spain as of the Philippines—though born in the Philippines, they might have been born in Spain, for genius has no country; genius bursts forth everywhere; genius is like light and air, the patrimony of all: cosmopolitan as space, as life and God.

The Philippines' patriarchal era is passing, the illustrious deeds of its sons are not circumscribed by the home; the oriental chrysalis is quitting its cocoon; the dawn of a broader day is heralded for those regions in brilliant tints and rosy dawn-hues; and that race, lethargic during the night of history while the sun was illuminating other continents, begins to wake, urged by the electric shock produced by contact with the occidental peoples, and begs for light, life, and the civilization that once might have been its heritage, thus conforming to the eternal laws of constant evolution, of transformation, of recurring phenomena, of progress.

This you know well and you glory in it. To you is due the beauty of the gems that circle the Philippines' crown; she supplied the stones, Europe the polish. We all contemplate proudly: you your work; we the inspiration, the encouragement, the materials furnished.

They imbibed there the poetry of nature—nature grand and terrible in her cataclysms, in her transformations, in her conflict of forces; nature sweet, peaceful and melancholy in her constant manifestation—unchanging; nature that stamps her seal upon whatsoever she creates or produces. Her sons carry it wherever they go. Analyze, if not her characteristics, then her works; and little as you may know that people, you will see her in everything moulding its knowledge, as the soul that everywhere presides, as the spring of the mechanism, as the substantial form, as the raw material. It is impossible not to show what one feels; it is impossible to be one thing and to do another. Contradictions are apparent only; they are merely paradoxes. In *El Spoliarium*—on that canvas which is not mute—is heard the tumult of the throng, the cry of slaves, the metallic rattle of the armor on the corpses, the sobs of orphans, the hum of prayers, with as much force and realism as is heard the crash of the thunder amid the roar of the cataracts, or the fearful and frightful rumble of the earthquake. The same nature that conceives such phenomena has also a share in those lines.

On the other hand, in Hidalgo's work there are revealed feelings of the purest kind; ideal expression of melancholy, beauty, and weakness—victims of brute force. And this is because Hidalgo was born beneath the dazzling azure of that sky, to the murmur of the breezes of her seas, in the placidity of her lakes, the poetry of her valleys and the majestic harmony of her hills and mountains.

So in Luna we find the shades, the contrasts, the fading lights, the mysterious and the terrible, like an echo of the dark storms of the tropics, its thunderbolts, and the destructive eruptions of its volcanoes. So in Hidalgo we find all is light, color, harmony, feeling, clearness; like the Philippines on moonlit nights, with her horizons that invite to meditation and suggest infinity. Yet both of them—although so different—in appearance, at least, are fundamentally one; just as our hearts beat in unison in spite of striking differences. Both, by depicting from their palettes the dazzling rays of the tropical sun, transform them into rays of unfading glory with which they invest the fatherland. Both express the spirit of our social, moral and political life; humanity subjected to hard trials, humanity unredeemed; reason and aspiration in open fight with prejudice, fanaticism and injustice; because feeling and opinion make their way through the thickest walls, because for them all bodies are

porous, all are transparent; and if the pen fails them and the printed word does not come to their aid, then the palette and the brush not only delight the view but are also eloquent advocates.

If the mother teaches her child her language in order to understand its joys, its needs, and its woes; so Spain, like that mother, also teaches her language to Filipinos, in spite of the opposition of those purblind pygmies who, sure of the present, are unable to extend their vision into the future, who do not weigh the consequences.

Like sickly nurses, corrupted and corrupting, these opponents of progress pervert the heart of the people. They sow among them the seeds of discord, to reap later the harvest, a deadly nightshade of future generations.

But, away with these woes! Peace to the dead, because they are dead—breath and soul are lacking them; the worms are eating them! Let us not invoke their sad remembrance; let us not drag their ghastliness into the midst of our rejoicing! Happily, brothers are more—generosity and nobility are innate under the sky of Spain—of this you are all patent proof. You have unanimously responded, you have cooperated, and you would have done more, had more been asked. Seated at our festal board and honoring the illustrious sons of the Philippines, you also honor Spain, because, as you are well aware, Spain's boundaries are not the Atlantic or the Bay of Biscay or the Mediterranean—a shame would it be for water to place a barrier to her greatness, her thought. Spain is there—there where her beneficent influence is exerted; and even though her flag should disappear, there would remain her memory—eternal, imperishable. What matters a strip of red and yellow cloth; what matter the guns and cannon; there where a feeling of love, of affection, does not flourish—there where there is no fusion of ideas, harmony of opinion?

Luna and Hidalgo belong to you as much as to us. You love them, you see in them noble hopes, valuable examples. The Filipino youth of Europe—always enthusiastic—and some other persons whose hearts remain ever young through the disinterestedness and enthusiasm that characterize their actions, tender Luna a crown, a humble tribute—small indeed compared to our enthusiasm—but the most spontaneous and freest of all the tributes yet paid to him.

But the Philippines' gratitude toward her illustrious sons was yet unsatisfied; and desiring to give free rein to the thoughts that seethe her mind, to the feelings that overflow her heart, and to the words that escape from her lips, we have all come together here at this banquet to mingle our vows, to give shape to that mutual understanding between two races which love and care for

each other, united morally, socially and politically for the space of four centuries, so that they may form in the future a single nation in spirit, in duties, in aims, in rights.

I drink, then, to our artists Luna and Hidalgo, genuine and pure glories of two peoples. I drink to the persons who have given them aid on the painful road of art! I drink that the Filipino youth—sacred hope of my fatherland—may imitate such valuable examples; and that the mother Spain, solicitous and heedful of the welfare of her provinces, may quickly put into practice the reforms she has so long planned. The furrow is laid out and the land is not sterile! And finally, I drink to the happiness of those parents who, deprived of their sons' affection, from those distant regions follow them with moist gaze and throbbing hearts across the seas and distance; sacrificing on the altar of the common good, the sweet consolations that are so scarce in the decline of life—precious and solitary flowers that spring up on the borders of the tomb.

FREER NEIGHBORS INCREASED FILIPINO DISCONTENT WITH SPANISH RULE

ATTORNEY MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

*(From his address at a banquet in honor of Former Minister-of-Ultramar
Becerra, given by the Asociacion Hispano-Filipino,
Madrid, Dec. 23, 1890.)*

Our Philippine archipelago is surrounded, as you know, by foreign colonies in which "Habeas Corpus" guarantees all the "Rights of Man". Comparison of our sad status with the life of liberty and progress in those neighboring lands for many years has been creating sorrowful impressions that, naturally, have greatly affected the social problem.

This is neither the time nor the place to go more deeply into considerations that, after all, cannot escape your notice. But our consciences, and our patriotism, make us counsel the urgent necessity that there is for higher authorities making haste to solve the problem since liberal reforms from above, besides being more pacific, are fruitful of practical results.

Yet how is it possible to solve such problems when the highest authorities do not know the needs of the colony, when there is set up there a system for smothering the cry of distress and for closing all the gates for pacific and legal representation? In what way can needs become known if in the topmost circles of the metropolis there are heard only the voices of those that want to convert the Philippines into convents and barracks?

Be not deceived, gentlemen. Without representation for Philippine interests, Philippine matters cannot really be discussed. If that part of Spain is not consulted, any solution that may be reached will fall short of what is necessary.

This is the reason for our desire, our constant aspiration, that the Filipino people shall again enjoy the political rights that were taken away from them in the Cortes of 1837. We want that long-dreamed-of restoration to become an immediate reality.

Believe me, gentlemen, thus, and only thus, in my humble judgment, ever will the union of Spain and the Philippines be consolidated.

A colony's union with its metropolis ought not to be like the relation of the prisoner to his jailer; it ought to be like a daughter's relation to her mother. Good daughters have the greatest respect for their mothers; good mothers cherish tenderest affection for their children and sincerely sympathize with the children's sorrows.

Furthermore, and most important of all, since Spain has come to believe it to be such an unquestionable right that she proclaims and legalizes respect for *the individual*, why has she overlooked respect for *people*? Why has she relegated the Philippines from a Spanish province into a mere field for ecclesiastical exploitation?

The Philippines cannot continue in its present condition. Those who from selfish motives are devoting their energies to the fossilizing of the Philippines are doing dreadful damage to the nation and to its institutions.

THE IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES THROUGH FILIPINO PIETY

JOSE MA. BASA

(Remarks at Hongkong in June, 1892, which in the printed form were discovered at the Manila Custom House, a few stray copies, in the luggage of Doctor Rizal's sister Lucia, Mrs. Hervosa.)

A bank has suspended payments, a commercial concern has gone broke. Great losses have occurred in India and in the Island of Mauritius, toward the south of Africa. Cyclones and tempests have destroyed more than thirty-six million pesos' worth of property.

These many millions of money represented the hopes, the economies, the wellbeing and the future of numerous individuals, of not a few families.

Among the sufferers we must count the Reverend Corporation of the Dominican Fathers, who lost by the bankruptcy some hundreds of thousands.

The exact amount is not yet known because so much money is sent to this British colony from the Philippines that it requires a number of accountants to calculate the immense wealth at the Holy Friars' disposal.

But let not their friends grieve for, nor their enemies exult over, these reverend recluses who have all taken the vow of poverty.

To one and all we can say, "Be tranquil". The Corporation has still many millions deposited in Hongkong banks that are solvent. And even if all these depositories should fail, and if the thousands of homes that the Philippine missionaries have for rent here in Hongkong should be thrown down, yet would the Dominicans always have left their Philippine parishes and haciendas. There would remain the pious Filipinos, ever disposed to aid, to give them charity.

What are four or five hundred thousand pesos! Let these friar parish-priests but take the trouble to go through their charges and they can recoup their losses.

Besides, these lost hundreds of thousands are not theirs, the Dominicans say. How could they be when friars must take a vow of poverty? One must perforce believe them for when they are collecting contributions they say that the money belongs to the widows and the orphans.

Assuredly some belongs to orphans and widows of Kalamba, and who can tell if some did not belong to exiled husbands? So the virtuous friars handle the funds only as trustees, to return them religiously, with all the interest thereon compounded, when the day for giving account shall come.

Who better than Friars could take charge of gathering the scant belongings while the homes were being burned, the widows and the orphans fleeing without shelter because these same reverend fathers had forbidden any of their tenants taking the refugees in, and while the men were prisoners or being pursued? Who else has that sort of moral courage, such audacity, and humanity like they have?

THE KATIPUNAN'S IDEAL FILIPINO

EMILIO JACINTO

(At first an address to the candidates at an initiation in 1894, while the society was still confining its membership to Manila, it later became an important part of the ritual of the widely spread patriotic association out of which grew the Philippine Republic.)

A life not consecrated to some rational, lofty purpose is like a tree that affords no shade, if it be not like a poisonous plant.

Doing good for personal profit, and not for the sake of the good itself, is not goodness.

Charity is rational, as is the love we owe our neighbors, and so our attitude, deeds and words should ever conform to what is reasonable.

Whether the complexion be dark or light, all men are equal. Superiority through knowledge, from riches and by beauty are all possible, but nature gives no other superiority.

The honest man prizes his honor above personal profit; rascals prefer profit to honor.

Among men of honor the plighted word is sacred.

The prudent man is sparing of his promises, and faithfully guards confidences.

Don't waste your time. Lost riches may be regained but lost time can never be recovered.

Defend the abused and make complaint of, or war upon, the aggressor.

Along life's thorny path the man should be the guide of his wife and children, and if the husband and father takes a route over precipices those whom he guides will also fall over.

Woman should not be regarded as a mere plaything but as the faithful companion that shares with man all the penalties of life. Her weakness should make her a special care when you remember that you were born of a woman and recall the mother that brought you up.

Whatever you would be unwilling to have done to your own wife, your own daughters and your own sisters, that do not you do to wives or daughters or sisters of your neighbors.

A man is of no more worth merely because he is a king, or has an aquiline nose, or is fair-skinned, nor because he is a priest, calling himself the minister of God, nor through enjoying great privileges among the fortunate of the earth. The real man is he who, of tried and trusty valor, does good, keeps his word, and is worthy and self-respecting. Such an one neither abuses others nor associates with those that abuse others. Although he may have been brought up in remote mountains and speaks no other language than his rude mother-tongue, real manhood will know how to love and cherish the native land.

When these rules of conduct shall be known to, and observed by, all Filipinos, then the sun of our long longed-for liberty will shine brightly on this favored portion of the earth and its rays diffuse such inconceivable joy among the united brothers of the same race that the lives of those who fall and the fatigues and sufferings of those who survive will be well repaid.

GOOD GOVERNMENT AS THE PREVENTIVE FOR INSURRECTION

ATTORNEY ANTONIO MA. REGIDOR Y JURADO

(From an address in Paris in 1896, appearing in published form under the nom-de-plume Francisco Engracio Vergara.)

Malcampo and Mendez Nuñez! These famed names are of two Spaniards whose deeds forever will stand out in letters of fire in the history of Spain's glories as a nation. They knew our national needs in the Orient from having passed a large part of their lives there.

Both believed that though Spain and the Philippines were far distant from each other and wide seas separated them still such merely physical obstacles ought not to prevent the continuity of Spanish soil nor hinder solidarity between Peninsular Spaniards and Filipinos.

These two practical-minded patriots considered that the aid and assistance of Freemasonry was necessary to the spiritual union which they proposed. So they introduced there the first masonic lodges and by the ties of fraternity under the Grand Orient of Spain hoped for better understanding between metropolis and colony and the confidence of the colonials in the motherland.

Mistakes have been made but when the highest authorities could finally be reached it has been possible to have them corrected. Masons in office in the Philippines whom it would be impolitic to name and such Masons of Madrid as Morayta, Junoy, Pi y Margall, Valles y Ribot, Rispe, Diaz Perez, Sol y Ortega, Centeño, and Colon have acted as intermediaries and evaded lasting evil results from our many political errors and much misgovernment.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC

ANDRES BONIFACIO

(Address before the Assembly of the Katipunan revolutionary society at Tejeros, S. F. de Malabon, Cavite, in March, 1897, as noted by General Artemio Ricarte.)

This to my mind is neither the time nor the place to discuss any government for the country other than that of the Katipunan, or association, of the Sons of the Soil.

Our revolutionary society has its supreme council, its provincial councils, and its popular, or local, councils. Wherever our revolutionary forces are in possession of territory, these governing bodies of the Society, each in its proper sphere, control.

Over the towns we hold floats the blood-red banner of the Society. On its flaming sun appears the Tagalog character which before the coming of the Castilians was the initial letter of the Tagalog word KALAYAAN, or Liberty.

From the Supreme Head of the Katipunan down to its least important member officially, all alike recognize as our motto "Union, Fraternity and Equality," which seems to me to sufficiently show that our organization is strictly republican. As strictly republican must be any government established or carried on by it.

I would think that enough assurance till our revolution shall have succeeded. Nevertheless, in deference to your desires, as your Supreme Chief, I am taking the chair in this meeting to give you fullest opportunity to voice your views and then to vote what shall be done.

But one restriction do I impose upon the freedom of your deliberations. It is that whatever the majority shall decide, that all present will loyally accept and steadfastly abide by.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC

REPRESENTATIVE FELIPE G. CALDERON

(In the Congress, at Malolos, Oct. 8, 1898, reporting the draft as chairman of the committee.)

Our country needs an organization immediately, even if only provisional. That is what is here proposed. We have outlined definitely a plan that will establish the domestic organization of the public authority and gives the amplest security to the liberties and rights of the individual.

Defense of individual rights and liberty were the chief objects of the Philippine revolution, now happily triumphant. Later on a properly chosen constitutional convention will formulate the organic law that shall permanently govern the nation. But now the committee has accomplished the temporary task assigned it. We have labored diligently to prepare a constitution that will meet the immediate needs of the government and satisfy the aspirations of the long-suffering Filipino people.

Ours has been a work of selection. The French constitution served as the basis but use has been made of the constitutions of Belgium, Mexico, Brazil, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala, since we considered these countries to be most like our own.

Of course the draft of the constitution also reaffirms all those liberties which the English Barons with Henry II agreed on at Clarendon, those extorted from John Lackland in Magna Charta, and what Louis, the saintly king of France, declared in the Edict of Nantes and the French Revolution later proclaimed and extended.

CRITICISMS OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC'S CONSTITUTION

REPRESENTATIVE ARCADIO DEL ROSARIO

(In the Congress, Malolos, Oct. 21, 1898.)

While the committee are to be congratulated upon having drafted a document of transcendent interest and of such vital importance so expeditiously and, on the whole, so well, yet I must ask your, and their, indulgence for a few criticisms.

Safeguards, or guarantees, for the liberties enumerated in the report of the chairman of the committee are not to be found in the body of the constitution. Rather do the rights appear to be restricted.

Selections have been made from the constitutions of France, Belgium, Mexico, Brazil, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala, the committee reports. Why did they overlook the constitution of the North American nation which is the champion of Liberty and, par excellence, most democratic of all?

With the United States the Philippine people are united by the strongest bonds of friendship and sympathy, of which there is proof in events witnessed by the whole world.

As to France, the Philippine Revolution bears no resemblance to its revolution to justify our patterning after its constitution.

Further, instead here of the state protecting any particular religion there should be religious freedom.

Lastly, the constitution makes no mention of women and so no provision of political rights for them.

PERILS IN A PHILIPPINE STATE RELIGION

REPRESENTATIVE TOMAS G. DEL ROSARIO

(In Congress, Malolos, November 22, 1898)

In this land of different peoples and various languages unity is needed, a unity from common interests and mutual toleration.

Mahometans are in Sulu and Mindanao, and pagans in the high lands of Mindanao and Luzon. The conversion-conquest ceased when the early Filipinos found insincerity in the missionaries and the principles that had appealed lost their attraction in the face of repellent practices. Else all the Philippines would have been Christianized.

Missionary activities were but means to acquiring new lands and those who should have been shepherds of their flocks, the parish priests, were spies of the political government.

The Catholic religion, pure and undefiled, never existed here and the teachings of Jesus Christ were made to serve selfish ends. Spain's religious-political government was a theocratic feudalism, with all the evils and abuses that system had in its worst times in Europe.

Not against Catholicism, not against Spain, did the ever patient Filipinos rise, but against this religious dark age. To permit its continuance longer is to be false to the prime motive of the revolution. Real religion does not need state support, power is wanted not from moral, but from mercenary, motives.

THE PHILIPPINES, SPAIN AND AMERICA

GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO

(From address of the President of the Philippine Republic on the first anniversary of the declaration of Filipino Independence, Angeles, Pampanga, June 12, 1899.)

On June 12th, 1898, Cavite, Bataan, Batangas, Morong and Laguna declared themselves independent from Spanish dominion. We hoisted for the first time, this tricolor flag, ensign of liberty, symbol of our freedom, device of our faith, ever constant, in the attainment of our cherished ideal.

Filipinas! Dear daughter of the ardent sun of the tropics, committed by Providence to the care of illustrious Spain, be thou not ungrateful. Acknowledge her, salute her who was thy mother, who nursed thee with the sap of her own culture and civilization. Thou hast sought independence, thou hast

emancipated thyself from her, but cherish in thy heart the memory of more than three centuries in which thou hast lived under her usages, her language, her customs. It is true, she had wished to stifle thine hopes of independence, aye! in the same manner that a mother refuses, opposes, resists forever, separation from the daughter of her womb.

But the joyful hour came. In the great book of the destiny of man the Supreme Creator entered the birth of a people. By divine commission thou hast achieved, in His strength, the sacred and inalienable right to liberty and independence. The flag that has been raised by a people worthy of the best privileges and enjoyments of liberty, and which assures our independence, we are obliged to defend at all times, even unto death. Let us pledge courage and abnegation without limit and even sacrifices if these be necessary, now that we are provoked and compelled to fight. Let us go forth with our eyes fixed upon this ensign of the sun and the three stars, which signify to us our dearest ideals. Let us go forth to the fight against America, a nation powerful in the sinews of war and rich in resources, although we can count only upon the valor and self-denial of our soldiers and the patriotism of the Philippine people. The contest is an unequal one, but no matter. Justice and right are on our side.

It is known that the American people are opposed to annexation. Who can doubt that after we have demonstrated by positive actions our ability for self-government, or rather 'a government of the people by the people,' this same nation which today appears to manifest a strong greed in its effort to possess our territory through war, this same nation will be the one to offer us the olive branch, recognizing our independence?

GRANTING OF POLITICAL RIGHTS THE WAY TO INSURE TRANQUILITY IN THE PHILIPPINES

APOLINARIO MABINI

(As a paralytic, the Secretary of State of the Philippine Republic was barred from public speaking, so this letter to the Provost Marshal of Manila, Major—later Major General—J. Franklin Bell, of August 31, 1900, is here used to not omit a notable Filipino.)

I trust that the Americans will realize that the state of culture in which they now find the Filipinos will not permit subjugation by force as a permanent status.

The Filipinos can be conquered now and later, but so long as they are denied all kinds of rights there will never be lasting tranquility.

The Spaniards were able to dominate the country without great difficulties for a period of over three centuries because the Filipinos then were sunk in the most complete political ignorance and were living without consciousness of national solidarity.

Today things are very different. Although it was only for a brief time, the Filipinos have shared in the life of other nations, and, notwithstanding its incompleteness, have tasted the delights of independent life.

THE FORMATION OF THE PEACE PARTY

ATTORNEY FRANCISCO ORTIGAS

(In the Civil Governor's residence, Malate, Manila, Feb. 24, 1901)

We are not come to sow discords nor to establish rivalries, but to unite our good will, whatever may be our mixture of parties, in order to aid and support the pacific gesture of the government here of the United States. We desire that between us and the others there may arise the same elevated competition that exists between the students in a school where each endeavors to learn and to advance, because that is a noble emulation which redounds to the benefit of the sacred end that is professed.

I consider that the formation of this party will be of the greatest advantage inasmuch as it will produce a sane stimulus, a healthy rivalry.

A FILIPINO TRIBUTE TO AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT

CHIEF JUSTICE CAYETANO S. ARELLANO

(From an address in the Ayuntamiento, Manila, September 19, 1901, reported by "El Noticero de Manila" of the following day.)

President McKinley was a man of law and a believer in republican government. As such he ever consecrated the vigor of his intellect and dedicated the energy of his will to the country's service.

His was a well-spent life. Greatly useful to his fellow-beings, he is now fully appreciated by his own people and by the people of other lands.

History will judge his acts dispassionately. Neither will it be forgotten that above the popular will and the egoism of nations, the strife for race

dominance and the lust of conquest, there is in the mighty current of human affairs a superior force that impels toward progress. It is this force which from time to time produces the great men who execute the Divine Will that regulates the Universal harmony.

He was the chief actor in the political evolution of this beautiful portion of the planet, a friend of the people of the Philippines. A model of resigned expectation, he did not have the satisfaction to see the outcome of his labor, but it is here to be judged calmly and without prejudice. It was not the fault of him who did much that he did not do more.

I hope to see the day when my beloved Philippines, loyal and noble, can say, sincerely from the heart, "Blessed be his memory."

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES FOR A MODERN CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BISHOP GREGORIO AGLIPAY

*(From a speech at an assembly of Aglipayans to draft the Constitution of the
Filipino Independent Church, Tondo, Manila,
in December, 1902.)*

We have come together to make the Constitution of our National Church, basing it on the doctrines of our Lord Jesus. In such a moment as this, it is fitting to recall to our minds the words of Jesus when he founded His Church. He asked Peter three times: "Do you love me, Peter?" And it was only after Peter had answered Him affirmatively also three times that Jesus said to him: "You are a rock, and on this rock I build my Church." This means, my dear brethren, "You are the virtue of love, against which will dash to pieces all the temptations of the devil, and upon this indestructible and inviolable virtue, I build my Church."

To love Christ is to love His doctrines. According to the Bible, there are three of these doctrines: First are the eight beatitudes, embodied in the sermon on the mount. These give the rules which should guide the conduct of every Christian, namely, to console the afflicted, to feed the hungry, to help the weak and to always feel a thirst for justice. These make up the Christian Moral Code. Then follows the teaching which makes the family stand on the principle of monogamy, and reminds us of the cases of the bad shepherd, the prodigal son, and the farmer who planted his seed on rocky soil. These constitute the basic elements of Christian civil life. Lastly, the doctrine that

says, "Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," which signifies the absolute separation of Church and State, forms the basis of the Christian Political Code.

These same teachings and principles should form the basis of our Church Constitution; but, above all, it should be guided by the light of reason illumined with Science, for God Himself is Science and, therefore, all Churches should love it. Science is the revelation of the truth of all things that exist in this world and they are all works of God. So we should love Science and we must not condemn and persecute the wise.

FILIPINO ASPIRATIONS AND THE AMERICAN PRECEDENT

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER PABLO OCAMPO DE LEON

(From an address at the Lake Mohonk, U. S. A., Conference in 1908.)

The Philippines, due to geographical configuration, comprising many islands, is a dispersed, separate and scattered country. But in its constant, latent and uniform aspiration, they are a cohesive whole, a people intensely orthodox, compact, homogeneous, *e pluribus unum*, as I would say of the American Confederation with reference to the plurality of States of which it is composed. And that aspiration, sacred in its origin, regenerating in its effect, great in its finality, is the wish of assuming their own affairs, the vivid desire of being free and independent. It is absolutely a popular aspiration, an idea worshipped at all times, in all places, on every occasion and by all classes. Our anxious desires are not a cry of protest against the present administration; no; the government there is administered for the benefit of the people, in a paternal and not tyrannical way, without masters, for the simple reason that there are no slaves. These desires are neither impetuous nor intemperant. They are aspirations of the mind and throbbings of the heart of that people who, although feeling themselves content under the protection of the United States, wish, nevertheless, to live better, to live an independent life.

This ideal has been proclaimed in every form. Tinged with blood yesterday today it is bordered with olive leaves, and to-morrow it will be crowned with bright prospects, with hopes of better days. About this, unquestionably evident, there is no argument. But, should it still be unknown here, let the American people know of it, once and for all.

There is a question, though, that has become the subject of systematic controversy and about which arguments of varied tones and colors are being adduced orally and in writing, in the press, in pamphlets, and in books, publicly and privately. This question is the capacity of the Filipinos for independence, a controversy which, revolving round an imaginary axis, wastes hypotheses of impossible realization, and ignores the capacity possessed, actually, by the Filipino people.

This capacity is denied them completely, although it is said that they will be capable of governing themselves after fifteen or twenty years. It seems that this criterion is based on the standards of civilization attained by those nations now forming the international powers, such as Spain, France, Germany, England, Japan, the United States of America, etc., in the belief that the Philippines, after such a number of years had elapsed, would have accomplished so rapid a stride as to place her on the same level as any of the afore-said nations, the United States, for instance.

Nothing more childish and utopian, because, if between the United States and the Philippines there exists at present, a proportion, say, of 100 to 10 in civilization and culture, at the expiration of 15 or 20 years, that proportion would be the same.

Let us suppose for a moment that the Philippines had attained the hundred mark; the United States, on the other hand, would have progressed in the same proportion, that is, she would be up to the thousand mark, unless her progress were delayed, which is foolish to presume. Now, tell me, do you believe in the possibility of both countries ever coinciding in their standards of civilization so as to place the minor one on the same footing with the other?

A day will come when the islands will possess the same degree of civilization and culture as that possessed by the United States today. But then, independence would be denied to them, just the same, under pretext of incapacity, a conclusion which will be drawn from the higher standard of advancement attained by the United States, in the race for progress and enlightenment. Unless a better view of the question is taken, the whole affair reminds me of Penelope's robe.

It is not reasonable to demand from the Filipinos qualities and virtues exhibited by any of the peoples now regarded as fully civilized. You certainly would not expect that my people should commence where others end. Even the founders of this Republic had to undergo a trial in the initial period of your history, a trial which was not possible for them to evade. Those thirteen

original colonies, feeling themselves strong and capable, did not indulge in useless arguments, because Maryland was a catholic colony, Virginia anglican, Massachusetts puritan, the Carolines aristocratic, and Pennsylvania democratic. Without losing time in useless discussion as to the most ideal form of constitution, they adopted what they found and, employing whatever material they could use, they founded the great North American Nation, whose days of splendor followed the initial period of its infancy. Look back into your past; compare it with the present and you will see how fruitless it is to draw parallels when there is such a wide difference between one epoch and another, as to make a point of comparison impossible.

The same fate, though in smaller scale, is reserved for the Philippines. It is an admitted truth that the only fruitful field for the culture of the art of governing is the thorny, though inevitable, field of trial. The example of the United States is ever present in the mind of the Filipinos. Had the United States remained, up to this date, a colony of England, she would not have attained, most assuredly, the position she now enjoys among the foremost nations of the world, in spite of the great virtues of her sons. What she is today is all the result of her own efforts, acquired since her freedom from foreign interference, since she found herself with the opportunities to promote the development of her natural wealth, unobstructed, without hindrances of any kind.

NATURAL LIMITATIONS ON CONSTITUTION- MAKING

ATTORNEY MACARIO ADRIATICO

(From speech in Philippine Assembly, in 1909.)

Mr. Speaker, there is not in the whole world any legislative body with the right to legislate a transformation of the permanent conditions of society.

A constitution, I maintain, presumes the maximum of the legislative powers with which any deliberative body can be invested, but even a constitution cannot impose new customs. Much less can it blot out the traditions of the past, for the simple reason that a constitution is no more than the consecration and recognition in law of a people's manner of being.

And it must be evident that where a constitution cannot come, there ought never to go the other classes of law that regulate modern societies.

THE DEFENDERS WHO FELL AND THE CAUSE THAT LIVES

SENATOR SERGIO OSMEÑA

*(From a speech of the first Speaker of the Philippine Assembly at San Miguel
de Mayumo, Bulacan, May 7, 1910.)*

One cannot, in truth, be in Bulacan, in an atmosphere warm, more than by the heat of its sky, by the fire of its soil in which boils patriotic enthusiasm, without remembering our heroes.

We welcome that tribute of sympathy and affectionate love which so appropriately was given, by one of the speakers this afternoon, to those who fell while it was still night for the fatherland.

We cannot forget them. They fell in the journey. They perished in the stubborn strife. They fought for us. We recall with religious respect what was said,—before the sacrifice of his death which the nation's life required,—by the greatest of these: "We fall during the night, we fall without seeing the beautiful dawn; but you will feel the warmth of the new sun, you will see the new day appear, and when you see it, forget not those who fell in the night!"

We are here to bind the present to the past, and to find in this never-to-be-loosed tie the solidest foundation for the future which it is our duty to conquer.

We are here to recall that we exist not merely for the present, to remember that we are a part of a great people, the Filipino People, which, seeing the light but yesterday in the minds of the many martyrdoms of its sons, fought, as we are fighting now, to achieve an existence of its own, free and independent.

Those times are over, and I would draw a generous veil on the past with its tears and blood of martyrs fallen in the journey. But pardon me if, in looking toward the past, I recall a memory that I cannot repress and which enthalls me. Pity cannot surpass patriotism, nor extinguish it.

We are come out of a great catastrophe which fed on the ruins of a world of institutions and causes; we are come together at this fraternal festival, and among its joys and amidst the abundance of sentiments and more substantial things of your sumptuous banquet,—for which your foresight has accumulated all that is needful and nothing is wanting,—I note that there is lacking what we all would like to see, that ensign, as beloved as it is glorious, which our brothers defended, the Filipino Flag. For our consolation, in spite of all the struggles, despite the disasters, and amidst the misfortunes of the people, there still live the grand ideals which were the soul and life of that banned banner.

RECOLLECTIONS OF RIZAL

JUDGE HIGINIO BENITEZ

(From memories evoked by a visit to Rizal Park, Dapitan, in March, 1914)

I met Rizal first on a steam launch which ran between Manila and Laguna. He had embarked at Kalamba on his way to Manila.

At one of the stopping places en route there got on a friar parishpriest from a town in that vicinity. He cast glances around in all directions and finally fixed his gaze on us.

As Rizal was nearer, the friar snatched from him the book that he was reading. After examining it, he returned it saying, "Boy, what do you understand of that?"

Rizal then was reading a book on literature. Thanks to my being seated opposite Rizal, and so further away, the friar did not interfere with me. But if he had known what was my book!—The saints defend us! There would have been surely something doing, for I had in my hands the prohibited "Ruins of Palmyra." The contemptuous words addressed to Rizal remained fixed in my memory. Rizal's prudence avoided any discussion, which was well for it is always best to turn a deaf ear to offensive expressions.

Some time later occurred a literary contest and Rizal won the first prize in competition with Spanish men of letters and poets, some of whom belonged to the same religious order as our companion on that voyage. If he knew it, he must have been vexed.

But to continue about our trip,—this time we went into the saloon of the steamer where among others were the Provincial Governor, Don Antonio del Rio, and a friar whom we will designate only by his initials, F. P. To pass the time I had taken with me "Recuerdo de Viage," a book written by "El Curioso Parlante." The friar curate turned over its leaves and read some of its chapters. It must have pleased him, and why shouldn't it have? On returning the volume, he asked me; "Who is this 'El curioso Parlante'?"

I answered, "He is Mesonero Romanos."

Governor del Rio, ever outspoken, turned to the friar and said with some sarcasm: "But, Father F—, do you never descend to common things? Mesonero Romanos is much read in Spain, and, as you see, is known even in the Philippines. One must not in these days be content to read only the missal and the breviary. You have to give some time to our classics."

The governor's sermon would have continued had not the steamer just then come to anchor at our destination.

THE MISSION OF THE GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITY

JUSTICE IGNACIO VILLAMOR

*(From inaugural address as President of the University of the Philippines,
Manila, August 12, 1915.)*

The intention of the Assembly was to establish a great institution which should crown the public school system and at the same time embody the sentiments, needs, and aspirations of the people—a center of education where Philippine culture, inspired by the Spanish civilization and strengthened by the vigorous spirit of the great American Nation, should flourish.

For us the University of the Philippines, designed as it is to meet the needs of this country, should aim, firstly, to extend the field of scientific knowledge, essential to the development of the natural resources of the country; and, secondly, to mold character, by promoting among the students the sense of justice and responsibility, honor and dignity good fellowship and self-help, perseverance in their work, compliance with their duties, and love of the Alma Mater. *Her ideal should be efficiency founded upon science and inspired by character.*

The Philippine Legislature itself points out to us that the purpose of this University is to provide advanced instruction in literature, philosophy, the sciences, and the arts, and to give professional and technical training.

Starting, then, from this point and without losing sight of the needs of the inhabitants of the Philippines, the first of which is the preservation of life, the University has been devoting all the attention necessary to the organization of the College of Medicine and Surgery.

Next in importance to the preservation of life follows the preservation of rights, to the teaching of which the University must also turn its attention in view of the growing demand on the part of our youth for this study. Such a great enthusiasm for the study of law should not surprise anyone, because it is but the natural consequence of the aspiration of a people for liberty and justice, a desire increased by contact with another people who, by their temperament and by their traditions, are free and just. The same spirit was prevalent in the thirteen colonies about the time of the Declaration of Independence. This fact was commented upon by Burke in his speech on "Conciliation" delivered before the Parliament. As a necessary condition of civilization, the Philippines need to progress along economic lines in order to sustain competition with other nations. And there is no doubt that the country will advance because it is endowed with conditions favorable to progress—the

vastness of its natural resources and its spirit of progressiveness. The only thing necessary is the development of those resources through the application of scientific principles, and the cultivation of this spirit through the ideals of advancement and perfection. The University has to play an important role in this progressive movement. If it is to serve the interests of the country which supports it, it must produce men who, through their culture and patriotism, will arouse desires in, and suggest ideals to, their countrymen so that they may develop the various aspects of life; men of independent judgment who shall discover the useless beliefs, customs and institutions acquired through inheritance or education, so that they may be replaced with others that will enrich the social heritage; men able to conceive, formulate, and execute changes which will make for progress, thus placing in the hands of the people the benefits of scientific discoveries.

The University will be guilty in the eyes of the Government and the people if it does not exact from its professors and instructors the fulfillment of the obligations which they have assumed toward the students. It is the duty of the instructors to teach, and, hence, to study and investigate so that their teaching may be effective. But, in addition to this, they have another duty, no less important, and that is to influence through personal example the character of the students to make them better men. It goes without saying that rules and regulations are of little importance in controlling the conduct of the students; but it is beyond doubt that the instructors, through their personal influence, can guide the students' conduct and mold their character. Industry, benevolence, dignity, morality, and justice—these are the chief virtues which every instructor should possess. The example of these virtues, acting like hypnotic suggestions on the minds of the students, will be reflected almost unconsciously in their conduct and will form the character of the future leaders of society. To develop self-confidence, they must be persuaded that through their own efforts they may understand and accomplish whatever they undertake. As Pascal says: "Man is so constituted that if he is repeatedly told that he is incapable, he comes to believe it, and by dint of repeating the idea to himself, he ends by being convinced, for as a matter of fact, man holds communion with himself which needs to be regulated;"—*corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia prava*. To treat the students worthily and nobly is to mold their personal character; to encourage them to think and investigate is to train them in independent judgment; to form in them the proper habits of work as well as of play, is to make them well-balanced; to set them examples of strength in resolve, is to give them firmness and decision in the critical moments of life.

It is thus seen that the purpose of the University of the Philippines is to make men of high character and ideals; to train individuals in practical knowledge and independent judgment, able to contribute to the progress of our country.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

DEAN MAXIMO M. KALAW

(From the oration that won the Davis Prize in George Washington University, Washington, D. C., April 26, 1916.)

Dewey's notable victory had infused a new factor into the ideals of America and had created a great desire for world dominion and commercial expansion. To many Americans, that battle signified America's entry as a world power into the arena of world politics. Almost in the twinkling of an eye, she had crushed the navy of what had once been the greatest of world empires. The way was, therefore, now clear for the fulfilment of what they conceived to be America's "manifest destiny." Who would shirk such a future? Who would pull down the flag unfurled in Manila bay? "Who dares halt it now,"—challenged Senator Beveridge—"now when history's largest events are carrying it forward—now when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny can bestow? Blind is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign!" "We make no hypocritical pretense of being interested in the Philippines solely on account of others," frankly confessed Senator Lodge, "we believe in trade expansion."

Thus, the acquisition of the Philippines, which meant the subjugation of an alien race, was decided upon. What the Filipino people might say on this change of sovereignty never occurred to the American people. They thought that Philippine acquisition was like any previous act of American expansion. It would not break faith with any people, or rob them of their own liberty. We sent an emissary to the Paris Treaty Commission so that we might be heard as to what disposition should be made of our country, but he was turned down. He came here to America to make an appeal to your Government, to plead for his country's right to independence, to tell the Americans that Spain's title to the Philippines was an empty one, that the Filipinos had actual possession of the country under a Republic duly recognized by the people. "Surely," he said, "you would not deprive my nation of her own property and her right to independence, without at least giving her the chance of being heard,

the right undenied by your Constitution to the humblest of your citizens—the right of due process of law by means of which no person can be deprived of his life or property without giving him an opportunity to be heard by a competent tribunal!” He was not only denied the privilege of stating his case but, fearing for his personal safety, had to escape to Canada. Against the solid opposition of the Filipinos, the Treaty of Paris was ratified, and every attempt to promise a recognition of their right to independence frustrated.

I shall not attempt to give you here a picture of the events that followed. For the complete establishment of your sovereignty you had to wage a war of subjugation—a war which lasted three years, which necessitated the presence in the islands of 120,000 American soldiers and the establishment of reconcentration camps, which cost your treasury more than half a billion dollars and the Philippines many thousands of human lives. Peace was possible only after complete exhaustion of the Filipino soldiers. Convinced that their independence could not be secured by force of arms, they laid down their guns and returned to peaceful pursuits. I shall not here minimize the work of reconstruction done by the American Government. Public schools were established and Filipino children flocked to them with an enthusiasm for learning never before manifested by any people. Roads, hospitals, and public buildings were planned and completed, for which the Filipino people willingly gave their money. But they had never for a moment given up their idea of independence. Despite the material improvement brought about by the American Government, they still considered themselves unjustly deprived of their right to manage their own affairs; and when the first Philippine Assembly met in 1907, it made the solemn declaration that American rule in the Philippines remained unsanctioned by the people whose great desire then, as ever, was their complete political emancipation.

THE JONES ACT PREAMBLE'S PROMISE OF INDEPENDENCE

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER MANUEL L. QUEZON

(Before U. S. Senate Committee on Insular Affairs, in Washington D. C. 1916.)

Senators, please remember that the fair and sensible interpretation of that preamble, which is the interpretation that the Filipino people will give to it, is this:

That it is the purpose of the United States to grant to the Philippines their independence, not when the Filipinos believe that they are ready for independence—because they have believed that all the time, and they have been saying it all the time, and if their opinion on the subject were to be the final say this would not have been the bill before the committee at this time, it would have been an immediate independence bill; but when in the opinion of the Congress we have conducted the government that you provide in this bill in a way that will justify the reasonable presumption that we shall establish and maintain a fairly decent government, a government that would keep order and offer protection to the rights of the people.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE FILIPINO FLAG

DR. PEDRO GIL

(From an address on dedicating and raising a flag of the Democrata Party, in Manila, on February 7, 1917.)

This flag is but a representation, a symbol. It represents and symbolizes that other blessed, but banned, banner that, with matchless bravery, was borne on the battlefields by our heroes to proclaim the inalienable right of the Filipino People to life and liberty. . . .

Behold it! How graceful and attractive is it in its obviously national colors! There is red, like the precious blood shed by our martyrs in their sacrifices for the fatherland, or like the fiery love for the Ideal, that sacred flame that kindles the love of country in the hearts of Filipinos. There is blue, like unto the blue of our sky on clear, serene days, like the horizon's blue in the poetically fleeting light of dawn, diaphanous and of purest ray, the reflection of the earliest beams of that sun that likewise gives splendor to our flag, symbolizing our supreme desire, the irresistible longing, ever more ardent, of our people, for Liberty. Between the red and the blue is displayed the rising sun of the flag we keep in our hearts, to tell us that it emerged from a sea of blood and of hope,—on the one side the sacrifice of our heroes, on the other, the confidence of our people in themselves and in the spirit of justice of the powerful and humanitarian nation which now governs us.

A WAR TIME APPEAL FOR THE RED CROSS

ATTORNEY FRANCISCO A. DELGADO

(Delivered on the Luneta, Manila, July 4, 1918.)

One hundred and forty-two years ago, a new nation was born in the Western Hemisphere of the world. This event alone, is indeed worthy of commemoration. But when such a nation was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the principles "that all men are created equal" and that governments can only derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," its birth becomes truly sacred in the annals of mankind.

The history of liberty may be traced back to the time of the Romans and the Greeks; thence to England and to France and other countries in Continental Europe; but the direct origin of constitutional liberty and popular government, of true Democracy as conceived in the modern world, can only be ascribed to the time of the founding of the greatest republic on earth, the United States of America, whose birthday we commemorate today.

It is because of the discovery of the great system of a truly representative republican form of government, under the tenets enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence of 1776, and the further discovery supplementing it made eleven years later—as manifested in the Federal Constitution adopted in the Philadelphia convention of 1787—of a strong Federal Union among the several Independent States, that the world-at-large is greatly indebted to the founders of the North American Republic. All this and the traditional policy of the American Nation inaugurated by Washington and continued up to this date by Wilson to carry out—in letter and spirit—, in her dealings with other peoples, the principles underlying her system of government, thereby always rendering a helping-hand to the weak and the oppressed, make it not only fitting, but a duty, for all liberty-loving people to join with her nationals in the commemoration of the august event we celebrate.

I therefore consider it a very great honor to voice, for my countrymen and myself, our sincere and true appreciation of the privilege accorded us to participate in the celebration of "American Independence Day". This is, really, as much a Filipino holiday as it is American; for our aspirations and ideals have always been, and are, identically the same as those which impelled the noble founders of the mighty American Republic to the greatest sacrifices that they might attain freedom and national existence. The spirit which animated them, graphically expressed in the immortal words of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty, or give me death," was the same spirit which moved our own Rizal and the others who have shed their blood that their country and posterity may have liberty.

On the other hand, the strongest impulses of gratitude impel us to truly appreciate and venerate the full meaning of this occasion, for it was by the aid and guidance of America and American principles that we have thus far succeeded in our efforts and attained our present material and political advancement; and through that same aid and guidance only, do we expect to attain, in the near future, the full measure of our national aspiration.

It is thus to be seen that great indeed is our indebtedness to our forefathers, but if we truly appreciate the blessing of their heritage to us of free and democratic institutions and individual freedom and liberty, we must be able to show that we are prepared to and can maintain such a heritage through our generation—that we may, in turn, bequeath it to our posterity.

The world is, at present, witnessing one of the most appalling calamities that has ever befallen it. Democracy is face to face with Military Autocracy; it is a death-struggle between the two opposite and irreconcilable systems of political science or government. What will be the result? Will the heretofore triumphal march of Democracy and Liberty throughout the world continue, or shall it give way and let Despotism and Autocracy rule the world? Such is the problem facing us right now. In answer to the challenge, the United States of America, in unselfishly joining the Allies, has set forth the decree that Democracy and Liberty shall not perish but must continue in their progressive march throughout the world, enlightening and defending all nations and peoples alike, the large as well as the small.

And how, therefore, can we better commemorate and honor the spirit of the day we celebrate than by pledging, each and every one of us, right now and here, that undaunted by any sacrifice we will do all in our power to make the decree of the noblest of all republics and the mother of Liberty a prompt reality. Hence the propriety of dedicating today's celebrations to Red Cross work.

Those of us who happen to reside in these fair isles, are doubly obligated to do our utmost in the support of this supreme cause; for we have not only not suffered any of the untold personal hardships of our brethren in the other parts of the world but we have been actually benefited by it materially—to the extent that we are now more economically prosperous than ever before. We can therefore well afford to make, and should make, even more sacrifices than our less fortunate fellow-beings.

As for us the Filipinos, particularly, the more I ponder on the problem I can not help but think that such an opportunity to help, is really a blessing to us. It not only affords us a fine chance, by our united support of and undivided loyalty to the great cause, to show to America and the American people our everlasting gratitude and friendship for them; but it furnishes us

with the rare privilege of really helping, and perhaps actually fighting for, the Liberty and Democracy of the world—thus enabling us to expect the world, in turn, to acknowledge our right to our sublime ambition when the final reckoning comes. We should, therefore, redouble our efforts in assisting the various agencies to help the upright cause, but particularly in seeing that our National Guard Division now being organized is made up of our very best elements; so that when the actual need comes we may be the better prepared to serve the cause of Democracy and constitutional liberty anywhere—be it in France or elsewhere during the present war, or to maintain later the stability of a popular government of our own.

Let us all—Americans, Filipinos and all liberty-loving people—therefore resolve on this sacred occasion, in emulation of the noble spirit of the day we now celebrate, to join hands and united as one march under the banner of Freedom and fight with all our might that Democracy and Liberty may reign supreme forever in the world.

Thus, and thus alone, shall we be true to the trust left us by our forefathers and benefactors, and be entitled to the blessings and gratitude of our children as our fathers are entitled to our appreciation and veneration.

WORK OUGHT TO BE A MEANS OF ACQUIRING PROPERTY

DIRECTOR HERMENEGILDO CRUZ

(From a speech by the head of the Labor Bureau at a banquet in recognition of President Quezon's efforts for pro-labor legislation, Manila, Oct. 30, 1918)

The modern conscience demands that the contract relationship between employers and employees must be modified, in the interests of both as well as of society.

The system now controlling such relationships makes it possible that, to the same degree that industries and factories prosper, their workmen may be plunged deeper and deeper into misery and degradation. That should be changed; it ought to be abolished.

Rather ought such relations to be founded on the principles of equity and justice so employers and employees would be partners in the production and so co-owners of the products produced. Only in this way can Capital and Labor go on with their work hand in hand. Thus alone will the future of our land be assured and the Philippines be saved from the sufferings, social convulsions and class conflicts that injustice to labor has caused elsewhere.

TWENTY YEARS OF PEACEFUL PROGRESS BY A PATRIOTIC PEOPLE

PRESIDENT RAFAEL PALMA, LL. D.

*(Speech as Secretary of the Interior at the opening of the Pangasinan
Provincial Building, Lingayen, February 11, 1919.)*

Twenty years ago this very month, this same place, before deserted, witnessed the awakening of a new nation, dedicated to liberty and arming for liberty. These happy shores with their smiling waves saw the strenuous efforts, the intense agitation, of soldiers and leaders who were organizing in haste and gathering from all parts to arrest the menace to, and avert the destruction of, their villages and homes, to the end that that nation might show the world that it wanted to live in liberty and in any event knew how to die for it.

We are here today in the same spot, now well populated, displaying no martial insignia but in the garb of civilians, marching not to the sound of warlike trumpets but filling the air with banners and hymns of peace, to prove to the world what that nation, dedicated to liberty, has been capable of doing in these twenty years since it ceased the cannon-shots of war to engage in the battles of progress and industry. We are met together here for more than the mere dedication of this capitol, magnificent as it is,—in order to feel and to reflect upon what this capitol represents in the life of the province, in the history of the nation.

We have not simply raised an edifice, we have not dressed marble and laid cement only for the purpose of affording sumptuous offices for the public officials of this province. We have done much more, we have erected a monument to progress, to industry, to the liberty of the Filipino People. This building, at the same time that it represents an effort, symbolizes as well an idea—stones are symbols, and have always been, in every age and among all peoples.

Yes! These walls and pillars bear witness to the effort, loyal and meritorious, of those that caused its construction to afford an official home worthy of the province, but they testify to something more,—they attest the progressive spirit bequeathed to the nation by the love and sacrifice of past generations.

This spirit is the same that in a brief time brought public order out of the chaos and disturbances produced by the war, in order to give protection to industry and security to homes and haciendas. It has provided places of worship for all creeds. It has constructed free schools, even in the most distant parts of the Islands, where the laborer's son associates with the sons of

the rich, receiving the same instruction, and all become identified with one another in sentiments and ideals. It has stretched substantial bridges across our rivers and opened up hundreds and thousands of kilometers of broad highways along which the products of our fertile soil may rapidly reach the centers of commerce. It has bored artesian wells by the thousand and made sanitary the public markets in order to rescue victims from disease and death. With unaccustomed activity, it has in these present days put up sugar centrals in Negros and cut in on the forests of Luzon to increase the area of our cultivated fields. In a word, this spirit of progress pervades all parts of the archipelago, influences all classes of our national life, and will not allow us to rest content with things as they are but ever urges us on to seek something more, to learn and make our own something better.

We are not an inert body, nor stationary, nor held up on the highway of the ages by any immovable obstacle, as our detractors at home and abroad have imagined. On the contrary, we are living flesh-and-blood, palpitating, made of arteries and nerves, moved by instincts, urged on by ambitions, human beings not superior, but still not inferior, to the rest of humanity, eagle-like in our dreams of glory and efforts to reach the heights.

PATRIOTIC AND PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT

ATTORNEY VICTORIANO YAMZON

*(From a commencement address before Pangasinan High School, Lingayen,
March 27, 1919.)*

My countrymen, love and honor America, the land of the free and the home of the brave. Love and glorify New England, from whose bosom rose a great nation, to which the world has always looked for guiding principles and golden examples. Love the American people for their adherence to truth and to honesty, for their patriotism and valor, for their greatness of heart and bigness of soul. Love Washington and Lincoln; place them side by side with Aguinaldo and with Rizal, with Del Pilar and Mabini, with Burgos. Gomez and Zamora. Read the Declaration of Independence, the immortal document which will remain imbedded in the memory of man; imbibe the principles of the American Constitution, the most perfect exponent of the world's political thought. But in your enthusiastic admiration of America, do not disregard the Philippines. I would not for a single moment permit you to forget our own little country and our own glorious flag, and I would beseech

you, in this high and solemn hour, in the name of all that is blessed and hallowed, to remember that God in His infinite wisdom has placed under our guardian care a group of emerald isles where we and our children may happily live in the fulness of freedom and opportunity.

Shall our dreams come true? Shall we be able to transmit to posterity the land which our rajahs have bravely defended against aggression from abroad and guard against desecration the soil hallowed to the memory of our martyred heroes? I fear that in the light of recent events, your answer must be in the negative. Political progress we have attained with increasing success, but our economic and industrial development has been amazingly slow. A bare tithe of the wealth of these Islands is in the hands of nationals; the greater portion is under control of foreigners. Europeans, Chinese and Japanese, who seek no interest beyond their own, are coming in troops and battalions to plant their commerce among us, to till our virgin fields, to harvest our ripening crops, to execute for us the task from which we have cowardly escaped but to which we must presently return unless we desire to invite the eternal condemnation of those who in the fulness of time must pay the penalty of our criminal indifference.

Let us preach the doctrine of thrift among our inhabitants. A peso saved is a peso earned. Every centavo of Philippine money retained in this country and placed in some profitable investment will swell the bulk of our national wealth and give to our government a financial standing which it otherwise cannot attain. Let us patronize home industries to the points of sacrifice. A hat bought in the local market, a book published in the town printing office, a plow manufactured by the village blacksmith—these are the beginnings of a growing enterprise which you must encourage and develop if you would establish among ten million Filipinos a homogeneous and stable government, giving ample protection to life, liberty and property and affording equal opportunity for all. Let us cultivate that God-given passion for work for the sake of work and in the midst of our toil let us learn to wait in patience for the coming of richer and better days. Let us welcome the stranger who knocks at our gates, but let us refuse admission to him who comes to sow the seeds of hatred and discontent among our people. To the immigrant seeking shelter let us throw open our homes, and in a spirit of true Christian charity let us minister to his wants even at the expense of our personal comfort. He who seeks admission to mingle his blood with ours, to obey the laws of our land, to observe our moral standards, and to be numbered among us—he will ever find a warm spot in the heart of every true Filipino.

FILIPINOS' GROWING CONFIDENCE IN INDEPENDENCE DAY

DEAN JORGE BOCOBO

(On the Luneta, Manila, July 4, 1919.)

We have just listened to the deathless and transcendent principles of the Declaration of Independence. We have just heard the propositions laid down by the American forefathers, who believed in men as men simply endowed with virtues and qualities that make for their own betterment, whatever their condition may be. These are the truths upheld by those men who, in the midst of dangers and difficulties, saw the future with a clear and unerring vision; they knew that mankind would go on struggling for the same principles which they were then announcing to the world.

Time was when in this country of ours, we heard this document with a shadow of doubt in our minds and with a tinge of sadness in our hearts. Why? Because whenever we sought to invoke it in favor of our cause, it was cumbered with supposed limitations. For example it was said that the principle of the consent of the governed was applicable only when the governed were of sufficient capacity to understand the science of government. This is an old argument, appearing in different forms, resorted to whenever one set of men wanted to impose their will upon other men.

But the alleged limitations have fallen to the ground. Today we read in this great document, this Magna Charta of humanity, a new meaning—rather its unmixed and original significance. As Lincoln said, the Declaration of Independence gave hope to all the world for all future time and gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This dream of the great liberator is on the eve of happy fulfillment and consummation. The words of the Declaration of Independence are vitalized in the preamble of the Jones Law. They are vitalized in the exalted aims of America in the war that has just ended. They are vitalized in the peace recently concluded, which permanently secures the freedom of the world.

So on this glorious day we Filipinos take part in the celebration of the Fourth of July with a deep sense of pride. We feel that it is our own holiday. We are proud of America's achievements in history—achievements that vindicate human liberty, we are proud of the noble part she has played in the world war; we are proud of the stars and stripes which stands for the liberty of all men everywhere. Today we, the Filipinos, renew our attachment

to the principles of the Declaration of Independence; we renew our faith in the magnanimous spirit of America; our belief in the sense of justice of the great American people acquires new life, new strength.

Fellow citizens, let us strive still harder for our complete emancipation. During my brief sojourn in the United States I observed that the American people are sympathetic toward our cause. The Philippine mission has made a good beginning. Let us continue the campaign for our freedom. And I hope that very soon we shall have our own Declaration of Independence; not a document with a long list of grievances, like the one you listened to a moment ago, but one eloquent with praises for the generosity and unselfishness of America and proclaiming our eternal love and gratitude towards the American People.

SUPERIORITY OF SECULAR EDUCATION

DR. T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA

(From an address on "The Legacy of Ignorantism" before the Teachers' Assembly, Baguio, April 23, 1920.)

Those who believe in the absurd miracle (*milagrería absurda*), protector of the fools, accomplice of the lazy, of the gamblers, of thieves, of all who, thru its means, seek to secure what they desire—those are the criminals that fill our jails and who die on the gallows; those are the ones, who, armed with their *anting-anting*, *talisman*, rosary, scapulary, bones of saints, or sharks' teeth, fight with the police, commit outrages, upset orders, confident in their triumph because of the protection of their celestial *pintakasi*. Such is the product not of the schools without GOD but of GOD without schools, impossible and paradoxical, whose power manifests itself in capricious methods and in the exercise of prestidigitation. Those individuals are in truth the natural products of that superstition preached, diffused, and presented to the ignorance of people who have come to the point of fearing neither God nor devil and who know that the infernal punishment only is meted to him who does not wear a rosary around his neck or does not confide in a *pintakasi*, who guarantees eternal-salvation because *god does not permit that the worshiper of one of his devotees be condemned*.

What kind of citizen can an individual be in society who laughs at punishment, using the easy means of a celestial lawyer? How can terrors of hell infuse fear in him when he know that thru the medium of a powerful lawyer, God finds himself obliged (*forzado*) to pardon him. And when a man knows

the way of evading divine justice, it is clear that, in order for him to escape human justice, he will resort to appealing to the mercy of the judge to evade compliance with the law, to the non-fulfillment of any duty, and to live only to enjoy his rights; he will resort, in dealing with human authorities, to the use of the same methods of propitiation, adulation, prevarication, humiliation, and deception which dominated the same God and triumphed over the power of the devil!

Never will it be possible for a superstitious man, especially if he is of the type that we have just analyzed, to become a useful citizen. Such is the type which unfortunately is the product of an education of three centuries . . . !

THE FILIPINOS ASK INDEPENDENCE NOT BECAUSE THEY LOVE AMERICA LESS BUT BECAUSE THEY LOVE FREEDOM MORE

ATTORNEY JOSE P. MELENCIO

*(From address before democratic national convention, San Francisco,
California, in June, 1920.)*

The present plea of the Filipinos has a significance all its own, to the everlasting credit of the United States. For the first time in the history of colonial relations, a people desire to separate from the sovereign power, not because of abuses that have been perpetrated against them, but because they have matured into national manhood under the guidance extended. We come to you with no grudge. Ours is a message of affection and gratitude at the same time that we urge the redemption of America's promise to grant us our freedom. We have nothing but words of praise for all the good that America has done our country. We claim nothing but our inalienable right to be, like you, an independent country. We invoke for ourselves your own Declaration of Independence and your own doctrine of self-determination principles ingrained in the American race and now the common law of the world. We have already formed our plans. In our hearts is the unshakable belief that in political independence lies the only happiness of the Filipino nation. It is not that we love America less, but we love our freedom more.

OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA TO SHOW CONSISTENCY

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER ISAURO GABALDON

*(From speech in U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.,
March 3, 1920.)*

At the time when the world was engaged in the realignment of national boundaries, in the settlement of the most stupendous dispute that the world has ever known, the Congress of the United States had presented before it no less than thirty resolutions expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people, if not actually urging England to grant independence to Ireland. At that time, also, the Filipinos were knocking at your door. The answer was that the world was in a state of flux and change. Even now there are multitudes of Americans who would risk their all if only the republic of Ireland could be made a reality. Out of the womb of war many European republics were also born, and America has rejoiced to uphold the same, because she knew it was her job. And yet the claim of the Filipinos is still unheeded. Must there be exceptions, then, in international justice? Must the heart of America beat only for the freedom of Ireland, of Poland, and of the Czecho-Slovaks and not for the independence of the Philippine Islands?

We are told that Japan is at our door; that Japan is bent on a career of aggression for more dominion; that the moment American sovereignty is withdrawn Japan will seize us in her iron claw. All sorts of intentions are being imputed to the Nipponese Empire. Whether the Japanese menace exists or not admits of much debate. But if it exists in fact, is it not equally clear that that menace will never disappear by merely talking about it? If the granting of Philippine Independence must be postponed until such a menace disappears, is it not equivalent to refusing to grant independence forever, since Japan will always be right where she is today? Surely American ignenuity in solving national or international problems will not stop at merely talking about Japanese wiles and Japanese aggressive intentions. The present premier of Japan has made assurance that in case independence is granted to the Filipino people Japan will be the first to sign an agreement guaranteeing the integrity of a Philippine republic. The channels of diplomacy are therefore wide open, whereby the territorial integrity of an independent Philippines could be adequately safeguarded.

Why, then, does America tarry? Why may not negotiations be started now leading to the concession of our promised liberty?

My plea, therefore, gentlemen of the American Congress, is that you ignore no longer the repeated pleas of a deserving people for an independence that rightfully belongs to them. The granting of Philippine independence now affords the United States a golden opportunity to give to the world unanswerable proof of its sincerity, its consistency, and its altruism. It will be the greatest example of international square dealing in the history of the ages.

PHILIPPINE PATRIOTISM THROUGH FILIPINO EDUCATION

MRS. MARIA VALDEZ VENTURA

(From an address before the student body of the University of the Philippines, Manila, Sept. 30, 1921.)

The conditions which have grown out of the change of the sovereign power in these Islands two decades ago, the subsequent implantation of new institutions in our country and the nature of our present political status as a nation, demand that we should cultivate and develop in our people the spirit of true *patriotism thru education* to the end that our preparations for a greater Philippines shall not be in vain. It seems paradoxical to assert that true patriotism needs growth, cultivation and training. But the truth of it is made apparent when we realize that patriotism is not a mere emotion but a sense of unselfish devotion to the welfare or service of one's country. Not unlike sympathy, affection, or faith, patriotism becomes broader in its scope, more lofty in its motive, and more enduring against the test of time in proportion as it is properly developed by the educating influences of the three great institutions responsible for the bringing about of the highest degree of civilization, namely the *home*, the *church*, and the *school*.

These three institutions are the agencies that create, develop and train patriotism. The home is the repository of the virtues and customs of the people; it is the stronghold of the traditions and institutions of the country; and it is the citadel where the individuality of the race is enshrined safe and secure from the invasion of foreign elements which are derogatory to the chosen riches treasured by the Filipino home so that a Filipino citizen shall think as a Filipino, shall have a Filipino character, shall retain his Filipino individuality, shall love and uphold Filipino ideals, and shall have, above all, a Filipino patriotism evolving from the teachings of an educated Filipino home.

The next important institution which is instrumental in the development of true patriotism is the church. The noble and lofty motive sustaining the spirit of patriotism is in keeping with the sacredness of the mission of the church. The modern church should teach the people to love their country, to imbibe the ideals of their national heroes, and to follow the noble example of their leaders.

The school stands at the culminating point with respect to the training in the spirit of devotion to the welfare of one's country. Our schools and our University should make a part of all courses of instruction the actual participation in certain civic work or any activity which trains the student in the responsibilities of good citizenship even as laboratory and clinical work are essential to the study of veterinary or medical science. This is the only solution to that tendency which Dean Bocobo calls "uneducation" of the college students. Not until then will the students realize that their education is not a mere personal acquisition for selfish ends but that it is possessed by them in common with the people thru whose sacrifice the establishment of schools has been made possible.

Without such sublime purpose in view the sacrifices of the parents at home, the teachings of the church and the training given by the school are all of no avail. Then we come face to face with the menace and the cost of untrained or "uneducated" patriotism. It is the lack of trained patriotism in many poor men in the government that accounts for our present "political bankruptcy; and it is an "uneducated" patriotism which accounts for our poor economic conditions, for the unwarranted infant mortality, for the increase of the social ills and for the craze of the people for politics rather than for the material progress of their country. The urgent need of the Filipino people today is a patriotism cultivated, developed and trained through the agencies of the home, the church and the school.

THE FILIPINO WOMAN IN WAR AND IN PEACE

MRS. ROSA L. SEVILLA DE ALVERO

(Address of the Directress of the "Instituto de Mujeres" at the inauguration of the "Liga Nacional de Damas", Manila, Feb. 11, 1922.)

The Filipino woman, with the exquisite femininity that characterizes her, never leaves home but for the home's sake. You will see her ever womanly, the wife always keeping to her house and concerning herself with nothing but her home, her husband and her children.

But when her home and her children are threatened by some peril you will see this same woman, so feminine, aiding and saving the defenders of the fatherland. So did the welknown Matandang 'Sora in the revolution of 1898. Or, like General Agueda Kahabagan Ruiseñor, others fought on the battlefields. Of those who took the field, some aided our heroes, others shared the vicissitudes and perils of the struggle for liberty.

I saw with my own eyes, during the war with the United States in the year 1899, women who fought beside their fathers or their husbands in the advance on Lolomboy. Upon the invitation of Mrs. Aguinaldo, the General's wife, some of us went into the trenches, the first women to form the Filipino Red Cross, to administer relief if needed and to encourage our soldiers with our presence. Pardon me for saying that there was a decided influence on their morale by our sharing their perils. . . .

Likewise I must refer to another incident . . . It was in February of 1899, on the eve of the death of the brave Torres Bugallon. There had been a concentration of troops in Malolos at the summons of President Aguinaldo. The war-panic was spreading everywhere then. None the less, the defenders of liberty were unhesitating, resolute and spirited. They were not counting on victory but they were determined to die in defence of the rights of the fatherland. . . .

At nightfall came the soldiers' mothers and the wives, bearing their babes in their arms. These weepingly implored, beseeched and in every way tried to dissuade the men from their venturesome undertaking, from engaging in unequal combat. . . . And there were many desertions that night.

The attack that had been planned was disastrous for our forces, and after that came disaster after disaster. . . . Then was when I realized the great ascendancy of woman and the decisive influence of her counsels upon the decisions of men, and the depressing result of this influence when the woman was not animated by generous and noble ideals. . . .

Peace came. The disparity of forces was too great and, as I have said, the soldiers were dispirited, and there was such scarcity of war materials that it was necessary for our armies to capitulate. Still there were some intractable spirits whom neither the defeats suffered nor the superiority of the enemy's force could cast down. But their superhuman strength and desperation was suicide rather than heroism. Men and machines of war kept pouring in from across the ocean while in our camps were hunger, lack of munitions, and no reinforcements. To continue the struggle was criminal recklessness, and to no purpose would have annihilated our race. So realized many who acclaimed the armistice because they deemed it more prudent to begin on the work of

re-organization and continue their labors in the shadow of peace for liberty and the recognition of our rights. But such an effort could not be productive of results till there was stable peace throughout the archipelago....

Woman accomplished what armed force could not do. Composed of women, the "Peace League" in August of 1900, initiated by Miss Constanca Poblete and other women who were armed only with faith and good will, succeeded in establishing peace where the machinery of war and superiority in numbers had not enabled the enemy to enforce it.

Once the men had begun on the work of re-organization, our women took up the task of reconstruction, not only in the retirement of the home but also openly in society.

FREEDOM IS TO BE PREFERRED TO EFFICIENCY AND EXPERIENCE IS THE ONLY WAY TO LEARN ITS RIGHT USE

EULOGIO B. RODRIGUEZ

(From an address of the Acting Director of the Philippine Press Bureau before the City Club Luncheon Forum, Washington, D. C., April 21, 1922.)

The happiness of a people must be determined by themselves and not by other people. This is theirs by Divine Right. The governed nation may not be as efficient as the governing nation but efficiency alone is not always the standard of happiness. In no nation has efficiency ever been glorified as in the German Empire. That country nearly wrecked civilization to its very foundation by imposing its rule upon less efficient but free nations of the world, but many nations preferred the happiness of their own rule to German-ruled efficiency and fought to have self rule preserved, however inefficient it might possibly be. Efficiency is admirable, but right thinking men have never deified it. There is the vaunted efficiency of the slave which masters boast, but can it be compared to that efficiency which is the natural endowment of a free people?

The American people value honor and good faith more than efficiency. They recognize the accepted doctrine that once efficiency interferes with liberty, the former has to yield. History has ably demonstrated the lesson that though people may work to secure efficiency yet people will cheerfully sacrifice their lives to secure liberty.

Greater efficiency in the Philippines can be secured by setting the Filipino people on the road to it, leaving them unhampered liberty of action for the

cultivation and exercise of their individuality, initiative and instinct. They do not claim that they can maintain an ideal government little less than perfection. Neither do they assume to even equal the United States in efficiency. They are confident, however, that they are in a position to conduct their own government as satisfactorily and in a manner as acceptable to the world at large as the average independent government of this earth. They recognize the will of the majority which should be the only source of sovereignty; and as Mabini, the brain of the Philippine revolution, says: "The person whom the individual conscience of a whole people designate and proclaim is the only one that can show authority." They have been Christian for the last four centuries under Spanish rule and the experience and training they had in the last quarter of a century under American guidance makes them better fitted to run their affairs than all the Latin-American republics and all the small independent nationalities in Europe recently created by the League of Nations.

It must be recognized that there is but one school in which the precious wisdom of knowing how to use freedom properly can be taught, and in it have been, and are, no text books. For whatever our critics may imagine and Utopians dream, it is experience, and experience alone, that teaches man the right use of his freedom. The theory that a nation must wait until its men have university degrees before it can be trusted with its destinies is either the dishonest handmaid of exploitation or the ingenious imagination of imbecility. Man endowed with freedom will not know how to use it wrongly or rightly until responsibility enlightens him.

THE FILIPINO FLAG

MISS INEZ VILLA

*(From an address before the Filipino Club, Washington. D. C.,
October 30, 1922.)*

The Philippine flag, which for a time waved over our country, was in 1898 lowered by the sovereignty of the United States of America. But it did not mean a deathblow to our national aspiration as that is ever burning in us as long as we live. We believe in the wisdom of the sane supreme power which recognized the justice and right of giving to a people their own flag. On that memorable day of Oct. 30, 1919, the Philippines Flag was hoisted gloriously again all over the far eastern islands. The Filipinos unwearying in the centuries of struggle for justice and liberty voiced their wild joy by exclaiming: "*Viva nuestra Patria! Viva la Bandera Filipina!*"

Countrymen, here is the flag which symbolizes the loyalty, aspiration and sacrifices of our fathers and forefathers who fought and died for our cause. This flag no less symbolizes the achievements by which our country has progressed to twentieth century civilization and government. The restoration of the Philippine Flag was a great landmark in the rise of democracy in the Philippines but the final word must be . . . independence. The last analysis of the rise of democracy in the Philippines is yet incomplete. We have the famous Malolos Constitution which formed the backbone of the short-lived Philippine Republic; we have the Philippine Commission Act of Congress in 1902, giving Filipino representation in the United States Congress; we have the Philippine Assembly which was established in 1907, in which native Filipinos only are elected to occupy seats in the Lower House of the Philippine Legislature; we had another reorganization in the legislature by which the Upper House ceased to be composed of a body of appointed Americans but became a majority of Filipinos, in October, 1913; we have obtained the Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916 now functioning in our government, and finally in 1919 we regained the flag which we are honoring today.

THE LAST TIME OF ASKING FOR PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

REPRESENTATIVE VICENTE SOTTO

(From a speech in the Philippine Legislature, Manila, Nov. 15, 1922.)

I am going to explain, Mr. Speaker, why I propose that "for the last time" entreaty shall be made for Philippine independence.

I have said that I am pessimistic because, after the many, many disillusionments that our American friends have given us since the unforgettable year of 1898, I have come to the sad conclusion that America will never concede us independence by the means that we call "legal" and "peaceful."

For me, the opportunity has passed. Under the Wilson administration was the opportunity for collecting the debt of 1898. Only the Great Unknown knows when we shall have again a Wilson-Harrison regime that will put our final redemption almost within the reach of our hands.

But we must be just. Independence has not come, not alone because the American democrats were unwilling to comply with their repeated promises but also through our fault, through the fault of Filipinos.

Intoxicated with our slight advances and achievements in securing the so-called self-government which the Jones Act granted us, we have slept on

our laurels, forgetting that imperialist Americans might return to power, as in fact they did return, without our democratic friends being able to terminate their labors for the redemption of this country.

A public man, whom personally I esteem, is pointed out by the popular finger as the one chiefly responsible for our national disaster. . . . He wants to continue under his "unipersonal" leadership the work begun "by those who fell in the night" by presenting "a solid front, united, compact, homogeneous". Nevertheless, time and the facts have served to discredit this modern prophet, and Independence, has day by day been becoming more remote till the Sun of Independence, which yesterday was almost within our grasp, now, even with the aid of the most powerful telescopes, is invisible.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE PHILIPPINE PRIVATE SCHOOLS' OPPORTUNITY

DR. JOSE P. LAUREL

(From an address by the Secretary of the Interior, at the 9th Annual Commencement of the University of Manila, 1923.)

Privately endowed institutions must come forward and accept the challenge of educational service on a high plane in the Philippines. It was this same challenge that was met in an open field by Bologna, Oxford, Harvard, and Yale, humble institutions at first but now leading universities of the world. Inaugurated under private initiative and benefactions, our private schools and colleges must find inspiration in the moral support of the people. That moral support exists. Lacking aid from the Government they are born like Minerva, fullgrown, destined to live independently or perish. If they succeed, the success is doubly creditable because attained devoid of governmental or paternal help.

General and broad education must be imparted without losing sight of the fact education must be circumstantial, that is, adapted to the needs and aspirations of the Filipino people. That education must foster, and primarily be in harmony with, the ever growing national consciousness of the people. The training must pledge the students to the service of the future Republic. No pupil should be permitted to leave his Alma Mater without the determination to redeem that pledge when the time comes.

It is not enough that the University of Manila, or any university or school, shall zealously advance learning in all its varied manifestations. No. This university, and any university conceived in true national spirit, must give to

the nation men and women stern, noble, and determined, in whose souls shall be deeply planted and cultivated the obligation of allegiance to the Filipino ideals.

Educational institutions exist not to equip individual students to "out-strip their fellows in the great amphitheater of life. They exist that there may be a purer atmosphere of learning and so that amidst it may be developed capacity for service to the people. Our Universities should be constructive. They must be the inspiring centers of a future republic where the forces that will rule the nation shall be developed,—forces that are to influence society by training and uplifting men and women, and to foster intellectual and moral power and high ideals in our democracy.

Indeed, a university is not merely a store house of knowledge into which are accumulated the fruits of research and the world's culture. Nor should it exist merely to maintain the highest standards of scholarship. As I said on one occasion, a Philippine university should be the vestal keeper of the sacred fire of the Filipino nationality, that fire which is not to die out and be kindled anew, but to be kept burning for ages eternal.

It behooves educational institutions in the Philippines to inculcate in those who come under their beneficent influence, genuine national spirit—Philippine nationality in its political light, and Philippine nationalism in the practical demonstration of all that is genuinely and creditably Filipino; that nationality and that nationalism which both found expression, not only in the iron will of Del Pilar, the obstinacy of Mabini and the patriotism of Rizal, but also in the tenderness and solicitude of Maria Clara and the spirit of sacrifice and sublime patriotism of "Tandang" Sora.

I am not for the conservation of a Filipino type regardless of its deformities or defects. Like a reef amidst an ocean it is subject to the ever advancing waves of what I may call progressive evolution. I cannot, therefore, be amongst those conservative critics who would shun the introduction of foreign practices or customs in the Philippines. Tavera has wisely said: "There are certain civilizations which, by insistently adhering to the preservation of the so-called nation type, have remained stationary, because they have not been able to transcend limits which, voluntarily or involuntarily, have prevented their development. And it is because of this that civilization—that which is characterized by the fact that it always progresses—has no racial, national or artificial boundaries; it is a work possible to all humanity; it is founded upon a knowledge of the laws of nature, and such laws govern the planet in which we live and all the worlds that go to make up this limitless Universe."

THE FILIPINOS' GREATEST JURIST

REPRESENTATIVE CLARO M. RECTO

(From an address at the official service in memory of the first Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, 1923.)

Of Cayetano S. Arellano it may be said with singular propriety: "Humanus sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto". In short, he was an aesthetic man, a subtle scholar, a lord in the only legitimate aristocracy—the aristocracy of wisdom.

The science of divine and human things, the science that arose as the living survivor of the Quirinal and descended from the sacred hill to bathe, under the ruling ensign of the world, all nations of the earth with a stream of light, was not the only science that enchanted the life of our beloved and respected master. Art and philosophy, those high and liberal accomplishments that germinated and flourished in the shadow of the olives and marbles of Ionia, with the attraction and power of their historic prestige, also fascinated his restive spirit, sensitive to all noble suggestion.

But the highest and most noble characteristics which his unique personality portrayed to youth were his strict principles, his sterling qualities, and his humble and simple life. He held, for a period of one decade, the highest judicial office of the country, and at its expiration he retired to private life, greater than ever, but destitute and poor. The wand of Supreme justice did not serve him, as it did Chancellor Bacon, who was a colossus of intellect but abject of heart, to draw veins of gold from the rocks. On the other hand, how many corsairs, disguised as public servants, cruise the troubled waters of our society, with a letter of marque of patriotism! How many have launched themselves into an undertaking and returned loaded with precious booty! How many, like Columbus, have embarked on a voyage possessed of nothing more than their fancies yet returned bringing with them a new world!

He enriched neither himself nor his acquaintances for he was a faithful servant of the people. With the influence and prestige which his high office gave him, he could have secured for his relatives and intimate friends well-paid positions in the official roster, but nepotism was a practice severely condemned by the rectilinear standards of his civism, and he left them, away from bureaucratic parasitism, to battle in the struggle for existence, on their own merits and with personal honesty as their only weapon. It was not because of selfishness but of devotion to principle, for he always shared his bread with the needy who knocked at the door of his generosity and practiced charity in its most elevated forms, silently, without vanity or display, in complete obedience to the well-known precept of the Gospel.

The humbleness of his life and the simplicity of his habits constitute a rare wonder in this age when the showy and the dramatic have become an inseparable appanage in the lives of many public officers. None disdained stupid ostentation and vanity more than he. He never thought of how he should appear before the eyes of the world but of what he should be within himself. He was appointed to the highest judicial office of the nation, not thru the voice of the public, or the allurements of appearances, but upon his real and solid merits, which shone from within like the veins of precious metal in the recesses of mother earth.

A FREE PHILIPPINES WOULD BE AMERICA'S CROWNING GLORY

PRESIDENT CAMILIO OSIAS

(From a Fourth of July Oration, Manila, 1923.)

Our present organic law and our recent record have shifted the burden of proof from those of us who have been advocates of Philippine Independence to those who oppose the immediate granting of it. The highest law-making body of the United States said to us, and we took its words as gospel truth, that American sovereignty shall be withdrawn and Philippine Independence recognized "*as soon as a stable government can be established*" in these Islands. Failure to redeem that promise is, to the Filipinos, nothing short of a denial that a stable government CAN be established in the Philippines. Such a denial is tantamount to a virtual admission that the last two decades of American administration have miserably failed; and if it has been a failure, let us, the nationals, assume that responsibility now and shoulder the task. Fortunately, American administration has succeeded; and if it has been a success, the immediate granting of our independence is the crowning glory and the only justification of America's coming to the Orient. The Filipino people firmly and "solemnly publish and declare" that the hour so long awaited has come. NOW is the appointed time.

A day like this is a day of reaffirmation and consecration—reaffirmation of ideals long cherished and consecration to those ideals and other eternal verities. The Filipino people possess the necessary determination to stabilize our social institutions, our agencies of enlightenment and progress. Our love of, and faith in, the principles of democracy and republicanism so dear to Americans insure their perpetuation in these isles. Our one great asset is our passion for education and progress, a passion so pronounced, so ardent, that

it is equalled only by our passion for freedom and independence. After years of American cooperation and help, we now desire to institute a government of our choice and establish a nation distinct and separate, with a personality of its own. And it cannot be denied that strong nationalities form the bases of a stable internationality. The contentment, the prosperity, the happiness of peoples and nations in their separate lives and functioning are the surest guarantee of the liberty, the progress, and the peace of humanity.

An independent American Republic! That was the supreme ideal of the American colonists and the world pays them homage for having fought, bled, and died for it. An independent Philippine Republic! This, too, constitutes the supreme ideal of the Filipinos. Its early consummation is our collective will. To secure the establishment of a free, independent Philippine Republic, and to work, live, and die to perpetuate it is our individual and national desire and determination. For the realization and support of this platform, we, the ten million Filipinos and more, inspired by the example of America, "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence," pledge to each other our precious lives, our modest fortunes, and our sacred honor.

WHAT IS AN EDUCATED FILIPINO?

DEAN FRANCISCO BENITEZ

(From an address before the General Assembly of the University of the Philippines, Manila, 1923.)

The educated Filipino should, first, be distinguished by the power to do. The Oriental excels in reflective thinking: he is a philosopher. The Occidental is a doer; he manages things, men and affairs. The Filipino of today needs more of this power to translate reflection into action. I believe we are coming more and more to the conviction that no Filipino has the right to be considered educated unless he is prepared and ready to take an active and useful participation in the work, life, and progress of our country, as well as in the progress of the world.

The power to do embraces the ability to produce enough to support oneself and to contribute to the economic development of the Philippines. Undoubtedly, a man may be, and often is, an efficient producer of economic goods and at the same time he may not be educated; but on the other hand, should we consider a man who is utterly unable to support himself and is an economic burden to the society in which he lives as educated merely because he possesses the superficial graces of culture?

I hope no one will understand me as saying that the only sign of service to efficiency is the ability to produce material goods, for useful social participation may take the form of any of the valuable services rendered to society thru such institutions as the home, the school, the church, and the government. The mother, for example, who takes good care of her children, prepares wholesome meals, and trains them in morals and right conduct at home, renders efficient service to the country as well the statesman or the captain of industry. I would not make the power to do the final and only test of the educated Filipino; but I believe that in our present situation it is fundamental and basal.

The educated Filipino, in the second place, should be distinguished not only by his knowledge of the past and current events in the world's progress, but more especially by his knowledge of his race, his people, and his country, and *his love of the truths and ideals* that our people have learned to cherish. Our character, our culture, and our national history, are the core of our national life, and consequently, of our education. I would not have the educated Filipino ignore the culture and history of other lands, but can he afford to be ignorant of the history and culture of his own country and yet call himself educated?

The educated Filipino, in the third place, must have ingrained in his speech and conduct those elements that are everywhere recognized as accompaniments of culture and morality, so that, possessing the capacity for self-entertainment and study, he may not be at the mercy of the pleasures of the senses or a burden to himself when alone.

There are, then, at least, three characteristics which I believe to be the evidence of the educated Filipino—the power to do, to support himself and contribute to the wealth of our people; acquaintance with the world's progress, especially with that of his race, people and community, together with love of our best ideals and traditions; and refined manners and moral conduct, as well as the power of growth.

THE HANDICAP OF NATIONAL DEPENDENCE

DR. MARIA P. MENDOZA-GUAZON

(From the President's address before the Liga Nacional de Damas Filipinas, in Manila, 1923.)

A people, like ours, who for more than three centuries were subject to the Lion of Castile and upon whom, almost in the moment of seeing broken their chains of iron, destiny placed other manacles of gold, could not, nor can it, have the opportunity of other nations.

it is equally free to arouse its national conscience, nor to assume those responsibilities which stimulate to advancement and to production. Nor can its inhabitants cultivate self-confidence or confidence in their countrymen, the qualities of most value whatever the national enterprise.

This is not to be wondered at, since one of nature's fixed laws may be paraphrased: "Accustom anyone from childhood to submission, to concealing his ambitions and to restrain his protests; teach him to imitate everything foreign and to blindly obey;—you will see that his mental faculties do not develop, or, if they have developed, they will atrophy."

THE FILIPINO YOUTH, FAIR HOPE OF THE FATHERLAND; THEIR PERILS AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES

REV. FELIX MANALO

(From an address before the general meeting of the Young People's Society in the Church of Christ, Tondo, Manila, August 11, 1923.)

You are called for the future. The future pins its faith on you as the only ones to shoulder the responsibilities that will be left by our old people. Nobody can be depended upon in the existence of nations, until eternity, except the young people who will carry on the work of tomorrow. Hence, your highest calling embraces the duties you will inherit from our passing ancestors. You are the hopes of to-morrow. The future awaits you; the future needs you.

Many are afraid of the threatened destruction of the world because of debasing tendencies that grip their lives. At the threshold of youth and at the age of knowledge, they could no longer do recognized rights and truths for they are already fettered with countless evils. Though desiring to walk in the path of righteousness, yet the wiles of sin entice them into its power and they become serfs of sorrow, slaves to worry and they are cast to the mercy of wretchedness until their last breath. These are your perils. They must be eluded thru knowledge that points the right way, and you need this knowledge to answer to your calling.

Show your love to Almighty God with all fidelity in deeds of service to His glory. Keep always the torch of truth burning; live the pure life, be clean in all aspects. Accustom yourselves to lovingkindness, but shun selfishness, indulgence, pride, envy and contention with one another. Never allow yourselves to be the instruments of evil. These are your needs to answer to your high calling.

THE PHILIPPINES, AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

REPRESENTATIVE JUAN L. LUNA

(From an address on the campus of the University of the Philippines, his Alma Mater, on Armistice Day, 1923.)

Believing in free principles and in the fundamental issues at stake, the Filipino people during the time that the great war lasted demonstrated undivided loyalty and whole-hearted cooperation with the American people. Thus, with the primary object of helping the United States to win the war, the National Militia was created, and an offer to organize an army of 25,000 men from the youth of the land was made. About 6,000 Filipinos volunteered in the American Navy; about 4,000 insisted upon joining the Army when they could have very well claimed exemption. A submarine and a destroyer were also offered. Furthermore, we contributed over ₱1,000,000 to the Red Cross and we subscribed for ₱40,000,000 to the Liberty Loans.

And what do we expect from the U. S.? Nothing but the practical application of the principles she championed, before, during, and after the war; nothing but the same consideration accorded the then subjugated peoples of the world now declared and recognized as independent nations; nothing but the fulfilment of her repeated promises, as embodied in the solemn declarations of all her presidents since the immortal McKinley and as stated in unmistakable manner in the Jones Law—the recognition of our nationality.

Indeed, if the independence of the Philippines could be secured as one practical application of the principles involved in the war that terminated with the signing of the armistice, how much would it mean for the peace and tranquility of the world. How much more would that crowning achievement add to the prestige and the moral influence of the United States when she again appears before the world as the foremost champion of liberty and of the rights of humanity.

THE MISSION OF FILIPINO PRIVATE SCHOOLS

PRESIDENT APOLINARIO G. DE LOS SANTOS, Ph. and Lit. D.

(From an address at the 10th anniversary of the University of Manila, 1923.)

The great educational problem for the Filipino leader of today is how to maintain the Filipino soul pure, despite the influences that the Anglo-Saxon and Latin cultures exert on our system of education. We shall certainly fail if we do not assert, in our endeavor at educating our youth, our own nationality. While we allow the two mentioned types of culture to play an important role in our educational policy, we must preserve unblemished our national tradition and keep uncorrupted the individuality of our race. We cannot, and we must not, go against the strong current of civilization coming from the West, but at the same time that we follow that current, we should not forget that ours must be a civilization that does not work against Filipinism and one which is in full accord with the aspiration of our people.

Our education must have an aim. It must work for the preservation of all that is great and noble in our race. It must typify our fight for liberty which started the very minute the Spanish conquerors landed on our shores and which will last until our independence, complete and absolute, is attained.

Our schools have a solemn duty to perform. They must maintain alive in the heart of our youth the fire of patriotism that made Rizal, Mabini, Bonifacio, Del Pilar and other Filipino heroes great. Our country does not need schools and colleges which will work ultimately against the very interest of the Filipino people. This is the reason why genuine Filipino institutions of learning must exist and labor to counteract any possible reaction against a culture that must be representative of our race and people. The schools maintained and run by Filipinos must not provide the youth of the land an education which shall make them indifferent to the cause of our nation. We must, above all, instill in the hearts of our young men and young women the love of our country and we must lead and encourage them in their striving for higher education, this being the most potent factor in maintaining a strong nationality.

The country needs schools that turn out not only scientists, professionals and scholars, but also patriots and leaders who can guide our people in their fight for our political and economic emancipation. The real value of an institution of learning is measured by the character of the product it puts out. Its graduates must be exemplary citizens because of their culture, their moral virtues and their civic courage.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE FILIPINOS' ANGLO-SAXON EDUCATION

PROFESSOR CARLOS P. ROMULO

(From an address before the National University convocation, Manila, in December, 1923.)

Because we love our country and want to see it free and answer those who malign our people frankly, straight-from-the-shoulder, in true American fashion, we are called anti-Americans. Anti-Americans! Because we are against the policies of a man who wants to stifle the yearning of our people for complete political emancipation! Anti-Americans! We who have been nurtured in the ideals of true Americanism and love America next to our native land!

In the paradox of these incongruities lies the tragedy of our Anglo-Saxon education. Our ideals are American because our education has revealed to us the grandeur and the heroic proportions of American life. Step by step, from the primary grades to the last rung of our student career, we have been constantly in contact with American ideas of freedom and equality, with American principles and mode of thought. But when we would translate these, our spiritual heritage, into forces that make for our deliverance and emancipation, we are opposed by Americans, misunderstood by Americans, traduced by Americans. Have we, perchance, dramatized their ideals, hoped in them too highly, relied on them too trustingly? Are we a witness to a transfiguration of these ideals, power and pomp and passionate partisanship touching them, to shame and dishonor? These feelings common to us all here must be made vocal, challenging. For if we have in honor followed and believed, we too must in honor question and doubt. Our education has taught us we were before the statues of almost gods; our experience warns us we are before those of mere men. America has opened to us the treasures of her culture and her achievements, but these gifts at this moment are as dust in our hands.

We stand at the cross-roads, uncertain but unafraid, the future imaged forth in our one supreme aspiration to freedom, the present a recession that our faith in America shall not die.

THE HOMAGE TO RIZAL

PROFESSOR LEANDRO H. HERNANDEZ

(From a Rizal Day address in 1923.)

On February 1, 1902, the Philippine Commission enacted Act No. 354 which provided among other things, that "the thirtieth of December shall be a public holiday". Perhaps because of this act and perhaps for other reasons, there are some, especially among our youth, who have come to believe that the people's veneration for Rizal is a thing of recent origin and popular demonstrations to this effect began only with the administration of ex-Governor Taft. Such a belief is, of course, far from the truth.

Among our present day observances, the homage to Rizal is one that has a most genuinely Filipino origin. In fact, it arose in spite of vehement persecution by the Spanish government against Rizalian principles and their advocates and developed in strength with every subsequent year amidst disquieting strifes and disorders. Thus, immediately after, and as a result of, the writing of "Noli Me Tangere", Rizal's name became known far and wide. Subsequently he rose into fame and leadership. The Katipunan revered his name, the leaders of the Revolution drew inspirations from his life, and the people began to observe the day of his execution.

LOVE OF LIBERTY THE FILIPINOS' HERITAGE FROM THE PAST AND BOND OF UNION WITH AMERICA

ATTORNEY FRANCISCO VILLANUEVA, JR.

(From a Rizal Day address in Shanghai, China, Dec. 31, 1923.)

The Filipinos residing in Shanghai who are fortunate to meet the people of the different countries of the world represented in this settlement, take advantage of this opportunity to appeal to all of them for support in behalf of the cause of their country. These are the brethren of those brave and heroic soldiers who many years ago joined the 'Ever Victorious Army' and under the wise command of the gallant American general, Frederick Ward, defended and saved the lives, the liberties and the property of the residents of Shanghai against the outrages of the Taiping rebels. They are gathered here to-night to remember that they belong to a great and noble people.—the

people of José Rizal—, and to proclaim again before the people of China, as their brethren did about thirty-four years ago, in 1888, that it is the will and desire, the aspiration and determination of the Filipino people to be a free and independent nation, to become the sole and absolute ruler of their own destinies.

To you, daughters and sons of the great and powerful Republic of the United States of America, who are residing in China, to you who have learned in your childhood from the lips of your parents that freedom is the most precious gift to human beings, to you who still remember that your people, like my people, were once also kept in condition of subjection, under foreign rule, to you we are asking for help in demanding from your sisters and brethren over seas the granting of the independence of the Philippines. We are appealing to you in the name of your forefathers who died that you may live happily and peacefully, who sacrificed their lives to leave you the legacy of the blessings of liberty and freedom, in the name of your ancestors, whose bravery and patriotism made it possible for future American generations to still continue singing the words:

“My country, ’tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing.”

You must remember that we are loyal to the American Government, that we love the American people, and will stand by the American people so long as that people stand for right and justice, so long as that people stand for liberty and freedom. You must not forget that the granting of Philippine independence, instead of destroying or weakening, will strengthen the bonds of mutual friendship and good will between the Americans and the Filipinos, resulting from the realization of the act of justice of the American people. You must bear in mind that we are mindful and keenly appreciative of the blessings of the American administration. You must know that we admit that your sisters and brethren have performed a very splendid, a most wonderful, disinterested work in our country, that will always be a constant source of gratitude for my people, that we admit that the American administration has helped the Filipinos increase their material progress, their material enlightenment, their material wealth, but, dear friends, we beg to ask you the question that has come ringing down the centuries: “What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?”

Before the fleet of Admiral Dewey arrived in Manila bay, before Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, before the British barons wrested the Great Charter from King John, before Christopher Columbus turned the prow of his vessel toward the west, before Ferdinand Magellan ended his travel around the world and discovered the Philippine Islands, the feeling of liberty had already nestled in the hearts of the Filipinos, nerving them to resist any foreign ruler. GOD HIMSELF linked to our lives the love of freedom, and what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

THE STUDENT'S ALTERNATIVE OF MORALITY WITH SUCCESS IN LIFE AND IMMORAL- ITY WITH FAILURE

REPRESENTATIVE ANTONIO DE LAS ALAS

(From the Acting Speaker's remarks before the Junior House of Representatives, Normal School auditorium, Manila, Feb. 2, 1924.)

All seem to agree that a sense of morality should be inculcated in the young men and women attending our schools. There can be no discussion on this point. The lack of religious spirit, as shown by disorderly and immoral conduct which we hear about from day to day, has been the cause of the ruin and downfall of many capable young men and women from whom much has been expected.

At this very moment, many instances are recurring to my mind of young men who because of their immoral weaknesses have failed to live up to what was expected of them. On the other hand, I can also point out many young men and women not endowed with the same exceptional talent as others who nevertheless are forging ahead and have made of their lives a success. This result is not to be wondered at.

A man whose mind is polluted by immoral thoughts and whose time is taken up by daily midnight strolls only to wake up in the morning tired, haggard and sleepy, absolutely unfit for work during the whole day, cannot possibly perform any worth-while task and surely will not be able to record any creditable achievement. These are generally the young men who pretend to be going to school or doing some work here when, as a matter of fact, they do not, thus committing an offense against their parents.

Whatever success they may attain in the beginning cannot be enduring. Once they begin skylarking in the evening, their worth and efficiency will decline. Soon their conduct will be discovered by their professors or by their chiefs, and as a result, they will be expelled from the school or from the office. They go back to their respective towns, ashamed to face their parents who have made sacrifices for them but still making the people of their town believe that during their stay in Manila, they have acquired something that makes them superior to those who have not been fortunate enough to attend the schools in Manila.

These young men are generally a liability to the community rather than an asset. They are absolutely useless so far as their families and their respective communities are concerned. They cannot help in the solution of public problems because they have not learned enough during their stay in school to enable them to do so. Much less can they help in any productive work such as farming and business as they have acquired the extravagant habit of wearing fine clothes, hating to soil their hands and looking at manual labor as something detestable and dishonorable.

On the other side of the picture, we have instances of young men whose conduct and behavior while attending schools have been beyond reproach. They may not, indeed, be overbrilliant in their class work, and their only commendable quality in the school may be that they devote whole time to their studies. They may not graduate with cum laude, magna cum laude or summa cum laude. Or they may not be able to finish their courses at all on account of financial difficulties. But in spite of all those handicaps, whether they graduate or not, even if they have obtained no scholastic honor, they are nevertheless bound to attain success in life. Much may be expected of them by our country and by their families. They go home less adorned with scholastic honors, but with the preparation, the courage and the firm purpose to undertake the hardest work available. These young men are essential factors in the processes of our national development; they are the ones who devote their time and their energies to such productive industries as commerce and agriculture. Any plan by which we can eliminate the first group of young men that I have described and by which we can encourage the second group, will undoubtedly merit the wholehearted support of all Filipinos who have the welfare of their country at heart.

FILIPINO FAITH IN AMERICAN ALTRUISM

SPEAKER MANUEL ROXAS

(From his address in the Manila Grand Opera House, on his return from an Independence mission, July 19, 1924.)

As sure as night follows the day, the altruistic American nation will redeem her pledge of honor.

That great republic which has disinterestedly worked for the freedom of small nations, maintained the open door policy in China and assured the integrity of this Asiatic country, and liberated Cuba, cannot fail to fulfill her promise to grant us our independence.

It is true that she stands at the parting of the ways—pausing for a moment to think whether to be true to her tradition or to follow the career of dominion. But I am fully confident that she will not break faith with the founders of what is now the greatest democracy on earth.

A TRIBUTE TO THE SUBLIME PARALYTIC

TEODORO M. KALAW

(Former Secretary of the Interior and present Executive Secretary of the Independence Commission.)

There have been critical moments in the history of our country since the days of the Conquest. Entire regions have been shaken by catastrophes. Political commotions, reigns of terror, riots and uprising; an invading army seizing the government of the city; Church and State arrayed against each other, with a governor-general assassinated in his palace; three virtuous priests executed on the gallows for defending justice; but none of these events has been so important, so decisive in the destiny of our race, as that supreme moment in August '96, when Andrés Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto, at the head of their men, commended themselves to God, went forth to do battle and faced death in the cause of the liberty of their people.

Jacinto's was an intellectually superior part in those first days. He prepared the organization. He synthesized the political ideal. He laid down the rules of conduct. He legitimized bloodshed by the saving grace of aspiration. Take the *Cartilla* away from the *Katipunan* and you have nothing left but a mere uprising. But, take the two together and judge the movement by its purpose, by its ideal, such as Jacinto conceived it, and you have a struggle for freedom, a political and social movement portentous in the history of the

world,—a scheme for an ideal organization seemingly transplanted from the minds of the reformers of old, and based on the dignity of labor, the recognition of women, the morality of private life, social equality, brotherhood of men, humanity, patriotism, and freedom of the country.

Neither Jacinto's literature nor his mentality was original. He received his inspiration from Rizal and Del Pilar, who were the forerunners of the Revolution; from Freemasonry, of which he was an ardent disciple; and from the French Revolution, his model. He was a man moulded by the circumstances. He knew how to take advantage of the political doctrines he was reading and the sad lesson of his people. That was all, and it made of him a beautiful democratic figure which the tide of the revolution bore aloft to serve as a spiritual torch to the restless masses. And when he assumed the part of a mentor he did it in so worthy a manner that he saved the Venerable Society from the criticism of the profane and the slanders of the detractors.

The movement so worthily initiated grew and ended in an equally worthy and noble manner. Several months elapsed. Aguinaldo replaced Bonifacio. Mabini replaced Jacinto. The scattered hosts resumed their stations. It was no longer the *Katipunan*, confined to the Tagalog provinces, flying its red flag with the sun and the lone K in the center; it was now the Revolution of an entire people rising like one man, with the leadership of a president and the moral guidance of a legislature. It was the ephemeral republic founded in the frenzy of victory to give to the new citizens a law, a fatherland, a nationality.

It would be difficult to point out in the history of human accomplishments so great a mission in a situation so pregnant with reverses and perils. The bonds which had bound the country to Spain for centuries had been suddenly broken; the Spanish government was being destroyed piecemeal; the laws which had so long been governing the customs, were suspended or at least disputed; the communities went without firmly established authority; the people were in arms against visible or invisible foes; war was threatening, and everywhere the newly emancipated were celebrating with unbridled joy the liberty they had just won. A chaos, a catastrophe, seemed imminent. Then the creative genius of Apolinario Mabini came to the rescue as if Providence had called him to bring order out of chaos, light out of darkness, harmony out of confusion, in order to guide us with the light of his writings on the path beset with death, to steady our vacillating courage, to restrain unbridled enthusiasm, to appeal to reflection and sense of responsibility, in short, to prepare that simple, but efficient administration which was noteworthy on account of its thorough adaptation to the requirements of those critical times.

It is, therefore, not strange that some have christened him the *Brain of the Revolution*, while others have named him the *Sublime Paralytic*, and that all consider him the greatest civil glory of our Republic. It would not be astonishing, either, if some day a more careful historian will compile his articles of faith and his organic plans and decrees, group them together into a *Code of Liberty* and show to the world the type of a Malay statesman of gigantic mentality, attained without previous experience, without academic political culture; great because of his sagacity and foresight, and powerful because of his strength, his firmness and his patriotism.

There is none, perhaps, among the great figures of our Revolution who was more prominent, one who excited either anger or admiration, implacable enmity or unconditional support. Neither the Spaniards nor the Americans ever had a more formidable foe and at the same time a more loyal friend. In Aguinaldo's counsels he represented indomitable tenacity, open fierceness, supreme authority. He had his own view of the situation and presented his program of government thus: a president with absolute powers; a representative Congress acting in an advisory capacity; a local government to suppress anarchy; a diplomatic service abroad working for the recognition of independence; a disciplined army in the service of the Revolution; strict morality; and ultimately *independence or death*.

He followed this dogma to the letter while he was with the government. He was charged as an absolutist, while others called him Aguinaldo's *black cabinet*. Many pointed him out as an enemy of individual liberty and many more blamed him for the failure of the diplomatic negotiations. But the fact is that both in and out of the government, the people continued to listen to him as if he were their oracle, and Filipinos, Americans and Spaniards alike rendered tribute to him as the eminent spokesman for the cause of the Revolution.

True, we may say he was rather an absolutist in those days; but, who would not establish an imperative rule under abnormal circumstance? Who would not conceive of a plan of unity when classes swayed from discipline to anarchy, from concerted action to dispersion? This reveals to us why his unshaken firmness stood like a Gibraltar in the midst of the hopes and fears and troubles of his time. But when he traced his program for the times of peace, when he theorized on fundamental points of political philosophy, as he did in his admirable essay on the three powers of the State, nothing remained of the absolutist Mabini, for we see instead the most decided champion of popular government and democracy.

He had the gifts of frankness, sincerity, and loyalty, something which seems impossible in a statesman of his type. He therefore encountered many

adversaries with whom he had heated contests on the field of polemics. In this class of struggle he distinguished himself by his peerless dialectics, a deadly weapon which he wielded with skill and precision, displaying simultaneously solidity of argument, simplicity and clearness of diction, and gentlemanly pulchritude. And, while incidentally speaking of his literary style, let me state that although his words were uttered during epochs rife with impassioned disputes and political and religious hatred, he never lost the virtues of serenity of tone, simplicity of form, and purity of intention, as contrasted with other writers even of our time, whose effusions, "decked out in beads and war-paint like Apaches," resemble far more a philippic than a prayer to Liberty.

Mabini bequeathed to posterity a few prophecies nearly all of which have come true. He predicted that the theory of annexation would be a myth, an impossibility. He predicted that the ideal of independence would become more and more firmly established in the hearts of the people, crowding out the dream of annexation. He predicted that a government of Filipinos aided by Americans would be a provisionally satisfactory plan until the recognition of independence. And, finally, he predicted, that the independence of the Philippines was not the aim, but only the means of the Revolution, the aim of the Revolution being the social emancipation of the whole Malayan race.

Mabini's name has been chiselled and engraved in stone and bronze in the province he adored. His name has been given to streets and squares and his picture is seen everywhere side by side with Rizal's and Del Pilar's. His memory will endure in all hearts so long as we have a country to love. And if the Filipinos of the future, especially in case the Islands should then still be under foreign tutelage, ever seek a source of supreme inspiration in the moral greatness of an iron will, in the ardent zeal of a revolutionary, or in the omnipotence of a victorious constructive genius, let them gaze at the figure of the Sublime Paralytic, the irresistible, the colossal, the triumphant.

(STUDENT PRIZE WINNERS)

THE FILIPINO SOLDIER

FRANCISCO M. AFRICA

(In the Sixth Annual Oratorical Contest of the College of Law, U. P. 1917.)

What has been the accomplishment of the Filipino soldier? History hardly records his valiant deeds on the fields of battle. Yet the Philippine Nation is vocal with hymns of praise of his heroism. The world knows little of his suffering before the cruel miasma of death. Yet you—youths of my generation—you have idolized many a hero of your blood and your tongues,

have proudly uttered the names of your gallant countrymen who nobly died fighting for your sake! You—who love your native land—you have dearly treasured in your bosoms the sacred examples of the martyrs of your cause to be transmitted to generations yet unborn! Ask the solitary nook of Tila Pass; ask the sanguinary field of Balintawak; ask the glorious field of Bagumbayan, and they will all tell you that they have been the witnesses of the flight of many souls to their Creator for the defense of the sacred rights and liberties given them by Almighty God!

THE FILIPINO WOMAN'S BEST GIFT TO HER COUNTRY

JOSEFA ABIERTAS

*(First prize-winning oration in the First Annual Oratorical Contest of the
Philippine Law School, March 18, 1917.)*

As a daughter of the Philippines, as a part of the Filipino people, a Filipino woman can never be justified in being a mere spectator to the drama of life that is played within the four corners of her country. What affects her country, affects her own self. Therefore, let her come out on the stage of Philippine affairs and let her play the part of a heroine for it is only in doing so that she can be considered as bringing her best gifts to the altar of the land she loves.

In this age of such enlightenment, I presume, no Filipino man or woman who is endowed with good mental perception, can ever conceive the idea of such a thing as "standing still", or stagnation, for a country. Our highly adored Philippines must either go forward or slide backward, or it must rise triumphantly upward or fall ignominiously downward and be once more under the sway of some cruel hand. Of course, we all wish to see her lifted up into the atmosphere of progress and dignity. But how can this be done? How can our wishing be transformed into having? Unless there is an equal force of interest, courage and patriotism from both our men and women to push the Philippines upward, unless the women, too, of our country are willing to set their hands upon the plow which would dig up the weeds of ignorance, laziness, selfishness and superstition from the minds of the majority of our people, in short, unless the Filipino women are willing to condescend and make themselves "pillars instead of pinnacles, aids instead of idols" of these Islands, the Philippines will never thrive nor climb the heights for which her patriotic sons have struggled for years.

One of the best gifts that a Filipino woman can give her country, is her untiring and unremitting effort to help mitigate the deplorable condition of her less fortunate countrymen and to rear up from the cradle in her home children who are to be the bright prospects of the coming generation.

THE ADVENT OF PEACE

DIONISIO DE LEON

*(First honors in the Seventh Annual Oratorical Contest of the College of Law,
University of the Philippines, December 13, 1918.)*

The surrender of Germany has given relief and thrill to the suffering heart of humanity, but it can not and will not fully accomplish the very purpose for which the world has sacrificed millions of lives. The cessation of hostilities is not the primordial end; it is only a means to an end. The whole task is not yet completed. Paradoxical as it may seem, now is the most momentous hour for this generation; now is the time which decides whether or not the world has fought in vain.

Out of the international chaos we have just gone through, there must be reared a new international order. Where wrongs were done, they must be repaired; where restraint was hitherto placed, it must be loosened; from the "Calvary of suffering through which humanity has passed, there must be born a new world, purified by sacrifice, ennobled by tribulation." In other words, there must be peace—a stable and enduring peace based upon generosity and justice; there must be English liberty for the Englishmen, French liberty for the Frenchmen, Belgian liberty for the Belgians; Italian liberty for the Italians, American liberty for the Americans, and may I add, Filipino liberty for the Filipinos.

This is the most momentous task of the hour. It was our very avowed aim and the very issue involved in the war. There must be no shirking of it.

THE FILIPINO FLAG'S RESURRECTION

CORNELIO BALMACEDA

*(Honorable mention in Ninth Annual Oratorical Contest of College of Law,
University of the Philippines, January, 1920.)*

Two months ago, the rebirth of a historic flag was hailed with patriotic jubilation by the entire Filipino nation. It was the flag of our fathers, and our flag, that we lifted once again to the breeze,—lifted it from a seclusion that for twelve years we have so solemnly guarded in the deepest tomb of our memories. That was a solemn and joyful day, a day of devout thanksgiving in every corner of our land. From the barren shores of the Batanes to the palm-clad hills of Jolo, eleven million souls hailed the event with the common cry, "Behold our flag!" Still fresh in our memories is the recollection of that touching and pathetic moment, when at this same spot thousands of human faces were gathered, straining their anxious and eager eyes, waiting for the blessed hour when again their beloved ensign was unfurled.

And we still exult in the glorious memory of that day. We exult "not for temper, but for conscience," not for the triumph of any one party or individual, but for the glory of a national cause. For who doubts the great significance of the event? Who sees not in that unfolding banner the promise of a grander day for the Filipino race?

A PLEA FOR CLEAN PUBLIC ELECTIONS

JULIO NALUNDASAN

(First prize winner in Second Annual Oratorical Contest of the Philippine Law School, February 29, 1920.)

The right of the general body of the people to choose their own rulers is the foundation of an enduring representative government; and so if we ever aspire to have our governmental edifice strong and massive, able to withstand the tumult of the tempest and the violence of the storm, we must strengthen and solidify its very foundation. For, even if its superstructure may attain the height of power and magnificence, dazzling the world with its radiance, if its cornerstone is founded on weak sands, it will certainly be doomed to failure and such effulgence will finally vanish into bitter oblivion,—destined to rise nevermore. It is then pre-eminently important that utmost care and diligence should be taken in the exercise of such a right. Our elections should

be free and honest and be without the slightest taint of prejudice and malice. Above all, we must act with patriotic wisdom and look with keen vision beyond the narrow horizon of our shallow and transient personal interests into the region of our true national greatness. When our elections are of this character, our public officials are true representatives of the people and their legislations and policies fairly reflect the people's will; we may then expect to be well governed, the victory of our cause is assured and our heroes who gallantly shed their blood on the battlefield will not have died in vain.

PLARIDEL THE IMMORTAL

JOSE N. TOPACIO

(First honors, Third Annual Oratorical Contest of the Philippine Law School, February 27, 1921.)

Four decades ago the condition of our country was an ignominious malediction rather than a blissful benediction. In the broad sunshine of modern democracy it seems, indeed, an inconceivable era—a benighted past when political bigotry and religious intolerance were rampant; when freedom of thought meant martyrdom and liberty of speech was a crime; when love of country meant filibusterism and the vindication of the sovereign rights of the people was conducive to banishment or death. Such was the spirit of that intolerable age under which lived and toiled, sacrificed and died, a glorious galaxy of Filipino heroes and martyrs in whose valorous deeds are vividly reflected the inherent ideals of your virile race, a race that never believed in the sovereignty of iniquitous despots and ruthless tyrants but ever since time immemorial has nobly struggled for an independent democratic government, a rule of law and virtue where the rights of men are forever enthroned; where liberty, equality and justice reign supreme and inviolate.

BEWARE OF THE SO-CALLED CIVILIZATION

FELIPE MONCADA

(First prize in First Annual Oratorical Contest of the College of Law, University of Manila, March 4, 1922.)

Today we are passing through a social transition the effects of which, whether beneficial or otherwise, will accrue to posterity. The Philippines today is the scene of a live contention for mastery on the part of two distinct and potential civilization—one flowing from continental Europe with the dig-

nity and splendor of its past; and another from the Anglo-Saxon countries, of recent birth but vigorous and influential. These two cultures, by fatality it seems, converged and blended themselves in this country, inundating its whole length and breadth and invading all the departments of our national domestic life. The invasion is an alarming one; the flood is threatening. The waves are propelled by the iconoclastic hand of time and they are now lapping the crests of our mountains as they have already buried the plains beneath. This is a test prerequisite to the existence of nations and states, if you please. It must either survive the test, ever strong and vigorous, or perish in the deluge and be reduced into an unknown quantity in terms of nationality. Whether we shall perish or stand the test depends on how we take civilization and its varied manifestations and forms.

AMERICA SHALL NEVER FORGET

NATALIO M. BALBOA

(First prize in Fourth Annual Oratorical Contest of Philippine Law School, March 5, 1922)

Why should we part from America; why all this cry for an independent Philippines? Why all these clamours, these bickerings and murmurs? Are we not satisfied and contented? My friends, liberty is the very lifeblood of all peoples. It is the sublimest patrimony of the living. For what is this transitory life if man groans under the shackles of dependence. What are all these earthly riches and fading vanities if you and I are denied the blessings of a free and independent existence? No, we can not live thus. The greatest Weaver of the Universe has so ordained, that we shall be free men. As in the happy days of yore "he would raise armies to fight our battle for us." It cannot be possible that we were born subjugated, live subjugated and shall die subjugated. If America herself fought and bled for her freedom she could not be astonished at the deafening cry of Ireland's sons, India's fanatics and Philippine patriots. If she obtained and maintained her political independence thru blood and fire, she could not regret the slightest if the Filipino people would follow her example. Liberty is really so sacred, so precious, so sublime that it can only be obtained at the cost of the blood of kings and peasants, of patriots and tyrants, of martyrs and oppressors mingled together. Seek the folios and volumes of history, inquire of the vaulting heavens above if you could point to a people who obtained their political independence thru peaceful means. Ah! it is obtained by force, thru the fiery sparks of arms, in the thick and heat of battle and in the horrible exuberance.

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