

Speech of the speaker of the Philippine Assembly at San Miguel de Mayumo, Bulacan, P. I. May 7, 1910

Osmeña, Sergio, 1878-1961.

Manila : Bureau of printing, 1911.

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/miun.ahm8963.0001.001>



Public Domain in the United States

http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-us

We have determined this work to be in the public domain in the United States of America. It may not be in the public domain in other countries. Copies are provided as a preservation service. Particularly outside of the United States, persons receiving copies should make appropriate efforts to determine the copyright status of the work in their country and use the work accordingly. It is possible that current copyright holders, heirs or the estate of the authors of individual portions of the work, such as illustrations or photographs, assert copyrights over these portions. Depending on the nature of subsequent use that is made, additional rights may need to be obtained independently of anything we can address.

J. Hayden

Wm. A. ...
Philippine Co.

1910
3

SPEECH
OF THE
SPEAKER OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY
AT
SAN MIGUEL DE MAYUMO, BULACAN, P. I.
MAY 7, 1910



MANILA
BUREAU OF PRINTING
1911

103510

Generated on 2024-07-08 23:22 GMT / https://hdl.handle.net/2027/miu.ahm8963.0001.001
Public Domain in the United States / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#pd-us

SPEECH
OF THE
SPEAKER OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY
AT
SAN MIGUEL DE MAYUMO, BULACAN, P. I.
MAY 7, 1910



MANILA
BUREAU OF PRINTING
1911

103510

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Preamble :	
Our country's symbol.....	6
Purpose of the banquet.....	7
Retrospective glance	8
Our flag	9
The Filipino people.....	10
The ideal lives	10
The Philippine Assembly.....	11
The work of our people.....	11
The trustee of the ideal.....	11
The struggle for the right.....	12
Difficulties	12
With dignity and valor.....	13
Rapid organization	13
Parliamentary rules	14
Powers decentralized	15
The Speaker in America.....	15
The Speaker in the Philippines.....	15
Equality and freedom of all members.....	16
Impartiality of the Chair.....	16
Love for popular institutions.....	17
Work of the First Assembly :	
Organic laws	19
Agriculture	19
Public instruction	20
Public works	21
Laws relating to local governments.....	21
Political work	22
National tendencies	23
Declaration of independence.....	23
Faith in the Assembly.....	23

	Page.
Work of the Second Assembly.....	24
Election of the Speaker.....	24
Special committees	24
Public instruction	25
Other laws	25
Appropriation bills	26
Ports, rivers, and roads.....	27
Bills not approved by the Commission—	
Dapitan reservation	27
Remission of delinquent penalties.....	27
Irrigation bill	27
Fiftieth anniversary of Doctor Rizal.....	28
One more step toward autonomy.....	28
Chinese Expulsion Bill :	
Let us reason calmly.....	29
Division of the matter.....	30
Foreigners inimical to public order.....	30
Conclusions	30
Authorities	31
The Supreme Court sanctions the expulsion.....	31
The moral side.....	32
International aspect	32
The fundamental reason of the Assembly.....	33
Relations between the executive and legislative powers	33
The precedent which has been established.....	34
Additional power for the Assembly; less power for the Executive	34
English precedents and liberties.....	35
Filipinos can not be deported.....	35
The need for men and for energy.....	36
Let us make an effort.....	36
Toward the crest.....	37
Action calls for union.....	38
Fundamental questions	38
Political concentration	38
Conclusion	39
The culture of Bulacan.....	39
Philippine hospitality	40
It is an earnest of our nationality.....	40
Even for our enemies.....	41
Greeting: Thanks	41

[TRANSLATION.]

**SPEECH DELIVERED BY HONORABLE SERGIO OS-
MEÑA, SPEAKER OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEM-
BLY, AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HIS HONOR
BY THE PEOPLE OF SAN MIGUEL DE MAYUMO,
PROVINCE OF BULACAN, ON THE 7TH OF MAY,
1910.**

[On rising the Speaker received an ovation from the people lasting several minutes.]

PREAMBLE.

Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen:

Permit me, though unassuming and unworthy, to accept your hearty and ringing applause. I shall not do here what I did on a recent date in Malolos, where, I need hardly say, I was received as I have been received everywhere, with that loving hospitality which is legendary of the Archipelago. I will not now do what I then did in the former capital of the Philippine Republic, and put to one side the flowers of kindness and devotion offered to me by a people as cultured and as brotherly as your own, because I thought them a tribute superior by far to my little worth and insufficiency. To-day I must needs receive the unequivocal proofs of your support and sympathy in order to present them, with all the fervent enthusiasm with which you have dedicated them to me, to the Filipino woman. [Applause.]

And I do this not only because this splendid banquet is adorned by the best and most precious human ornament, but also chiefly because life requires a symbol, and in the midst of the immense and cumbrous caravan into which our destiny has incorporated us, as said by the fourth speaker this afternoon,¹ we have need of a symbol of our own as we march wearily across the desert toward that crest so fervently desired and not yet attained. On this occasion and at this instant the best symbol of our ideal, the best symbol of our country, the pure, the exalted symbol that is above all meanness, that the mud of base passions can not spatter; the symbol that is safe from all and beyond all, and that can not inspire by its tenderness, by its affections, and by its beauty aught but respect, veneration, and love, is the Filipino woman.

OUR COUNTRY'S SYMBOL.

That is why so many beautiful sentiments, which have given a sympathetic tone of harmony to this feast, have burst forth this afternoon. What grand memories have been evoked here: the ideals of that glorious revolution in which a brave colonel,² now with us, took part, to the pride of the Province of Bulacan and to the honor of all Filipinos; the fruitful sacrifices of that yesterday to which a native of this town, who may with reason be called a veteran politician,³ has just cast a retrospective glance; that yesterday which sowed liberty; that yesterday so closely bound up with to-day—that to-day is but a child of that yesterday; all these things: so beautiful, so human, so grand, that have been brought up this

¹ Sr. Del Rosario.

² Sr. Tecson.

³ Sr. Buencamino.

afternoon in this house of the people and that have been thrust upon me, let me, I urge you once more, render with all my heart and with all my soul to the Filipino woman as the symbol of our country. [Applause. Bravo!]

PURPOSE OF THE BANQUET.

Once more it becomes incumbent upon us to acknowledge the uncommon ability of our municipal president who, from what we see, could to our advantage substitute me as Speaker of the Assembly. When he invited me to this banquet he emphasized its purpose, which was no other than to afford an opportunity to the people of San Miguel de Mayumo to thank the Assembly—and I sincerely believe that the thanks are due to it and not to me—for the benefits recently received by the Province of Bulacan. The president added that the banquet would not be political and that there would not even be any speeches, or if there were any, politics would not be mentioned. But I see that, on the contrary, this banquet is a highly political one, and I shall have need in speaking to have before me the notes that I have taken down while listening to the nine speeches that have been made, to say nothing of the other ten humorous and lively speeches with which this meeting has been seasoned by the president-toastmaster. By what has been said at this banquet we have been attracted, willingly or unwillingly, to certain important problems of the present, the study of which requires time and patience. I really regret it, as it may happen that the amiable smiles of the beautiful women who give brilliance by their presence to this meeting may be turned into pouts of vexation when instead of some good and even piquant digestive

we take in after this Lucullan dinner a heavy and insipid political dissertation.

What the people of San Miguel probably want is that public affairs shall be publicly discussed. Undoubtedly what they would have is that serious business shall not be dealt with in a spirit of buffoonery, and that, instead of the gloom of the darkness or of the secluded place, the house of the people be chosen as the proper place in which to bring up for calm discussion all public questions, in order that without wanting in the mutual respect and affection that the natives of one undivided country owe to one another and in the clear light of day such questions may receive the vivifying currents of ideas freely and quietly.

I see that I have divined your thought and, under the protection of your indulgence, I shall proceed.

BETROSPECTIVE GLANCE.

It is really impossible to be in Bulacan, in this atmosphere made ardent by the fire of a land in which patriotic fervor is at the boiling point rather than by the heat of the sky, without remembering our heroes. Welcomed be the homage of sympathy, of love, and of affection, timely sent by one of the distinguished orators of this afternoon to those who fell during the night of our country. We can not forget them. They fell in the brave fight. They perished in the hard struggle. They fought for us. Let us remember with religious respect what was said by the best of these heroes in the face of that sacrifice and death exacted that the nation might live: "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 light of a new day, and seeing it do not forget those who fell during the night." [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen, we are here rather than to pay homage to a man—for no one, much less I, deserves such homage—to link the present with the past and to find in that indissoluble bond the firmest base for a future which it is our duty to conquer. We are here to remember that we do not belong only to the present, but that we are a part of a great people, the Filipino people, who, enlightened in the past amongst the great martyrdoms of its children, struggled, as it is now struggling, for a free and independent existence. [Applause.]

OUR FLAG.

Those times are gone, and I ask that a kindly veil be drawn over the past, over the tears and the blood, over the heroes and martyrs. But in looking back on the past, forgive me if I evoke a memory which I can not repress and that has me in bond. Compassion neither masters nor strangles patriotism. We emerged from the great catastrophe, the remains of which have fed a world of institutions and of things, and have now met at this fraternal feast, and in our present joys, in the midst of this abundance of sentiment and of other things that your foresight has gathered for this sumptuous banquet, I note that the one thing which we would all like to see: that ensign as beloved as it is glorious, which our brothers defended, is not here—the Filipino flag. I note this want chiefly because, though you do not know it, I was your guest during the hard days now past, and I saw the sacrosanct flag wave in this very town. I was,

without your wishing it, an eyewitness of the patriotic efforts of the Province of Bulacan, of those epic legends that have passed into history. For our consolation we still have alive to this day, despite all our struggles and all our disappointments, during the misfortunes which our people have suffered, those great ideals which were the soul and life of that flag. [Applause.]

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

We fell, it is true, in the struggle; those who died fell; we also fell who by our ill fortune did not die in the endeavor. We did not conquer arms by arms; but when ours fell, poor and weak, in the midst of that great disaster in which confusion narrowed the horizon between obscurity and agony, in which it appeared that the end of the world was at hand and that we should all disappear, there arose never to fall again a people: The Filipino people. [Applause.]

THE IDEAL LIVES.

Those arms fell, undone and broken, amid the dust and tumult of the battle; but they had written a fundamental code for us and had announced to the world, supported by those inalienable rights of nature many times revealed in the light of revolutions, that here, under the sky that shelters the cradle and the sepulcher of Rizal, there is a people, there lives an idea; that yesterday as to-day we are here, the survivors of the great catastrophe, to defend that idea; that yesterday, 'tis true, we fell in the struggle, but that ideal, which did not fall yesterday, stands to-day and will continue to live. [Applause.]

THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

THE WORK OF OUR PEOPLE.

The impetus given by the revolution to the work for national liberty was felt during the war as well as after it. During the war, the revolution produced, among other things, the pact of Biak-na-bat6 which, as a distinguished gentleman¹ has said but a few moments ago, opened the door to belligerency for us. During peace, the most precious fruit of the Philippine revolution has been the Philippine Assembly. The establishment of the Philippine Assembly was not an isolated, much less casual, fact. Its casual cause was the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, but its true cause is lost among the gloomy mists of that past over which we have cast a retrospective glance. The Assembly was not the result of a fatality, but the work of our men, of those men who, as a thinker has said, having lost faith in justice on this earth, after exhausting all of the resources of their intelligence, turned their eyes toward heaven, and commending their cause to God, took up arms. The bloody sacrifice in the unequal struggle which terminated in disaster to the Filipino arms was not in vain; nor were the national aspirations lost in the vacuum. As the revolution was not the work of one man nor of any particular set of men but of the entire Filipino people, the ideal which remained unimpaired after the war now requires the existence not of one man, but of an institution which shall perpetuate its life through new dangers and difficulties.

THE TRUSTEE OF THE IDEAL.

This institution has been the Philippine Assembly. This Assembly, which was inaugurated on the 16th of

¹ Sr. Buencamino.

October, 1907, was born of the blood and tears that burst forth in abundance in the past. The Philippine Assembly is nothing but the child of the Philippine revolution. For that reason I militate among those who maintain that no man of the Philippine revolution, who is proud of the fact, who is worthy of himself, who is loyal to his ideas, can knowingly attack the Philippine Assembly. I was not in the active service of that revolution, for not having taken up arms I simply consecrated my intelligence and my pen, instead of my arms, to it; but be sure that, member or no member of the Philippine Assembly, now and in future, by every means, I shall defend with all my strength the Philippine Assembly. [Applause.]

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT.

If the door to belligerency was opened by the pact of Biak-na-bat6, with the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly the door was closed upon the era of blood. The war having ended, the struggle, taking a new shape but supporting the same purposes, invaded the field of thought, the field of law, the field of right. Its most appropriate pale has been the Philippine Assembly.

DIFFICULTIES.

What difficulties, what afflictions weighed down the shoulders of the first members of the Assembly? The history of all parliaments will answer this question for me. The first difficulty which had to be met was organization, and in our country we did not find adequate parliamentary precedents. The minds of the first Delegates were weighed down by the history of the South American republics, which appeared to them as a formidable threat, as there certain failures in the operation

of republican institutions have been attributed to the lack of parliamentary precedents. The very recent experience of a people akin to ourselves, the Cubans, was not encouraging. I now give you the following fact: the first Delegates to the Assembly, during those critical moments in the life of their country, were absolutely left to their own efforts.

WITH DIGNITY AND VALOR.

The problem was attacked with dignity and valor. Petty grudges and those differences that are the necessary outcome of every election were thrust to one side. Among all the practical sense of a people aspiring to organize a government of their own prevailed; the idea that we were all brothers and that the risk we ran, whatever the party in which we militated, was the same for all, was also shared by all. Mutual agreement was established by means of toleration, and the support that all gave one another saved the situation. Contrary to expectations, each gave way something to the others. So that the Philippine Assembly was able to start where other popular bodies have ended, working, from the very start, in a practical and common effort. That Assembly was convinced that parliamentary work consists in co-operation and not in obstruction, and that he who, under the cloak of a misunderstood independence of opinion, is not disposed to give way to another nor to accept even a reasonable idea other than his own, may be an excellent cacique, but not a good Delegate.

RAPID ORGANIZATION.

In this way the Philippine Assembly was able to organize quickly. It took immediate action and so, when on the 17th of October, 1907, that is to say, the day

after the solemn and formal opening of that body by the Secretary of War in the name of the President of the United States, the said Secretary made the suggestion that oath of office of the Speaker be taken by the Chief Justice, the answer given him was that the suggestion was good, but could no longer be acted upon in view of the fact that the Speaker and all of the Delegates had already taken the oath of office and had terminated the organization, adopted rules, and had performed all other acts inherent to the organization of the Assembly. The First Philippine Assembly was organized in forty minutes.

PARLIAMENTARY RULES.

The Second Philippine Assembly has accepted in their entirety the organization and rules of the First Philippine Assembly. This being so, it is profitable for us to consider certain powers the exercise of which is decisive in the dispatch of legislative business. Such a study will determine the degree of responsibility assumed by each member of the Assembly. Although rapidly, it is our duty to deal particularly with this point; first, because the current of criticism—generally from sources suspected of partiality—has been at times directed against the Speaker and the Assembly for the procedure followed; and, secondly, because said procedure, in so far as it more directly affects the Speaker, has been recently discussed with some warmth and interest in the Congress of the United States, and, as is well known, our organization is based on that of the said Congress.

The rules of the Philippine Assembly are analogous to the rules of the American House of Representatives during the fifty-ninth Congress. The rules of said Congress date from the revision made during the fifty-first

Congress. During the present session of Congress the question of the organization of the House has again been brought forward and, in the great battle over his functions, the Speaker of the House has not had the best of it. He has been despoiled of important powers.

POWERS DECENTRALIZED.

With profound satisfaction I am able to say that the foresight of the First Philippine Assembly had solved the same difficulty, before it presented itself here. In our country the conflict that has arisen in the United States by reason of the organization of the House of Representatives can not arise. Our rules have always been applied on a basis of decentralization. I deeply regret my inability under the rules to please some people who, wishing to be my detractors, turn out to be my strongest supporters. It has at times been said that I am a little Cæsar in the Lower House, and although scepters and crowns—I speak in a figurative sense—are given only to those who show by their initiative and energy that they have the will to do something, I regret that I was long since despoiled of royal attributes. [Laughter.]

THE SPEAKER IN AMERICA.

I invoke the testimony of the American gentleman here present in order to tell you the rules, as adopted by the fifty-ninth United States Congress and as applied in that country, grant to the Speaker an almost absolute power in legislation.

THE SPEAKER IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Now then, when we organized the First Assembly, the adoption of the fundamental part of the American rules was not effected with any other purpose than that

of having the Speaker apply them in a prudent and liberal manner. The vote of confidence given to the Speaker was used only to decentralize all of the powers of the Lower House, and to confer them upon the members rather than upon the Speaker, in such a way, that from our First Assembly to the present time I have not presided over the Committee on Rules, which has the control in the order of the dispatch of business, but said committee has been presided over by another member of the Assembly. Considering our organization and our practice, the Speaker duly shares his responsibility and his duties with each and every one of the members of the Assembly.

EQUALITY AND FREEDOM OF ALL OF THE MEMBERS.

The alleged tyranny of the Speaker or of the majority against the minority of our Assembly has not passed beyond the category of an unrealizable dream often cherished by the heated imaginations of our ex officio critics. The plain and naked truth is that each member of the Lower House has always been recognized whenever he has asked for the floor. Another undeniable fact is that the political affiliation of a Delegate has never been a requisite to assure him absolute freedom, but the Speaker has at all times recognized him as a Delegate and accorded to him just and fair treatment. Up to the present, every matter reported upon by a committee has been presented in the Assembly, and the freedom of speech and of the vote, under the rules, has never been restricted.

IMPARTIALITY OF THE CHAIR.

I would dwell more at length upon this point if I had more time, and if I did not fear to abuse your

indulgence. Furthermore, an amiable diner has just sent me a copy of *El Ideal*, a Nationalist newspaper published in Manila, marked with a blue pencil, which contains the important declarations made by the president of the Progresista Party on the 4th instant. It appears that Sr. Del Rosario is not alone in his kindly opinion, although he did not vote for me and I like him none the less for it, of the work of the Assembly as expressed by him this afternoon. Sr. Singson, the president referred to by *El Ideal*, declares openly and positively that the Speaker has at all times treated the minority justly and impartially.

All that has been said is a short answer to certain accusations sometimes directed against the Speaker without regard to the fact that their exaggerated form and the notorious falsity of the facts alleged as a basis causes them to be entirely discredited. The Speaker of the Assembly does not use, much less abuse, the powers that have been entrusted to him: his responsibility is as duly limited as his powers are restricted.

LOVE OF POPULAR INSTITUTIONS.

Let it not, however, be understood from what I have said, that I am trying to shirk any sort of responsibility affecting the Lower House, whether it weighs upon me or not. To those who are pleased to combat the Assembly I say that I am disposed to assume that responsibility and a great deal more. I idolize popular institutions, I love the Philippine Assembly as I cherish an independent existence for our country. I am one of those who believe that a public man owes a great deal to the efforts of others and that, however much he may

be considered to be worth, he is really worth nothing. In comparison with great ideas and great institutions man does not count. For this reason if the Filipino people should ever have cause to censure the Philippine Assembly for any action considered as inadvisable and prejudicial, and in fixing the responsibility should desire to find a target for their criticisms, I offer this breast which, though weak, is filled with love for the people and ready to receive all of the darts and all of the invectives. I would impose no conditions, but would only say that first and foremost the principles and institutions of the people must be saved; the Philippine Assembly must be saved, for, as has been well said this afternoon by the representative of the young people,¹ it is the legitimate trustee of the ideals of the people, and it is our imperative duty to strengthen its hold and promote its fame.

WORK OF THE FIRST ASSEMBLY.

If we had time, this would be the occasion to review the work of the First Philippine Assembly. But it is 2.45 p. m., and, while I am unwilling to take advantage of your indulgence in giving me your attention, I know that some gentlemen representing different provinces have come here to take part in this feast and must return by this afternoon's train. It is therefore impossible to make even a superficial examination of the legislation passed, and I invite you only to go rapidly over the laws that have been enacted somewhat after the fashion of the railway traveler who sees the panorama without comprehending all of its details.

¹ Sr. Maniqués.

ORGANIC LAWS.

In the first place, the Assembly employed part of its time in the enactment of those laws which win renown to legislative bodies, even to the oldest and best organized, and which are called constructive or organic laws. We were the first to undertake the establishment of an agricultural bank to aid farmers, and it was the Assembly that increased the facilities for communication by the construction of new railway lines and the granting of a franchise for the installation of telegraph and telephone lines in some of the provinces. Certain titles to mining properties were investigated and confirmed; the very important question of the establishment of irrigation systems was resolutely entered into; and, with the purpose of facilitating a clear understanding of the laws and of making them more stable, the initial step was taken in their codification, by the creation of a Code Committee and the definition of its duties.

AGRICULTURE.

In the special department of agriculture measures were adopted for perfecting titles by prescription, and the Assembly, having become fully cognizant of the pressing necessity for making the thousands and thousands of landholders who have been in the occupation of their lands actually or by inheritance from their forefathers for centuries absolute owners in their own right and legally as they are in fact of the said lands that have been watered with the honest sweat of generations of fathers and sons, gave facilities for proving title and, as far as possible, made the acquisition of title gratuitous. It did not forget that the principal obstacle

in the way of agricultural development, now almost at a standstill, has been the destruction of work animals by epizootics, and in ordering the construction of cattle quarantine stations it at the same time appropriated large sums for combating rinderpest. It abolished the 1 per cent tax on unassessed property which, let it be said in passing, was a land tax larger than the assessment itself, and in order to make the assessment fair and just, it provided means to modify excessive assessments. In order to assure a just price for sugar, the sugar-testing laboratory was established.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In public instruction its action was as broad as education itself, embracing rapidly everything from the creation of a Philippine University to the construction of barrio schoolhouses. Assistance was given to the School of Medicine by authorizing a bond issue; and, as tending to assure it a future of its own, it adopted provisions for an increase in the number of Filipino teachers by the Government assistance given to advanced pupils from the provinces. It promoted the advancement of the present municipal teachers by creating a special superior class for them; it definitely established the teaching of nurses, and, responding to the sacrifices of the people, who have denied nothing to the development of education, it authorized the transfer of Insular realty to schools. It established the foundations for a budget more in keeping with the conditions prevailing in the country, and it held out a hand to the forgotten laborer, who, since the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly and never before, has been recognized in his social and political aspects by the inclusion of the 1st of May

among the official holidays; it created a Bureau of Labor and enacted the law of accident liability for the protection of laborers.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Public works especially roads, which in a certain way return to the people the taxes paid for their construction, were made extensive to the provinces.

LAWS RELATING TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

Many other laws were enacted during the First Philippine Assembly, and if there were time I would explain, amongst them, some which affect the provinces and municipalities. I will point out the following: The law authorizing the transfer of real property of the Insular Government to provinces and municipalities; the law canceling the debts of provinces and municipalities, amounting to some ₱800,000; that which extends the time for the payment of penalties on delinquent taxes; that which provides for the giving of popular lectures of a civic and educational character; that which awards a prize to the inventor of a fireproof roof to substitute nipa advantageously (nipa to the present time is the only available material for roofing the houses of the poor); that which extends the free cutting of timber to timber of the first group; that which obliges municipal councils to bring their ordinances to the direct knowledge of the people by having them translated into the local dialects; that which for the first time gives women a place on school boards; that which provides for the relief of distress resulting from public calamities; that which gives the people a share in the government of the city of Manila by the election of two

councilors; that which creates the office of free counselor for the poor; that which extends the time for the adoption of English as the official language; that which subjects all laws to an adequate promulgation; those which make certain provisions relating to the customs, archives, justices of the peace, etc.

POLITICAL WORK.

There is not time even to enunciate the titles of other laws enacted; but I shall finish this part of my speech without referring to certain laws and other acts of the Lower House which, so to speak, show the political affiliation of the Assembly. One of the duties of the Assembly is to undertake by itself to fix the standard of the country's future. It has not forgotten this duty even for one instant, in spite of the arduous labor imposed upon it by its legislative duties properly speaking, including the preparation of an appropriation act that in all countries is a work requiring great intelligence and much time. Acting under parliamentary rules, without violating those principles of law which mark out the relations between the two branches of a legislative body and determine the bounds within which the Lower House may properly develop its functions—a violation of which would not only have been fruitless, but would have brought upon the Filipino people failure and ridicule—it took advantage of every opportunity to express the constant and unshaken will of the people to possess all of the attributes of a free and sovereign nation. And so it was that, despite its ineludible recognition of the law as constituted, the Assembly opposed to the extent of its powers the enactment of the Payne Bill, considered by Filipinos as prejudicial to the

national cause. It thus proved by irrefutable evidence that the acceptance of the present state of things by the people is but relative, and, within the limits of the law, such acceptance ends just where the people believe that there are dangers to their welfare and their liberties or that attempts are being made upon them.

NATIONAL TENDENCIES.

The national tendencies of the Assembly are specially evidenced in the law declaring the 30th of December as Rizal Day; in the law providing for the erection of that monument to Filipino heroes, called the National Pantheon; in the law authorizing the construction of the National Capitol, which is, as it were, the material concrete symbol of popular sovereignty, and in the law creating the National Library to preserve therein all that has been ours or is ours or that belongs to the history of our land.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The aspiration and tendencies of the Assembly are also made patent in an unequivocal manner in the declaration of independence of the 19th of June, 1908, confirming the declaration made by the Filipino people at the outbreak of the revolution. Made by the duly elected representatives of the people, it has the same value as the declaration of a plebiscite, especially as it was supported by nearly all of the municipalities and other political bodies of the Archipelago. [Applause.]

FAITH IN THE ASSEMBLY.

I gather from your attitude that you approve wholly the work that has been done by the First Philippine Assembly. Two conventions of provincial governors

unanimously resolved to support the Assembly. The Filipino people, in the last general elections, also ratified its confidence in the Assembly.

WORK OF THE SECOND ASSEMBLY.

ELECTION OF THE SPEAKER.

We will now enter upon the examination of the work accomplished by the Second Philippine Assembly which inaugurated its sessions on the 28th of last March. On the same day the Speaker was elected and its organization completed. As the Assembly had been convoked in special session, it was obliged to circumscribe its attention to certain specified subjects. Having been Speaker of the First Assembly, the work of which has been sanctioned by the people, I am able to say to you that the members of the Second Assembly, of which I am also Speaker, have performed their duties during the recent session with the same zeal, ability, and patriotism as the first Delegates. The terms of the call for the special session were broad in the extreme and sufficient to take up the attention of an Assembly for at least ninety days. But the call was for a twenty-day session only. Notwithstanding this, and despite the fact that the Second Philippine Assembly was to meet for the first time, and would necessarily take some time to organize, it was able to take under consideration all of the matters submitted to it by the Chief Executive.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES.

The organization of the Second Philippine Assembly was the same as that of the former Assembly. The Speaker designated special committees, five of which took over the appropriation bills. The magnitude of

some of the matters considered required from ten to twelve hours work on the part of the committees. The Assembly in twenty short days was able to enact twenty-three bills, twenty of which have been approved by the Commission.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

In the matter of public instruction, after covering an important deficit from last year, provision was made for the enlargement of the Philippine University by the establishment of the Colleges of Engineering and of Science and Letters. Two laws were newly enacted appropriating money for the training of teachers, one relating to municipal teachers and the other to pupils in provincial schools. Many applications under the Gabaldón Act were pending, and in order to remove every obstacle and to facilitate the construction of schools in the barrios, an Act amending Act No. 1801 was passed. By another Act the nursing service was transferred to the Bureau of Health.

OTHER LAWS.

On general affairs, several laws were enacted for the following purposes:

To provide for the filing of a certain railway mortgage deed.

To transfer the Bureau of Agriculture to the Department of Public Instruction.

To provide for the enlistment of the personnel of the Bureau of Navigation.

To establish a sanitarium at Sibul, improve a part of this district of San Miguel de Mayumo, and to insure, by the construction of a good road between San Miguel and Manila, the coming to the springs of thousands of

sick who seek its waters every year from all parts of the Archipelago.

To fix at 1½ per cent, instead of 2 per cent, the tax rate of the city of Manila.

To appropriate funds for the relief of distress in public calamities.

To extend for an additional period of five years the free cutting of timber.

To facilitate the completion of certain improvements in the port of Cebu.

APPROPRIATION BILLS.

Notwithstanding the short time at its disposal, the Assembly did not permit it to be understood that it renounced the least part of its powers and would allow the Act of Congress to operate in default of a new appropriation act. Bound by the iron ring of certain organic laws, which could not be amended during the recent special session, the committees on appropriation undertook their labors with faith and courage. The new appropriations have to do principally with public instruction, providing some ₱150,000 to increase the miserable pay of municipal teachers and to give the Bureau of Agriculture money with which to undertake an efficacious campaign against rinderpest.

PORTS, RIVERS, AND ROADS.

In the Act providing for public works ₱200,000 have been appropriated for interprovincial roads. The million and a half appropriated by the First Assembly for roads has remained intact.

Other important bills are the following: That which extends the powers of provinces; that which provides

for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Doctor Rizal; that which provides for a national reservation at Dapitan, where Rizal was deported; that which remits penalties on delinquent land and cedula taxes; and the irrigation bill.

BILLS NOT APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION.

DAPITAN RESERVATION.

The last three bills were not accepted by the Commission. You will remember very well that Rizal was exiled to Dapitan. By the side of his little house Rizal placed a school. And in the midst of that solitary retirement, he thought that world of ideas of liberty and of justice to the Philippines that subsequently led to his martyrdom. The place has been neglected heretofore, and the purpose of the Assembly bill was to reserve it to national uses. The Commission did not object to the substance of the law, which it had to acknowledge was just, but refused to concur with the Assembly for the reason that the proposed law dealt with a territory which is not subject to our legislative jurisdiction.

REMISSION OF DELINQUENT PENALTIES; IRRIGATION BILL.

The proposed remission of the penalties on delinquent land and cedula taxes was like an echo of so many people who are unable to pay them, not for lack of willingness on their part but for want of money. This bill met the same fate as the irrigation bill. Day and night, during the twenty days of session, a special committee devoted its entire attention to the preparation of this latter bill. It was extensively discussed in the Assembly, and after its adoption by the Lower House it was not accepted by the Commission. The bill is a

lengthy one and involves in its sections some important questions. The Commission made certain propositions at the conference committee, which it solicited, and the Assembly, believing that it correctly interpreted the feelings of the people and was acting in defense of their interests, rejected the propositions made. At any rate, I believe that the Assembly did its duty.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF DOCTOR RIZAL.

The assembly bill, which was accepted by the Commission, providing for the solemn celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Doctor Rizal, requires no explanation. I believe that the Filipino people will be satisfied with any manifestation of sympathy and of acknowledgment and respect for his memory and virtues. The celebration, which will be general throughout the Archipelago, will be held on the 19th of June of next year.

ONE MORE STEP TOWARD AUTONOMY.

The most important of the laws passed during the special session is, without doubt, on account of the step it takes and the tendency it supports, the law extending the powers of provincial boards. During six or seven years of American administration, the only step toward autonomy and popular control in the provinces was made during the year 1906. It was the reform work of the first convention of provincial governors, to which I had the honor to belong as governor of the Province of Cebu. After a struggle, the Commission then approved two laws, one of which gave a popular majority to provincial boards, while the other granted them new powers. These powers have now been extended and refer among other things, to the power to

suspend, during a certain time and under certain conditions, penalties on delinquent land and cedula taxes. Unquestionably this step was a step forward.

THE BILL ON THE EXPULSION OF THE CHINESE.

It is now late, and yet I have to give you an account of a matter that has already been referred to this afternoon by some of the gentlemen who have preceded me in addressing you. Being a matter of current interest, it has been taken up in various ways, and I can not but feel glad at the good humor awakened in you by the playful question of the Old Man of San Miguel, Sr. Buencamino, when he turned to you and demanded why you took so seriously a question which affected some Chinese disturbers of the peace who had absolutely no moral defense, when you should be thinking of what is really to your interest, namely, the reduction of the taxes. I must deal with this matter seriously, and I regret that time is not so elastic as is your favor. This place is by all means appropriate and my hearers are numerous and intelligent.

LET US REASON CALMLY.

In a place like this is where such questions should be dealt with and laid bare without excitement, which serves only to obfuscate reason and confuse the ideas. The gravity of this matter will not allow of its being dealt with in secret or as mystery, nor in any way other than publicly and face to face, in order that all of us may have an opportunity of properly weighing the arguments with the courage of the man who will not seek to elude the conclusion, but rather to find out what it is and be guided thereby. Did I not fear to make this meeting

interminable, I would ask you to examine certain authorities on international law, certain modern legislation, and, with our legislative precedents, the reports of our own courts.

DIVISION OF THE MATTER.

It will be sufficient for my purpose to examine briefly this matter under the following heads: (a) the question of expulsion in its essence; (b) its moral aspect; (c) its international aspect; (d) the parliamentary precedent; and (e) the question in relation with the Filipinos.

I admit that it is very difficult briefly to consider a question to which a great importance has been attempted to be given; but time is precious and this matter is becoming too lengthy. I shall try to give a synthetic presentation of the arguments.

FOREIGNERS INIMICAL TO PUBLIC ORDER.

The bill referred to is now law, and is numbered Act 1988. Its discussion brings up, in the first place, the important question of the power of the Chief Executive to expel a foreigner inimical to public order. An examination of the laws of different countries, court reports, and the opinions of authorities leads us to the following conclusions:

CONCLUSIONS.

The executive can order the expulsion of any foreigner whose conduct menaces the public order;

This power is based on the principle of territorial sovereignty;

By virtue of this principle, the sovereign of a State can not be made subject to civil jurisdiction for acts per-

formed as head of the State, even when such acts might harm the rights of private citizens;

These principles are sanctioned by international law and recognized by nearly all modern legislation;

Countries that have no special legislation on the matter have been governed by the same principles;

As there is no special law in the Philippines relative to the case, the question of the power of the Executive to expel foreigners from the Philippine Islands, in behalf of public order, must be decided on the general principles of international law;

The opinion of the legislator, however, as found in legislative precedents of the Philippines, is expressed in favor of the international principle, and

The opinion of the courts has been expressed in a like sense.

AUTHORITIES.

The development of these conclusions may consume many hours. Not having more than one-half hour, permit me to make two requests: First, that we take it for granted that we have read the innumerable citations which, from among other authors and laws, are furnished in our favor by Fiore, Martens, Neuman, Mangin, Portalis, Azcárate, Santamaría, Hegel, and the legislation of Spain, Argentine, Honduras, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Denmark, etc.; and, second, that you listen to the following words of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, in denying relief against the expulsion of a certain foreigner:

“Superior to the law which protects personal liberty, and the agreements which exist between nations for their own interest and for the benefit of their respective subjects is the supreme and fundamental right of each

State to self-preservation and the integrity of its dominion and its sovereignty. Therefore it is not strange that this right should be exercised in a sovereign manner by the executive power, to which is especially entrusted in the very nature of things the preservation of so essential a right without interference on the part of the judicial power. If it can not be denied that under normal circumstances when foreigners are present in the country the sovereign power has the right to take all necessary precautions to prevent such foreigners from imperiling the public safety, and to apply repressive measures in case they should abuse the hospitality extended them, neither can we shut our eyes to the fact that there may be danger to personal liberty and international liberty if to the executive branch of the Government there should be conceded absolutely the power to order the expulsion of foreigners by means of summary and discretionary proceedings; nevertheless, the greater part of modern laws, notwithstanding these objections, have sanctioned the maxim that the expulsion of foreigners is a political measure and that the executive power may expel without appeal any person whose presence tends to disturb the public peace."

THE MORAL SIDE.

As to the moral aspect of the question, all agree that the measure was justified in view of the character of the foreigners expelled and that the preservation of order, against which the presence of said foreigners constituted a menace, is a supreme duty of the executive power.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECT.

The petition of the Chinese consul and the silence of the Washington and Peking Governments make the

present discussion of this matter in relation to law which, with more or less reason, either of the Governments affected might invoke, unnecessary.

Let us now leave this which, referring to the essence of the question, directly affects the Executive. Although the complete separation of powers advocated by Montesquieu and accepted by the authors of the American Constitution, is not a fact in the Philippines, there is some independence amongst us and that independence marks the line separating our different responsibilities.

Let us leave the Governor-General his own responsibilities, as he will know how to defend himself if the time comes, and let us turn our attention to the Assembly.

THE FUNDAMENTAL REASON OF THE ASSEMBLY.

The Assembly, in view of the message from the Executive, of course presumed that the allegations of the Chief Executive were true and confirmed his action on a fundamental motive.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

The Assembly wished to put on record a precedent in favor of the powers of the Filipino people. A close study of the relations between the executive power and the legislative bodies of all countries, shows us that, except in the United States, the action of the executive power is subjected to intervention of the legislative branch of government. In America the executive power is not found to be subject to the legislative power. In all countries the legislative power regulates administrative

action. In America the only bridle on the almost absolute power of the administration is impeachment, that is to say, the indictment and removal of an officer for absolute corruption or illegal procedure.

THE PRECEDENT WHICH HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

With these antecedents, the value of the precedent established in the case under consideration can be judged. Probably for the first time in the history of America, the American Chief Executive voluntarily strips himself of his high powers and addresses himself to the Legislature—that here has a very much more limited power, no one doubts, than in the United States—submitting himself to its action and control. Now tell me, if you are not guided by prejudice and if you are really willing to extend the powers of the Assembly what would you have done in our place? You would have done just as we did. [Applause.]

ADDITIONAL POWER FOR THE ASSEMBLY; LESS POWER FOR THE EXECUTIVE.

Your applause encourages me to proceed. Hereafter the Assembly will have certain powers over the Governor-General that can not be denied. Even without impeachment proceedings, that do not hold good among us, even though the Executive in the Philippines have powers almost extraordinary, even though the powers of the Assembly by very limited, it is now established by virtue of this precedent, that the Executive in the Philippines must give account of certain of his acts to the Assembly and must submit those acts to its sanction. It is not the Assembly that has submitted; it is the Executive

who has placed himself under the sanction of the Assembly. The Assembly has abdicated none of its powers. On the contrary, it has extended them at the cost of, and in restraint of, those of the Executive. [Applause.]

ENGLISH PRECEDENTS AND LIBERTIES.

Your constant manifestations of approval relieve me from dwelling more at length on this point. Permit me, however, to call your attention to the fact that similar acts in the English House of Commons have not imperiled the liberties of the people, but, on the contrary, have made them stronger and more secure.

FILIPINOS CAN NOT BE DEPORTED.

The last vestige of doubt, if any remains in your mind, can easily be banished by force of the most simple reasoning. The doubts sown in the minds of the common people by preachments that—I will not say were spoken in bad faith, but which, in my judgment, are as ill considered as they are erroneous—have created the bogey of deportation. In the first place, this is not a case of deportation, but simply of repatriation, in which some Chinamen have been returned to their own country. I do not think that even our most altruistic Chinophiles can be so unmindful of their own affairs, in their interest for those of other people and in their anxiety to defend the latter, as to go to the length of affirming that this country of Rizal is not our country, but belong to Chinese, and, worst of all, not to a desirable class of Chinese, but to a class that is execrated, from all appearances, by their own countrymen. In the second place, as the law is applicable to foreigners only, it can not be applied to Filipinos. In the third place, if there unfortunately

be any executive power to deport Filipinos, under the law enacted the doors to this dreaded deportation will be effectually closed. While the Governor-General would surely come to grief if he deported a Filipino and submitted his action to the approval of the Philippine Assembly, the Assembly has now the right to legislate in the matter, and I can not doubt that it will do so in the interests of law and of the Filipinos, as the Governor-General and the Commission can not fail to realize. So sure am I that under the law enacted no Filipino can be deported, that I offer to accompany any Filipino who may have the misfortune to be deported. [Applause.]

THE NEED OF MEN AND OF ENERGY.

LET US MAKE AN EFFORT.

Let us rest a little to catch our breath, gather strength, and finish. The road has been long, heavy, filled with obstructions, but not to such an extent that the eye is unable to view it from beginning to end.

The vision of the crest is clear. Let us recapitulate
* * *

When we came from Manila to San Miguel; when we crossed the Sibul Hills near this town; when we ascended to the historic Biak-na-bat6; visited the cave of Madlum, the Corona Mountains, or any other interesting part of these beloved places, it was necessary for us to gather our strength, to exert some energy. And so it is with every climb, however small. Now the crest of independence is very much higher than all of our mountains put together and will require from us, as we attempt to scale it, our most powerful and constant energy. That is why we must economize our activ-

ity and our strength. We must economize our men. We have no surplus strength. No patriot is superfluous in our country: all of the Filipinos are needed in this gigantic struggle for liberty and right that we have set our heart upon. What we most need is to unite all of our forces in order to reach the top, to scale the crest.

TOWARD THE CREST.

In the past we needed all our men and all our energies. We need the same men and the same energies in the present struggle, more difficult than the past one. And here, we will reply in passing, to the question of an eloquent orator this afternoon who, feeling somewhat pessimistic over the spectacles that some people are so bent in making, asked, How are we to reach the summit? It is true that at times we are as if blind, and it appears that we are then impelled rather by unconscious force than by reason, and are dragged down rather than led up, as happens when instead of uniting we separate, and, instead of building up, seize the pickax and blindly, madly begin the work of tearing down; but these manifestations are only momentary, and at times necessary. They show that there is a struggle and sooner or later there must be a vigorous forward movement. You must know that a people needs just such setbacks and difficulties to strengthen their character, and if it were otherwise with them people would not love liberty, they would never come to appreciate the value of the precious treasure of independence. [Applause.] It is a trite saying that the life of man is a constant sacrifice. The beginning of life is very sad, for it opens not with a joyful dawn, but with lamentations. And the life of a people is much sadder;

their entry into the world much more painful. Like a child they also cry; but when they cry it is not tears, but blood, that is shed. [Applause.]

ACTION CALLS FOR UNION.

I trust that these same difficulties will convince you that we must unite and that only by uniting our efforts here and elsewhere can our action be effective and complete. I think that it may be said that the Assembly has advanced a good deal during the few years of its existence; but it should advance more. The question for us is to know how to take advantage of the impulse that has already been given and to run no risk of stoppages or setbacks that are sometimes fatal. By ill-considered actions, not to say by want of patriotism, as it is best not to suppose such want in anyone, we run the risk of losing in a moment all that we have won in a long time and by many sacrifices.

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS.

Along with other problems inherent to our development, there will soon be presented in America certain very fundamental questions which require for their satisfactory solution that the Filipinos be united and not divided.

POLITICAL CONCENTRATION.

Fortunately we are on the road to concentration which is so necessary in political groups that, having some affinity, should tend toward homogeneity of thought and action; and there is not the least indication that we shall forget the painful lesson experience has taught us that without cohesion, mutual assistance, a common understanding, and separated from one another we shall

lose our way, blot out our course and be entitled only to disappointment and failure.

CONCLUSION.

THE CULTURE OF BULACAN.

Now, I would say a few words in which to thank you profoundly for the signal demonstration of cordial sympathy, consideration and sincere appreciation with which you have treated us this afternoon. I am proud to say, without in the least reflecting upon what has here been done, that these amiable displays of kindness and culture are not a new thing either in San Miguel, or in Malolos, or in any other part of this hospitable Province of Bulacan. It seems that something to the contrary has been said; but I would say to those who attempt in vain to make a grotesque caricature of their own people that they would be no gentlemen did they fail to acknowledge that in this sister province I have not found during the twelve or fourteen days that I have resided in it other than generous hearts, worthy and honorable spirits, cultured intellects ready at all times to look into a thing, to seek the truth and in no way disposed to act with prejudice, to proceed without reflection, to condemn without a hearing.

Want of hospitality is unknown in Bulacan. The momentary eclipse following the material fall of our beloved republic, whose capital was at one time in one of the pueblos of this province, did not succeed in bringing within its shadow the exquisite culture of the province of Marcelo del Pilar. And we must all thank God that it was so, for had it not been so, we, who desire to restore the republic, who wish to take our seat among civilized nations, what assurances of respect could we offer to the foreigner, if we did not respect one another?

Would this not sound the death knell to the noble sentiments of our people, the pure and legitimate ambitions of our life?

PHILIPPINE HOSPITALITY.

I am very glad to be amongst you, because this piece of Philippine ground, in all that is good, noble, and generous, is no exception to the rest of our common country. Consider what happens even in the most remote places; in the humblest cabin hidden by the forest. At nightfall a Filipino comes upon it: he is not questioned when asked to enter whether he is vested with authority, if he is rich, or if he can show that he is a representative of the people. And not only is this true of a Filipino, but a foreigner is entitled to the same hospitality. Even an enemy has a claim upon it. The doors of the humble home are passed, and a part of the small stock of boiled rice is set aside for the visitor. The asylum given is absolute, and if to the Englishman his house is his castle, to the Filipino his house is his guest's, who can be easy and secure in another man's dwelling because he is under the safeguard of Philippine hospitality. He who will not recognize this rare virtue, which even foreigners acknowledge who are enemies of our race, insults our people.

IT IS AN EARNEST OF OUR NATIONALITY.

As I have said on another occasion, Philippine hospitality is such that it serves as an earnest of our nationality. If we are individually hospitable, this indicates that when we shall have our independent government we shall as a people be able to offer hospitality to other and foreign peoples.

EVEN FOR OUR ENEMIES.

In this province signal proofs have been given which can not be forgotten. In full time of war, when passions ran highest, and when smoke and blood were as a sinister bandage to the eyes and might harden the heart, there was no lack of hospitality to the enemies who fell into your hands as prisoners. Mount Corona is a mute witness to this fact. If the Province of Bulacan, in the midst of armed conflict, was able to save the good name of the province and the good name of the Filipino people, and was hospitable under those conditions, it is now far, far more so.

GREETING: THANKS.

To all of the inhabitants of Bulacan I send my most affectionate greeting.

To the municipality of San Miguel, my most profound thanks. [Ringing and continuous applause.]

