



VANGUARD FOR FREEDOM

LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF MARCELO H. DEL PILAR

By Epifanio de los Santos





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BLANGKO ANG PAHINANG ITO.



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AKLAT PLARIDELINA 4

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HINDI IPINAGBIBILI. Magagamit nang libre ang libro sa mga pag-aaral at pagtuturo ng búhay at mga akda ni Marcelo H. del Pilar sa Araling Panlipunan, Kasaysayan, at mga kaugnay na asignatura.

PASASALAMAT kina Jaime A. FlorCruz na nag-iingat ng kompletong koleksiyon ng pahayagang *Plaridel*; Virgilio S. Almario, Pambansang Alagad ng Sining, sa payo at suhestiyon; Alma C. Miclat sa pagpapahiram ng kopya ng *La Solidaridad* (Español at Ingles); at Angela de Castro sa disenyo ng sagisag ng Plaridelina.

PAGKILALA sa tulong at pagpapalakas-loob ng mga sumusunod: Digital Collection ng Miguel Benavidez Library ng Unibersidad ng Santo Tomas; Museo ni Marcelo H. del Pilar ng Pambansang Komisyon Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas (NHCP); SHINE Bulacan (Sustainable Heritage Imbibing Nationalism through Education); Panlalawigang Tanggapan sa Kasaysayan, Sining, Kultura, at Turismo (PHACTO); Bahay Saliksikan ng Bulacan ng Bulacan State University; at KABESERA Samahang Pangkalinangan ng Bulakan.

PATNUGUTANG PLARIDELINA

Adelfa P. de la Fuente, Dee Anne Katrine Tampuz, *mga kawaksi*

Edilberto D. Larin, Jr., Alexander E. Aguinaldo, *mga kasangguni*

Mervin Concepcion Vergara, *puno sa sinig at disenyo*

Perfecto T. Martin, *punong patnugot*

Ipagkakaloob ng Plaridelina ang ISBN at CIP Data kung hihilingin.

BAGO BASAHIN

Ang talambuhay na ito sa Ingles ni Marcelo H. del Pilar, sinulat ni Epifanio de los Santos, ay nalathala sa limang isyu ng *Revista Filipina / The Philippine Review* (Volume V, 1920):

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Binigyan namin ng bagong pamagat ang edisyong ito ng Aklat Plaridelina: *Vanguard for Freedom, Life and Writings of Marcelo H. del Pilar*.

Marcelo H. del Pilar

EPÍFANIO DE LOS SANTOS.

(PLARIDEL)

I

PRÓLOGO

ALLÁ por los años de 1889 o 90, Blumentritt remitió autógrafos de Del Pilar al cónsul alemán Herr Langerbruch quien, accediendo a los deseos de Blumentritt, emitió la siguiente opinión acerca del carácter de Del Pilar: "Tiene carácter guerrero; zorro; tiene mucha energía y gran talento para saltar; bondad; intrépido; ambicioso; no tiene consideraciones si se trata de hacer algo de gravedad." Coincide con esta opinión, en parte, la que Mariano Ponce escribió en el periódico *La Independencia* (1896) y que el malogrado bibliófilo Zulueta había acotado en su bosquejo biográfico de Del Pilar. "Protagonista incansable, curtido en las luchas políticas, formidable en los ataques y en las defensas, cetero en sus golpes de pluma, inquebrantable en sus argumentos, cuyo saber y poderosa inteligencia eran respetados hasta de los mismos enemigos a quienes derrotaba más de una vez en pacífica lid del pensamiento." Para el General Blanco, Marcelo H. del Pilar era el más temible de los políticos filipinos: *el más inteligente, el verdadero serbo de los separatistas, muy superior a Rizal*. Tal es el hombre cuya vida y hechos apuntaremos.

II

DATOS BIOGRÁFICOS Y DEPORTACIÓN FRUSTRADA DE DEL PILAR

Marcelo H. del Pilar nació en 30 de Agosto de 1850 en el lugar denominado Cupang, del barrio de San Nicolás, municipio de Bulacan, antiguamente cabecera de la provincia de este nombre. Fueron sus padres Don Julián H. del Pilar, excelente gramático, hablante y poeta tagalo, y Doña Blas Gasmaytan, familiarmente llamada *Bisitas*. Don Julián fue tres veces Gobernadorcillo del pueblo de Bulacan, después, Oficial de Mesa del Alcalde Mayor de la provincia. Poseía el matrimonio terrenos palayeros, azucareros, algunas pesquerías y un molino de sangre; pero como de él nacieron diez hijos, a saber: Toribio (presbítero deportado en 1872 a Marianas), Fernando, Andrés, Donato, Estanislao, Juan, Hilario (casado con Decadato Arellano), Valentín, Marcelo y María, y la hijuala de cada uno sería bien poca. Del Pilar renunció a la suya en beneficio de sus hermanos.

El apellido de familia era Hilario, pero, por el decreto de Clavería de 1849, hubo de añadirse el de Del Pilar, apellido de la abuela. Y como la partícula *del*, que precede al apellido de la madre, indica nobleza de origen, no sería mucho decir que la familia, de aboleño, pertenecía a la nobleza tagala, o descendía de los antiguos régulos tagalos.

M. H. del Pilar comenzó sus estudios en el Colegio del Sr. Flores, pasó luego al de San José, y de aquí, a la Universidad de Santo Tomás. Una desavenencia por cuestiones de derechos bautismales con el Cura de San Miguel, Manila, hacia el 69 o 70, produjo un paro sensible de ocho años en el curso de su carrera, la de Jurisprudencia. Logró licenciarse, al fin, en 1880.

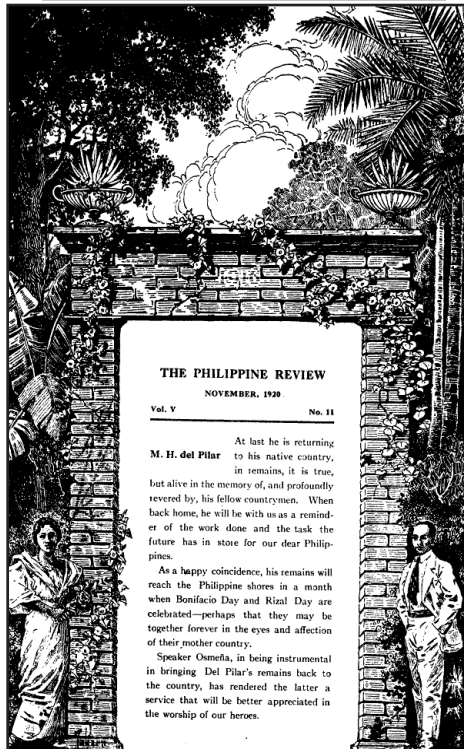
La juventud de Del Pilar fue tormentosa y sus estudios corrieron desahucadamente. Aunque esgrímia bien el polsán, no era, con todo, provocador, ni pendenciero. Modestamente se preciaba de ser un *coyón de madre*; ciertamente tenía retaca de todo. Tocaba el violín, el piano y la flauta. En las llamadas Flores de Mayo, de tan buena recordación para la juventud recolectada, más de una vez los ecos amorosos de su violín hicieron las delicias de las damas bulacanas. Las típicas jaranas del país no le eran desconocidas: fue en cierto modo un *jugaro* o *trovador filipino*.

Trabajó con su tío Alejo del Pilar, Escribano de Quiapo, allá por el 60; luego fue Oficial de Mesa en la Pampanga el '74 o '75, y más tarde, en Quiapo hacia el '78 o '79. Pres-

1 Yo, Cándido del Rosario, Presbítero Secular de este Arzobispado de Manila, Cura interino de este Pórtico de Bulacan: Certifico que en el Libro No. 15 de Bautismos de esta Iglesia de mi cargo al folio 310 vto. se halla una partida del tenor siguiente:

"En cuatro de Septiembre de mil ochocientos cincuenta aº El P. D. Tomas "Yon, Obispo Prelado de este Arzobispado y Coadjutor de este pueblo y Cabecera de Bulacan con mi licº bautizó solemnemente a un niño de este pueblo y críenle en esta Yª, a un niño de este día nacido, hijo legítimo de Julián Hilario y de Blasita Gasmaytan indio del Barrio de St. Nicolás del Sr. de D. Anastasio de la Cruz, se le puso por nombre MARCELO, seño de pila D. Lorenzo Abate "la quien advierte el parentesco espiritual y demás obligº. Y por verdad lo firmo de vº el Obispo. Y Ezequiel Martínez

Concuerda con su original, a que me remito. Casa Parroquial de Bulacan a 19 de Setiembre de 1918.



THE PHILIPPINE REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1920

Vol. V No. 11

At last he is returning to his native country, in remains, it is true, but alive in the memory of, and profoundly revered by, his fellow countrymen. When back home, he will be with us as a reminder of the work done and the task the future has in store for our dear Philippines.

As a happy coincidence, his remains will reach the Philippine shores in a month when Bonifacio Day and Rizal Day are celebrated—perhaps that they may be together forever in the eyes and affection of their mother country.

Speaker Osmeña, in being instrumental in bringing Del Pilar's remains back to the country, has rendered the latter a service that will be better appreciated in the worship of our heroes.

I

PROLOGUE

In 1889 or 1890, Blumentritt sent autographs of Del Pilar to the famous German graphologist, Herr Langerbruch, who, in accordance with Blumentritt's wishes, gave the following opinion regarding the character of Del Pilar: "He has a warlike character; is foxy; has much energy and a great talent for satire; kindness; intrepid; ambitious; has no consideration when anything serious is to be done."

This opinion coincide in part with that pronounced by Mariano Ponce in the newspaper *La Independencia* (1898) which the late bibliophile Zulueta copied in his biographical sketch of Del Pilar. "A tireless propagandist; an expert in political warfare, formidable in attack and defence, a skillful wielder of the pen, unshakeable in his arguments; his knowledge and powerful intelligence were respected even by his enemies whom he routed on more than one occasion in the peaceful contest of thoughts."

To General Blanco, Marcelo H. del Pilar was the most redoubtable of the Filipino politicians: *the most intelligent, the real soul of the separatists, very superior to Rizal*. Such was the man whose life and deeds we shall relate.

II

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

AND FRUSTRATED DEPORTATION OF DEL PILAR

Marcelo H. del Pilar was born on August 30, 1850, in the place called Cupang, of the barrio of San Nicolás, municipality of Bulacan, formerly the capital of the province of that name. [1] His parents were Don Julian H. del Pilar, an excellent Tagalog grammarian, speaker, and poet, and Doña Blasa Gatmaytan, familiarly known as *Blasica*.

Don Julian was three times *gobernadorcillo* of the pueblo of Bulacan and afterwards *oficial de mesa* of the *alcalde mayor* of the province. The couple owned a rice mill and sugarcane lands, several fishponds, and an animal-power mill; but as ten children were born to them, viz.: Toribio (priest, deported to the Marianas in 1872), Fernando, Andrea, Dorotea, Estanislao, Juan, Hilaria (married to Deodato Arellano), Valentín, Marcelo, and María, and the share of each was a very small one, Del Pilar renounced his in favor of his brothers and sisters.

The name of the family was Hilario, but pursuant to a decree of Clavería's in 1849, the name of the grandmother, Del Pilar, had to be added. And inasmuch as the particle *Gat* which precedes the mother's name indicated noble origin, it will not be an exaggeration to affirm that the family belonged to the Tagalog nobility or descended from the ancient Tagalog kings.

M.H. del Pilar began his studies in the school of Sr. Flores; he then passed to the Colegio de San José, and thence to the University of Santo Tomás. A disagreement with the parish priest of San Miguel, Manila, concerning baptismal fees, in 1869 or 1870, caused a regrettable

break of eight years in the fourth year of the study of his profession, jurisprudence. He finally succeeded in graduating in 1880.

Del Pilar's youth was a stormy one and his studies were agitated. Though he handled the *palasan* (rattan cane) very well, he was neither quarrelsome nor aggressive. He made the modest boast that he was a *cajón de sastre*; he certainly had odds and ends of everything. He played the violin, the piano, and the flute. At the Flores de Mayo, full of happy recollections for our gay youth, he more than once delighted the *dalagas* of Bulacan with amorous echoes of his violin. The *jaranas* typical of his country were not unknown to him: he was, in a sense, a Filipino minstrel or troubadour.

He worked with his uncle Alejo del Pilar, clerk of the court of Quiapo, about 1860; then he was *oficial de mesa* in Pampanga province, in 1874 or 1875, and subsequently in Quiapo, about 1878 or 1879. Having fallen in love with his cousin Marciana H. del Pilar, he married her in Tondo in the month of February 1878. From this marriage sprang Sofía, José, María Rosario, María Consolación, María Concepción, José, and Ana.

He was so robust spiritually and bodily that Ramiro Franco described him as follows: "A constitution as of forged steel; body robust and stocky; the thorax that of an invincible titan; a powerful brain inclosed in a square skull, and an intense and searching eye which emitted an irresistible current that vanquished and fascinated."

When the Cavite uprising took place, in 1872, he was living with Father Mariano Sevilla, and it was thanks to his diligence that the papers which might have compromised this priest were destroyed. Nevertheless, a letter of Sevilla's and another of his brother Toribio H. del Pilar, also a priest, found in the possession of Father Burgos, were sufficient to bring about the deportation to the Marianas of the priests Sevilla and Del Pilar.

In 1880 he leagued with several friends in order to defeat certain *caciques* who were endeavoring to monopolize the councillorship for their dynasty.

In 1882 he founded, on shares, the newspaper *Diariong Tagalog*, which was markedly reformist, in a liberal sense; he was editor-in-chief of the Tagalog section.

On occasion of the Royal Decree of May 6, 1884, the Intendant, Sr. Chinchilla, proposed the Regulation on June 30th for the execution of the said decree. In accordance with Articles 52 and 53 of these regulations “the *cabezas* ceased to be obliged to make a servile copy of the parochial lists.” But “Chinchilla vacated his office in the Intendencia General de la Hacienda and his successors Luna, bowing to the monastic element, made it his business to annul and cancel the moralizing measures” taken by Chinchilla and ordered the servile copying of the lists mentioned.

“This decree of Sr. Luna’s resulted in a protest of the leading citizens of Malolos against a resolution dated May 11, 1885, issued by the Administration de Hacienda Pública of Bulacan, ordering the rectification of the list of *cabacerías* of Malolos, upon comparison with the record or souls of the parish.” This protest, which was drafted by Del Pilar, was not forwarded by the Bulacan authorities, which, instead, requested of the Intendencia General a still greater measure of parochial intervention in the statistical operations.

There was a dispute between the parish priests and the *cabezas* with regard to the construction to be placed on the verb *asesorar*; but Friar Felipe García, ex-professor of theology, gave the matter a scientific solution by deciding that *asesorar* mean *confrontar* (to compare). And inasmuch as the *cabezas* claimed that, *confrontar* meant to compare, Friar García argued it did not, and skillfully extricating himself from shoals and reefs, he wound up by deciding that *confronter* did not mean to compare, but to copy.

The *cabezas* having appealed to the Alcalde Mayor, Señor Pardo, the latter decided that the parish priest was right, and the same was done

by the Gneral Intendant, who, by another decree, fully approved Sr. Pardo's decision. Thus it was established that *asesorar* was *confronter*, and that *confronter* meant to copy. By this means, Del Pilar says, the parish priest secured his stipend of 12.50% of the personal cédulas, the deficit being for the treasury. The operation for obtaining this deficit is extremely simple, according to Del Pilar. Only such absences and deaths are recorded in the parochial lists as the parish priests or his *mayor* may choose. Now, he says, inasmuch as the liquidation is made each month, not on the basis of the money actually paid into then treasury, but on the statistical data shown by the parochial lists, the result is that after deducting the 12.50% for the friar, the mathematical balance for the treasury is not 87.50%, but 40%, if that much. And as from that sum one must still deduct what the Treasury Department returns annually to the cabezas, upon the proof by these of the death or absence of the individual or individuals for whom they paid, we see that only an unknown quantity remains for the treasury, because the friar, who has taken the lion's share in the distribution does not take any part in the reimbursement.

When, in 1887, the notorious affair between natives and mestizos occurred, concerning preference of seats in the Binondo church, Del Pilar was the assessor of Juan Zulueta, the principal instigator of the faction of the natives against the Chinese mestizos, which latter were protected by Friar Hevia de Campomanes. In that same year, 1887, the famous circular of Benigno Quiroga, the Director General, prohibiting the exposition of bodies in the churches, was published in the Official Gazette. Manuel Crisóstomo, then gobernadorcillo of Malolos, published this circular by means of the town crier. This was sufficient reason for Friar Felipe García, on occasion of the death of the servant of Don Eugenio Delgado, to provoke the authorities by ordering the body of that servant taken from the house of his master in solemn procession and paraded through the streets of Malolos with all the show and noise possible, the friar, his *mayor* and sextons being armed with revolvers

concealed under their robes. In order to avoid a riot, the gobernadorcillo, advised by Del Pilar, reported the matter to the governor of the province, Don Manuel Gomez Florio, and the latter reprimanded the fighting priest, a thing then unheard of, which had serious consequences, to wit, a formal rupture of diplomatic relations between the two powers.

The reputation of the friar went slowly downhill. And seeing that the traditional veneration for his person was disappearing, it was considered necessary to restore it. This was impossible at the time, because Del Pilar was hand in glove with the governor Sr. Florio, and with the captain of the Guardia Civil, Sr. Galindo, and the three, branded as 33rd degree masons by the friar, were getting along famously. Moreover, the two peninsular officials has the backing of Terreros and Quiroga.

On January 21, 1888, Del Pilar drafted a memorial to the civil governor of Bulacan, which was signed by gobernadorcillos, ex-gobernadorcillos, leading citizens, property owners, businessmen, teachers, and lawyers of the province of Bulacan, proposing a popular contribution for the purpose of aiding the treasury with the expenses of the “Establishment of a School authorized by the Ministry of Ultramar, for teaching Arts, Trades, and Agriculture”, which proposition was accepted by the press and the authorities.

This attitude was due to the fact that the Austrian friars, in a memorial presented in 1883, had espoused the idea of several ladies who, in 1882, endeavored to found an asylum for the children of Spaniards that had become orphans through the cholera that year. The Minister of Ultramar, however, departing from the plan of the Augustinians, gave a very liberal turn to the matter, which disgusted the promoters and caused them to refuse to contribute and take charge of the matter, because the “plan was no longer limited to the asylum for the orphans, with elementary schools”, subsidized by the State and under the absolute control of the Augustinians, but outlined nothing more nor less than the “Implantation of superior instruction and of the practical school of

agriculture.” Quiroga Ballesteros was generally applauded when, as Del Pilar says, “he absolutely disregarded the Augustinian corporation and all other religious orders”, and proposed to the Ministry that the expenses be defrayed by the State in such form as the circumstances might permit, and besides, that the authorized positions be filled by competition. Thus Del Pilar’s proposition was a severe blow for “the Moros on the coast.”

The years 1887 and 1888 were decisive for the friar rule and also for Del Pilar who, with surprising activity, was everywhere and directed and prepared nearly all the demonstrations against the enemy. There were, for instance, the memorial to the Civil Governor, by the Gobernadorcillo de Naturales of Navotas, of November 20, 1887; that of Mateo Mariano, addressed to the same authority, resident of Navotas, of November 21, 1887; that of “The Filipinos” to H. M. the Queen Regent, of February 29, 1888; that of “The Gobernadorcillos, leading citizens, and residents of the suburbs” of Manila, to the Governor-General, of February 20, 1888; the important one of “Filipinas” to H.M. the Queen Regent, published as one of the appendices of “The Monastic Sovereignty in the Philippine Islands”, followed by another, not less important one, addressed to the same queen by the “Local Authorities of the province of Manila”, all of which appear in the pamphlet entitled “Long live Spain! Long live the King! Long live the Army! Away with the Friars!” (1888), which, if not personally prepared by Marcelo H. del Pilar, were inspired by him. They show such uniformity of style, such vigor in the arguments, such serenity and so much imperturbable tenacity in the handling of the smallest details, always obeying the same direction, that, except small differences, they are the same material, arguments, style, and manner that we admire in the pages of “The Monastic Sovereignty in the Philippines”, in “The Friar Rule”, and in the delightful articles, all Malayan gems, of *La Solidaridad*: the family traits that distinguished them, that show their noble origin, that show them to be scions of the Filipino race, of, as we have called him, the gallant descendant of the Tagalog kings.

Such daring and boldness on the part of an *indio*, an inferior being by nature, could not go on, otherwise the national integrity would have been endangered and the peril would have had to be conjured by such means as the civil governors might deem *advisable*. Del Pilar's work was certainly not an open secret. To his enemies, Del Pilar was contumacious, irredeemable, a born filibuster. What? Did not Del Pilar already act like a filibuster when, being Dr. Sevilla's student and boarder, he taught the children Spanish with the eagerness of an apostle? And later, with José Ner, of Salinas, Sotero Laurel, of Batangas, Carlos Gatmaitan and Liberato Manuel, of Bocaue, did he not journey through these rice-fields, working for the emancipation of the conscience of woman from the holy tutelage of those upright mmen, the friars? And, should an excommunicated freemason of that class be permitted to right friar wrongs? Did such exploits not call for a mysterious, most summary, *secret expediente*?

In fact, at the request of Friar Felipe García, several *expedientes* were begun against Marcelo H. del Pilar and his followers. We shall proceed to exhume the pertinent part of the *expediente* that resumes them and reflects what we have said. It bears the following title:

No. 8—SECRET—COMMISSION OF THE GENERAL
GOVERNMENT IN BULACAN—EXPEDIENTE
CONCERNING MEETINGS IN MALOLOS.

It was initiated upon an anonymous communication addressed to Commissioner Diaz Gomez, the investigator, who never lost that anonymous communication from sight and decided in consonance with the same, though the evidence was different. This anonymous communication, which reveals the vitiated colonial atmosphere, is as follows:

“Revered P. N. “

“Various have been the rumors current throughout this province of Bulacan and her neighbor, that of Manila, concerning the armed men scattered throughout this province during the events of the first of March in that capital; and while some placed the number of those men at five hundred, others, among them the authorities of the province, denied their existence.

I BELIEVE that said number of armed men was exaggerated; but there is no doubt that there were several bands, and as these kept on the move continuously and were, therefore, seen in different places, the people believed that their number was that indicated.

LET US GIVE PRECISE FACTS AND DATES

About February 24, it was learned in the pueblo of Malolos that a band of men armed with rifles had stopped at the barrio of Tubigan and caught a man in order that he might guide them to the pueblo; but the cries of the wife of that man alarmed the barrio of Baluyong, also of the pueblo of Malolos and adjacent to the barrio of Balete, of Santa Isabel. The Guardia Civil of the post of Hagonoy being advised, a patrol left the following night, accompanied by a *teniente de justicia*, for the place referred to. At a certain distance, through a camp fire, they perceived a group of men, and the *teniente*, who considered them suspicious, indicated them to be the patrol commander. The latter said, however, that before proceeding further, he desired to make a report to the commanding officer of the post. He took out paper and a pen and began to write, and in the meantime the band of men slipped away into the mangrove and bamboo thickets in that vicinity. It was, therefore, impossible to overtake them and the patrol went back as it had come. Four or six days later, there was a raid at Barasoain, in the barrio of Lugam, but no personal injury was done to the people of the house.

BEGINNING WITH THAT DAY a persistent rumor spread in the pueblo of Santa Isabel, to the effect that there were many brigands armed with rifles and bayonets, but as it was a customary thing to hear of the existence of outlaws in the pueblos, no attention was paid to this rumor, until special circumstances convinced me that there actually were two bands, one of from twenty four to thirty men, which was roaming about the barrios of Balete and Mabolo, of the jurisdiction of Santa Isabel and bordering on Malolos, and other of the same strength, in the barrios of Daquila and Bungahan, also of Santa Isabel, and bordering on Barasoain and Quingua. All the parish priests in the neighborhood of that pueblo had heard rumors and naturally asked me whether there was any truth to them. The priest of Barasoain was told that a band had been seen in the barrio of Daquila, marching in sets of threes, with a chief in front and another behind, and that the latter was carrying a blunderbuss. Several Spaniards of the provincial capital also heard of the existence of those armed men. The pueblo of Paombong was in a continuous state of alarm: there they even succeeded in catching three who, upon being surprised, threw their guns into the water, as I was told by the parish priests of that pueblo.

The time went on, but nothing was heard of any robbery, only that they asked for food and even paid for it. To say the truth, I have been unable to find out where they went or whom they approached; I was even unable to get anything out of the *tenientes* of those barrios that might put me on the track of the truth; but this is not astonishing, because it constantly happens that even if they are robbed, they do not report it and hide the truth if they can, from fear of revenge. This notwithstanding, I considered it sure that those bands existed, in view of the persistent rumors to this effect in all the pueblos. About the

8th I was in the provincial capital in the afternoon and heard some Spaniards say that besides the armed men said to roam about Santa Isabel, they had heard there were others in Baliuag, Pulilan, and Bigaa. Naturally they commented upon the fact that these armed men did not commit robberies of any importance, and upon what happened in Manila on the first of March.

I returned to my pueblo somewhat worried, of course, and when I asked my clerks what they knew about the brigands, they said that the night before they had heard that these had left for the mountains of Santa María, by way of the pueblo of Bigaa. In fact, a band of armed men had passed through Bigaa that night, as the parish priest of that pueblo informed me.

If your Reverence will note the dates, you will see that these bands appeared shortly before the demonstration in Manila on March 1st, and that they disappeared when the resignation and departure in Manila for Spain of Sr. Centeno became known.

This is the reason why I, thinking those people might be something more than brigands, have deemed it wise to write to Y. R.

When, about April first, we spoke to Sr. Gisbert, the administrator of the San Juan de Dios Hacienda, he told us priests that he was convinced of the existence of those armed bands, whose number he said, was considerable, and that they had been seen by his guards. Sr. Vera saw, on the road from Quiñgua to Malolos, a band of suspicious men in uniform who were going toward the barrios of Santa Isabel.

FROM ALL THIS INFORMATION, more or less reliable, Y. R. will conclude that something was going on in those days.

WHAT WAS THE GUARDIA CIVIL DOING THEN? I do not know; but I can assure Y. R. that they were either afraid or did not want to do anything, as proved by the happening at the place Balayong, above related, and, further, by the following: On March 19th, shortly before it was reported that the bands had left, a patrol composed of five privates of the Guardia and a corporal came to Sta. Isabel at nine o'clock in the morning and went away at about two o'clock in the afternoon, without having left the highway, and after having committed several outrages of which I shall speak later to Y. R. Two days later another patrol came at night, but this time they only went as far as the barrio of Caniogan, bordering on the central part of the pueblo of Malolos, and from there they sent a *justicia* to the gobernadorcillo, requesting that the latter issue a certificate stating that they had gone through the barrios without finding anything out of order. At it generally happens, the gobernadorcillo, being a man without character and afraid, gave them this certificate, and the guardsmen were thus able to show that they had patrolled the district of Santa Isabel, though they had never left Malolos.

OUR CIVIL GOVERNOR WAS IN SIBUL IN THOSE DAYS

Now I shall relate to Y. R. the abuses which, as a result of the circumstances in which we parish priests have been placed by the events of the first of March in Manila, and of the hypocrisy of our civil governor (whom we all doubt), have been committed, at least in my pueblo, Malolos, and in Paombong and Barasoain, with the parish priests of which I have spoken.

The patrol which, as I told Y. R., came on the 19th, began to arrest people whom they chose to accuse of having no documents of identification. I say they chose to do so, because this happened on the 19th, and the existing legislation imposes the 20% penalty upon delinquent taxpayers only beginning with

the 20th. If they were guilty of anything, it was not necessary to take them away bound, like criminals. As it was, most of them had their *cédulas*, all that was lacking being the signature and seal of the *gobernadorcillo*, because the poor peasants had received them thus from their *cabezas*, and as they knew nothing about those papers, they thought it was sufficient for them to have the blue paper and have paid their half peso. At any rate, the Guardia Civil might have obtained information in the *tribunal* of the *pueblo*, but they would not even do that, as they wanted to arrest people, and thus, at two o'clock in the afternoon, they left with a string of unfortunates, among them women with children and a woman who had been recently confined, and young girls who, though developed, were not subject to the tax, because they were below the age limit, as shown by a certificate of the *gobernadorcillo* of the *pueblo* which they had in their possession, and which the patrol disregarded.

THINGS SIMILAR to these occurred at Paombong and Barasoain. They arrested three clerks of the parish priest of Malolos; in fact, it seems as if they had set out to molest the priests, because *though anti-Spanish and enemies of the natives*, we can not but deplore such outrages committed against unfortunate and defenseless parishioners, it being a fact that the native peasant, who makes up the bulk of the population, has not, had never had, and never will have, anybody to defend him but his priest in his *pueblo*, and, therefore, comes to him with all his troubles.

SUBSEQUENTLY we learned that some of the people so arrested by the Guardia Civil were released at the government building upon the payment of money, among them a stable-boy of Father Felipe, and a man from Barasoain was asked to pay TEN PESOS for his release and remained in jail because he

had not got them. Of the gobernadorcillo of Santa Isabel they demanded fifty pesos, not as a fine, but for their own benefit, and he paid. Another of the abuses they committed was to make the subscription of the daily paper *La Opinión* obligatory for all school teachers of both sexes, gobernadorcillos, etc., of the province, to whom they sent the paper without their having subscribed. Knowing that the manager of *La Opinión* is a relative of our governor, they did not dare to return the paper, and the subscription was collected when they were paid.

I now conclude Y. R., with the request that you do all within your power to remedy our situation, because we can not be parish priests if our prestige is taken away from us and we are rendered powerless to defend our parishioners from the injustices committed against them. As far as burying and marrying them is concerned, their clergy can do that.

Your Reverence's unworthy subject."

As we have seen, the anonymous delator does not stop at very much. He says that the armed and uniformed contingent which appeared in several municipalities of Bulacan had something to do with the *manifestation of March 1st, 1888*, demanding the expulsion of the friars; that it dissolved "when the resignation and departure for Spain of Sr. Centeno became known"; that Governor Florio was a hypocrite "whom we all (the priests) doubt", and that he had this palm greased by certain victims, among them "a stable-boy of Father Felipe"; that the Guardia Civil suffered from a mania to molest the priests when it arrested "three clerks of Friar Felipe": that *though anti-Spanish and enemies of the natives*, we (the priests) can not continue *having our prestige taken away from us*, nor can we *continue bring parish priests*, because *as far as burying and marrying those (the indios) is concerned, their clergy can do that*, thereby giving to understand that what they had to have at all cost was not the spiritual, but *temporal* power.

The *expediente* begins with the following decree:

Bulacan, October 10, 1888

It having come to the notice of this Commission that in the pueblo of Malolos there exist elements who are accused of professing and propagating ideas hostile to the representatives of the religion and the Spaniards; That as promoters and principal agents of this agitation there appear, besides the person who directs the same, to wit, D. Marcelo Hilario del Pilar, an attorney residing in this provincial capital, the following leading residents of said pueblo: D. Manuel Crisóstomo who, it seems, was separated from office as *gobernadorcillo* because he was considered a *filibuster*; D. Vicente Gatmaytan, the present *gobernadorcillo*, brother-in-law of the two persons first mentioned; Don José Bautista, *capitán pasado*; D. Rafael Canlapan, coadjutor of the said pueblo and relative or intimate friend of D. Marcelo; D. Graciano Reyes; D. Teodoro Sandico, D. José Reyes, and D. Ponciano Tiongson; That for the last two years, these persons have been holding meetings at advanced hours of the night, usually assembling in the tribunal, with the doors closed, and at other times in the houses of the Coadjutor, of Crisóstomo, or of Gatmaytan; That as a consequence of those meetings, of which the civil government was, it seems, informed last May, and in view of the fact that proclamations and pamphlets of a filibuster character were being circulated in the pueblo, the superior authority removed said *gobernadorcillo* Crisóstomo from office, there being appointed, after election and nomination by the government, his relative, Gatmaytan, who has been, and is, one of the stigmatized; That the civil governor, Sr. D. Manuel Gomez Florio, did not adopt any measures to prevent the holding of such meetings; that the pueblo of Malolos has

been treated by him with more consideration and benevolence than any other pueblo of the province, and that the *capitán pasado* D. José Bautista, as well as attorney D. Marccelo H. del Pilar and several others of the men named, were treated with distinction and consideration by him; and

In order to investigate what truth there is to these imputations, and whether, as has been presumed, the condition of the pueblo referred to has any relation with the recent events in Manila, and also, whether the executive of the province proceeded with the suitable activity and rigor and took the necessary measures to correct the evil mentioned, let a secret report of what they may know concerning the facts above mentioned and the persons named be requested from the Reverend Parish Priest of Malolos, and have the Civil Government furnish: a list of the persons constituting the *principalia*, stating those who are *capitanes pasados* and *cabezas reformado*; a secret report concerning its opinion, and that of the Guardia Civil of the nine persons above named, setting forth whether any of them appears as suspicious in the books of the Government or of then institution mentioned, and for what reason; any such data and antecedents concerning suspicious meetings at Malolos as the Government may have, and those concerning the last election held, as a result of which the present gobernadorcillo was appointed.

(Sgd.) DIAZ GOMEZ

Abstract from the *expediente* conducted in the Civil Government against the attorney Don Marcelo H. del Pilar, for having seriously threatened or recriminated as gobernadorcillo who complained to this Commission regarding Governor Don Manuel Gomez Floria. Aside from the fact

that gave rise to this expediente, there appear in the same, so far as Don Marcelo is concerned, the following reports:

1st. Of the captain of the Guardia Civil, who says that the district records show that said individual has no previous criminal record

2nd. Of the parish priest of Paombong, who states, with reference to what he had heard and what is publicly said among the Spaniards: that he is one of the foremost filibusters; that in Señor Pardo's time he was the ringleader in the affair of the Malolos lists; that he must have had a hand in the anti-religious demonstration of March; and that it is reported that he distributes and imports clandestine printing matter in his province.

3rd. Of the parish priest of Marilao, who states that he is a person of meddling conduct, with not very good ideas.

4th. Of the parish priest of Barasoain, who states that he has heard that he boasted of making war upon the religious orders.

5th. Of the parish priest of this provincial capital who says: that he has known Don Marcelo for many years and has always heard him spoken of as having little affection for Spain and for the authorities and the official corporations; that he has warned him several times to mend his ways, but that despite his having promised to do so, he has never mended them; that for months before the demonstration, he went about collecting signatures to a blank document, saying that they were for a petition for the extension of the term of office of His Excellency, General Emilio Terreros, but that it became known subsequently that they were for the demonstration above referred to; that on the day of said demonstration, Don Marcelo was in Manila, according

to the statement of one of his brothers, which fact he himself denied; that he is one of the presidents of the anti-Spanish meetings in Malolos; That about two years ago, in the presence of Governor Don Manuel Gomez Florio, he heard the then *ayudante de montes*, Don Abelardo Lafuente, complain that in a barrio of Malolos, between Malolos and Bulacan, he had noticed suspicious meetings on certain days of the week which, judging by the persons who met there and by the precautions that were taken, must be filibuster meetings, and that one of the principal members was Don Marcelo; and, lastly, that it is publicly reported that he is one of the propagandists of the inflammatory pamphlets against the Spanish Government and the religious corporations.

6th. Of the parish priest of Malolos, who states that he has known him since the year 1878, when he was still a student in the house of a brother of his, a coadjutor at Bigaa, who had just come back from the Marianas where he had been in exile on account of the Cavite affair in the year 1872; that he knows that he said several times there was no worse government than the Spanish government; that in 1885 he directed and counselled the cabezas of Malolos in their refusal to comply with the orders of the Alcalde Mayor's office; that, as he has been informed confidentially by a respectable authority, Don Marcelo, after the demonstration of the first of March in Manila, where he had been, cleaned up his house, for the case of a possible search, and that he had sworn war to death against the friars; that he said in Malolos that if it was impossible to drive the friars out with paper and ink, it was necessary to use dynamite; that he learned that he went about collecting signatures and memorials demanding the expulsion of the friars; that at the suspicious anti-Spanish meetings, Don Marcelo was the principal talker; and that the report that meetings were being held, he heard, among other

persons, from the officer in charge of the Hagonoy section, who told him he learned from them after they had been held.

7th. Of the parish priest of Santa Isabel, who says he has heard a good deal about Don Marcelo as an enemy of the Spaniards, and about his presiding the meetings held at Malolos, he refers to the antecedents of Don Marcelo's family as not being good.

8th. Of the parish priest of Norzagaray, who says that according to public rumor, he seems to be accused of having little affection for the Spaniards.

9th. Of the parish priest of Calumpit, who states that he is always mixed up with gambling games; that on account of this vice, he does not hesitate to take, in his capacity as a lawyer, the dirtiest and most unjust cases; that this dislike for the Spaniards is notorious and even his countrymen acknowledge it; that he knows that all public and private demonstrations that have been made in his province against the authorities and official corporations for the last eight years and a half have been promoted and planned by Don Marcelo.

10th. Of the parish priest of Pulilan, who says he is disloyal to the Spanish rule and was one of those who collected signatures from the memorial against the friars.

11th. Of the parish priest of Hagonoy, who reports several things already mentioned in the report of the parish priest of Malolos, and adds that with respect to Don Marcelo's antecedents, further information may be obtained from the late Treasurer-General, Don Rafael de Vera, and that the influence of the latter is responsible for much of the consideration shown to him and his friends by Sr. Gomez Florio, which information is also given by the parish priest of Malolos.

12th. Of the parish priest of Bigaa, who states that he is notoriously hostile to Spain; that he is said to have begun the translation of the novel “Noli me Tangere”, the original of which was written by the filibuster José Rizal; that the restlessness and insubordination are attributed to him, also the distribution and spreading of destructive proclamations, such as Rizal’s “Duda dudarum,” “Viva España, Viva el Ejército y Mueran los Frailes”, and another against the nuns of Manila.

13th. Of the parish priest of Meycauayan, who says that he knows from reliable persons that Don Marcelo has given evidence of being very unfriendly to the authorities of the Spanish Government, and of being a great filibuster, and that he has said that against the friars it was, “necessary to use dynamite.”

14th. From the parish priest of Guiguinto, who says he considers him as anti-Spanish.

15th. And from three more parish priests, who say they have no reliable data for a report. From the reports of other parish priests are still lacking.

The undersigned, who has made the foregoing abstract, responds for its exactness and fidelity.

Bulacan, October 11, 1888.

(Sgd.) Man.L Diaz Gomez

CIVIL GOVERNMENT
OF THE PROVINCE OF BULACAN

GUARDIA CIVIL—1ST TERCIO—1ST LINE—5TH
SECTION—NO. 369—Confidential.—In reply to your
esteemed communication of the 10th of the current month, in
which I am directed to communicate what data I may have with
regard to Don Marcelo H. del Pilar, I have the honor to inform
you as follows:

The person referred to has made frequent visits to the pueblo of
Malolos during the present epoch when his brother-in-law, Don
Vicente Gatmaytan, is gobernadorcillo, and during the preceding
months, when the same office was held by another brother-in-law of
his, Manuel Crisóstomo. He has, in my opinion, had intervention in
the affairs at the tribunal and has exercised his pernicious influence
upon his relatives as well as upon others of the principal residents of
the pueblo, among whom he has great prestige.

In the opinion of the undersigned, Don Marcelo H. del Pilar is
anti-Spanish, but although I have the moral conviction of the
truth of what I say, I can not base this assertion upon any overt
act of his.

As to the part which this attorney may have taken in the meetings
said to have been held at Malolos, I must inform you that if these
meetings has a political character, I have no doubt that Don
Marcelo was the principal agitator of the latter, but because of
the principle which they represent.

This is all I can state to you, in compliance with my duty.—God
guard you for many years. Hagonoy, October 12, 1888.—The
Commanding *Alférez*.—Carlos Peñuelas.—To the Acting Civil
Governor of this Province.

PARISH OF MALOLOS
BULACAN
CONFIDENTIAL

In reply to your esteemed letter dated the 10th of the current month, in which you ask me for what information I may have with regard to the particulars therein mentioned, I believe that before going into these details, it will not be superfluous to relate what happened in this pueblo in the months of June and July of the year 1885, while Don Vicente Pardo y Bonanza was *alcalde mayor* of this province and Don Manuel Aliacar *administrador de hacienda pública* of the same. Then the cabezas of this pueblo refused to comply with the repeated orders of the authorities referred to, relative to comparison of the lists, and the matter went so far that the alcalde, accompanied by said administrator, had to come to this pueblo, call all the cabezas together, and give them the choice between going to jail and being tried, and obeying the orders they had received and even after all that, they were still stubborn, though they finally yielded. Very well, those who counselled and directed the cabezas on that occasion to disobey the orders of the authorities, were, in their majority, the very persons who have, since the end of last year, maintained the agitation that has been noticed here. I shall now proceed to answer the questions you ask me of in your favored confidential letter.

1st. I know that suspicious meetings have been held in this pueblo, sometimes at late hour of the night, and I believe their object was to second what was being prepared and plotted in Manila against the religious corporations, and I believe, further, that their origin lay in instructions or lessons received from Manila, to which place one or the other of those who attended the meetings in this pueblo was wont to go. These meetings

began to be held quite frequently about the month of December of last year and were continued for several months, sometimes in the tribunal, and then again in private houses.

2nd. The assiduous attendants of these meetings were an attorney residing at Bulacan by the name of D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, a person who has been pretty suspicious for a longtime; D. Vicente Gatmaytan, the present gobernadorcillo, a brother-in-law of the person first named and suitable material for aiding his brother-in-law, from whom he has not separated during the months of the agitation; Don Manuel Crisóstomo, brother-in-law of the two persons first named, who, while gobernadorcillo, had said two persons for mentors, and who was removed from his office by the General Government in the month of May of the present year, as a filibuster, it seems; D. José A. Bautista, *capitán pasado*, a native of Manila and resident of this pueblo, who has been considered as suspicious for some time past, of whom the governor, D. Manuel G. Florio, told me he was a more active filibuster agent than the gobernadorcillo himself and who was this year granted a 1st class arms permit; D. Graciano Reyes, cabeza, who has a primary teacher's license, but does not teach, who is inseparable from the persons named above, and in whose house several meetings have been held; D. Teodoro Sandico, Latin teacher in this pueblo since something over a year ago, a native of Pandacan, with whose previous record I am not familiar, but whom I know to have been one of those who have been most active in this pueblo in propagating the doctrines of Rizal's book, I having even heard that he, in company with the one previously named and some other persons, was translating it into Tagalog; Don Ponciano Tiongson, ex-cabeza, residing at Manila, but a frequent visitor in this pueblo since last year, he having registered here this year, in the month of June, leaving his wife registered and living at Manila; this person was prosecuted

in connection with the bankruptcy of the firm Regidor, Jurado y Compañía, and an order of arrest was issued against him in the month of June, 1885, but I have not yet had the honor of meeting him; D. José Reyes, ex-cabeza, who, I believe has been considered as suspicious for some time past; D. Anastacio Crisóstomo, who has a primary teacher's license, but is not teaching, cabeza, brother of the gobernadorcillo who was removed in May, and inseparable from the same; Don Anastacio de León, ex-cabeza and present commander of cuadrilleros of this pueblo, also inseparable from the persons above named; D. Isaac Buendia, present *teniente mayor* of this pueblo, but suspended on account of his being implicated in a criminal action pending in the court of this province, and the priest D. Rafael Canlapan, coadjutor of this pueblo, in whose house some of the meetings above referred to have been held; these, I believe were the principal and most assiduous attendants of the suspicious meetings which I suppose, were directed by some persons in Manila interested in formenting evil ideas and bringing about the realizations of their projects; I do not know whether the other pueblos of the province have imitated this conduct, but know that some meetings have been held in the pueblo of Sta. María, though I do not know for what purpose.

3rd. In the month of April of the present year I learned that a manuscript in Spanish entitled *Dudas* was circulating in this pueblo; I succeeded in securing a copy of this paper here and sent it to my regular Prelate, in order that he might present it to the authorities if he deemed this advisable. This paper, I was assured, circulated among the persons above named and did nothing but censure the Government and attack several institutions; subsequently I also succeeded in securing in this pueblo another manuscript horribly slandering the nuns of Sta. Clara and the religious; a pamphlet in Spanish also circulated

here, entitled *Viva España, Viva El Rey, Viva El Ejército, Fuera los Frailes*, which contains several memorials demanding the expulsion of the Archbishop and the religious; I also learned that there was in circulation a small book printed in Tagalog, entitled *Cai-igat Cayo*, which is nothing but a defence of one Dr. Rizal, author of the book entitled *Noli Me Tangere*; I have heard that other papers like those cited are being circulated, but have not succeeded in getting a copy of any other than those mentioned above.

4th. As to the attitude of the chief executive of the province respecting these things, I saw that at the beginning he attached no importance to them, because when I called his attention to the days and hours chosen in this pueblo for the publication, through the town crier, of the order concerning funerals, and to the unusual pomp displayed and the state of agitation that prevailed, he replied that this was due to the current from Manila and that one Capitán José A. Bautista, above referred to, was the person most responsible for all this. After he had told me this, he went to said Capitán José A. Bautista's house, upon the latter's invitation, accompanied by the captain of the Guardia Civil, who had passed the day at the house of the mother of his friend, D. Ponciano Tiongson, also above referred to. This happened on December 8th of last year, and after that day I did not see the governor until I saluted him at the house of D. Graciano Reyes, also referred to, in whose house the gobernadorcillo and other living residents gave a supper to the Director of Civil Administration. I had come to the house mentioned with the parish priest of Sta. Ysabel, for the purpose of paying our respects to the Director, and at that supper there sat down at the table, with the Director and his estimable family, the governor of this province, the captain of the Guardia Civil, D. Julio Galindo, D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, above referred to,

and Don José A. Bautista, also above referred to. These fact, properly construed, convinced me that the governor attached no importance to the occurrences in this pueblo, and I therefore, was dumbfounded when he told me, on May 12, that he knew that printed and manuscript filibuster proclamations were circulating profusely in this pueblo, that there were clandestine meetings of filibuster tendencies, that the principal agents were the present gobernadorcillo, D. Manuel Crisóstomo, and Capitán D. José A. Bautista, above referred to, and that he was going to remove the gobernadorcillo from office and appoint some person of his confidence to act in his stead. After the foregoing facts, these revelations could not but astonish me, but two days later I learned in Manila that on the 11th in the evening he had reported to the General Government more or less what he had told me on the 12th, and that the General Government had thereupon ordered the removal of D. Manuel Crisóstomo, then gobernadorcillo. I have not had any news of other measures taken by said governor in order to check this agitation, nor have I learned that any person has been punished, nor have I learned that any person has been punished, nor have I heard that the gobernadorcillo has received any punishment, either before or after his dismissal from office. The deposed gobernadorcillo as well as his brother-in-law, the present gobernadorcillo, D. Vicente Gatmaytan, who is also a brother-in-law of attorney D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, were inseparable during all the months that this situation lasted, and were constantly in the tribunal of this pueblo.

This is all I can at present think of as a reply to your favored confidential communication.

God guard you for many years. Parish House of Malolos,
October 14, 1888.

FR. FELIPE GARCIA

The Special Commissioner
of the General Government in Bulacan
Your Excellency:

The foregoing antecedents and reports refer to the meetings of a suspicious character held, with one exception, by residents of this locality in Malolos, and to the agitation and the existence of anti-Spanish and anti-religious proclamations in said pueblo. These antecedents and reports have been gathered by the Commission in order that it may comply with the mission confided to it by Y. E. and investigate the conduct of Sr. D. Manuel Gomez Florio, until recently executive of the province of Bulacan, before those events and with respect to the elements referred to.

The circumstance that the major part of said data are already known to Y. E. and are on file, though not gathered together, in the offices of the General Government, counsels brevity to the undersigned. I will, therefore, endeavor not to pass the limits of the strictly necessary. In the first place I must state that the discontinuance of the prosecution of the case, pursuant to instructions of Your Excellency, which, as I took the liberty to state beforehand, would offer no difficulty, will not prevent, or rather influence, the greater or lesser accuracy of the judgment that could be formed, seeing that the result of the testimony that could have been taken would have been very scant.

The first evidence that the pueblo of Malolos gave of its lack of respect for the authorities and the regular parish priest was in the year 1885, when it tenaciously refused to compare the list prepared for the collection of the cedula tax in the tribunal with the parochial list; and then a person came into prominence whose ideas and whose influence may be considered as the principal motive for the disturbing tendencies of the inhabitants

of the place, it being he who then directed the movement of opposition to the reiterated mandates of the provincial authorities, and that same person who, thanks to his profession and to his uncommon intelligence, has gained more and more prestige every day among the people of Malolos, has shaped the will and the sentiments of said people as he sees fit, educating them so far as possible in accordance with his way of thinking.

I need not tell you that the person to whom I allude is the attorney Don Marcelo H. del Pilar, because Y. E. knows it and is well acquainted with his history by the expediente which the civil government forwarded to you and an abstract of which is attached to this record.

Beginning with the date mentioned, the aforesaid pueblo—if not the pueblo, at least its most important elements—adopted an attitude, if not hostile, of cool expectancy and aloofness towards the parish priest which situation became accentuated and grew into almost open hostility after the affair of the funerals, and with this coincided the protection and consideration shown to those elements by the civil governor of the province. These facts are proved by citing only acts of a public nature related by the parish priest, to wit: that on December 8, ultimo, the day of the religious fiesta of the pueblo, after the governor had explained to the parish priest that the agitation noted came from Manila, and that ex-gobernadorcillo José A. Bautista had a hand in it, there were published by the town crier, with music and flags, the ordinances concerning *health and hygiene*, and the governor witnessed the passing of the party from the house of the said Bautista in company of the captain of the Guardia Civil.

That protection did not cease nor suffer any interruption, and manifested itself generally in the benignity shown to the gobernadorcillo and cabezas of Malolos, the former of whom

was not fined once since September 3, 1887, to which date the records of the government reach back, while many others were fined from one to four times (See expediente No. 16); and as to the alter, there is the fact that no *comisión de apremio* was sent, although there was more delinquency than in other pueblos, an injustice which nearly resulted in the removal of that officer from the province; and this protection was shown, in particular, by the facts that he proposed that a 1st class arms license be granted to D. José A. Bautista (last March); that he consented to the chief of one of the high government organisms accepting an invitation from those elements and sitting at the same table with D. Marcelo H. del Pilar and other *principales*, the governor, the captain, an *alferez* of the Guardia Civil, and the gobernadorcillo removed but two months afterwards, who had invited all; and by the coincidence, which attracted much attention, that said Pilar was present at the installation of the last gobernadorcillo, a piece of information which the undersigned received from a person who holds a respectable public office.

These first points having been cleared up beyond all doubt, we shall take up the matter of the meetings.

These are supposed to have begun in the year 1886, when an *ayudante de montes* told the governor of them. The circumstance, however, that the parish priest knew nothing about it, and other information gathered by the undersigned, cause him to believe that said meetings had then no social or political character, and their principal purpose was that of playing monte, a game of which the people of Malolos seem to be very fond; but we attribute anti-Spanish ideas to them nevertheless, because M. H. del Pilar professes such ideas and surely endeavored to communicate them to the others, and the essential purpose, the purpose for which they gathered was, for the time being, nothing

more than to communicate to each other the news from their political congeners in Manila, and to agree upon the means of continuing the campaign begun against the religious orders.

That this is so, is indicated by the fact that they were influenced by the tides of the political situation in the capital, and I believe that here as well as in the pueblo mentioned, the filibuster movement is maintained by the elements—natives or mestizos, of course—that are directing and promoting it, but has not yet reached the masses, the contingent following those elements, except under the guise of an anti-religious movement, in order to make it, if not more popular, less to be feared.

The filibusterism of Malolos is, therefore, in the embryonic stage, not very well defined; if the people find they are watched, if the parish priest recovers his prestige and the liberty of action of which he has been deprived, with an upright and very just, but energetic provincial executive, and if at least two evil spirits are removed, a political one, which is Pilar, and a religious one, which is the coadjutor, D. Rafael Canlapan, in whom, on account of his belonging to that group all the respect and influence denied to the Spanish parish priest has been centered, that which is now but an aspiration will die out without leaving perceptible traces, and time and a wise policy will completely efface those unhealthy ideas.

We shall now proceed to examine the conduct of the provincial executive, leaving aside the matter of the election of the gobernadorcillo, because although the reports of the government show remarkable deficiencies, such as the omission in the first reports of any mention of the ideas which he afterwards stated were imputed to him in the first place, and the assurance that he had invited the parish priest, the fact being that if he addressed a communication to him, he did not send him the *recado de*

atención prescribed by the regulations, and, on the other hand, when he asked him for information the first time, he did so in order to have him state “whether or not they knew Spanish” (See abstract on folio 14), which is an open violation of article 8 of the Superior Circular of November 6, 1885, yet it is not advisable to isolate any single fact, especially not one sanctioned by Y. E. We shall begin by stating that it is astonishing to see a provincial executive, who comes into frequent contact with the most important elements of the pueblo of Malolos, receive information regarding the filibuster proclamations and agitation later than the parish priest, who reported them to the General Government on May 11, ultimo; and it is likewise strange that the *alferez* of Hagonoy, who is also that of Malolos, considers the ten or twelve persons mentioned by the parish priest as hostile to the Spaniards, knows that they meet secretly, and states that he did not report the matter to his chief and to the provincial executive because he presumed they met in order to gamble.

In the confidential telegrams exchanged between the Secretary of the General Government, by superior delegation, and Governor Gomez Florio, on May 12, ultimo (folio 15, back), what prominent persons of Malolos did he point out as propagandists of the filibuster proclamations, together with the gobernadorcillo subsequently removed on account of this, and to what more or less influential persons of the province did he refer when he said that they made frequent journeys to Manila which might have some relation with those things? Could they be any others than Don Marcelo H. del Pilar, in the first place, and some of the friends and relatives of the latter, and of the gobernadorcillo who was subsequently removed from office? There was not any agitation in any other pueblo of Bulacan, and Malolos was the only one where there was a group like the one of which we are speaking.

How is it to be explained, then, that he gave such importance to it and stated to Your Excellency two months later, in the second report on the election of the gobernadorcillo, and without making any allusion to a matter of such recent occurrence, that if they—he speaks of the three men proposed—were not to be elected on account of their being considered as disloyal to Spain, it would be necessary to disqualify nearly all natives?

But let us continue:

On May 18, ultimo, when the General Government removed the gobernadorcillo of Malolos, D. Manuel Crisóstomo, the provincial executive was instructed to watch the conduct of this person, who was supposed to be working towards the end of disturbing the public order. What measures did the governor adopt in order to comply with this important order? This question is answered by the official communications of the officers of the Guardia Civil of the province, in which it appears clearly and definitely that they received no instructions or orders from him, neither in writing nor orally, and neither before nor after the events of last May, to watch the pueblo or anybody in Malolos.

And, reverting to the report above referred to, Y. E. said to the Governor of Bulacan that you had not until then (last June) any information of the meetings which the parish priest said were being held at Malolos, and that if the matter had been reported to the Chief Executive in time, nothing would have been easier than to surprise them and thus render a good service to the cause of Spain....

Aside from the fact that one can not understand how the governor could not know what nobody else in the province was uninformed of, it must be noted that the parish priest states in his

report (Folio 39, back) that on May 12 that official, in speaking to him of the proclamations (it was a parish priests, to be sure, who furnished him the one sent to the General Government), told him that clandestine meetings with filibuster tendencies were being held in his pueblo, Malolos. The undersigned, Your Excellency, does not incline towards any of these two affirmations, and Y. E. will judge which must be considered more accurate or true.

But whether or not the Governor knew it in May, why did he not, after the species of protest transcribed in the last paragraph but one, endeavor to render that “good service” by raiding the meetings that were being held, according to the *alferez* of Hagonoy? If he had adopted the measures usually taken in such special cases, or even the most elementary or ordinary ones, could it then have happened that several meetings were held and that the Guardia Civil thought that they were gambling games and did not raid or at least stop them?

If the people of Malolos thought they were being watched, would they have continued to meet as they did?

No, Your Excellency, this is neither logical nor possible, and it very evident, on the other hand, that, as we have already said, neither the pueblo nor any resident of Malolos was watched, nor was even an attempt made to do so, nor did the governor cease to show consideration to D. Marcelo H. del Pilar, and the others with him, until the last moment; and this is well shown by the work and coercion of which Del Pilar was guilty at the beginning of the investigation by the Commission, as a result of which the expediente was started which is notable on account of the unanimity of the reports of the clergy, regular as well as secular, without distinction of orders.

We will not attempt to remove the veil of mystery from the strange fact that the governor did not know what was going on at Malolos, but learned suddenly of the existence of the proclamations and pointed out the gobernadorcillo as an agitator, and then again plunged into ignorance; that is probably an anomaly like the circumstance that the local official mentioned was immolated as the sole victim, and that not even the first class arms license was taken away from José A. Bautista who, as the parish priest of Malolos says, was indicated to him by the executive of the province as the principal agitator in the events in May, just as he had been in those of the month of December last preceding.

I do not believe, Your Excellency, that more need to be said concerning this matter.

My loyal opinion, the judgment which I have formed, in accordance with my conscience and my scant intellectual equipment, of the events and the situation of the pueblo of Malolos, I have already stated. As to the conduct in this matter of the person who was until recently civil governor of Bulacan, Y. E. alone can judge the same, using for this purpose, to the extent that Your Excellency's clear discernment may suggest, if you see fit to do so, the conclusions submitted by the undersigned.

Manila, October 30, 1888

Your Excellency's

MAN.L DIAZ GOMEZ

Such is the mysterious expediente, carried on behind the backs of the victims in which only friars and certain peace officers friendly to them

furnish information, where the evidence consists of ignoble rumors and whimsical imaginations of the informants. Fr. Felipe García and alférez Peñuelas, the latter of whom had been nicknamed *asuang* by the Malolenses. Peñuelas resolutely affirms that Del Pilar is “anti-Spanish” and adds, without hesitancy, that “*although I have the moral conviction of the truth of what I say*, I can not base this assertion upon any overt act of his”, and that Del Pilar “was the principal agitator against the religious orders, *not only because of the character of the latter, but because of the principle which they represent.*” The unfriendly agents, however (Governor Gomez Florio and Captain Galindo), are not required to make *secret reports* and if they are requested to make a report and the same is contrary, the whole wrath of the powerful delator and that of the Commissioner or *juez de residencia* is visited upon them. After all, although the Commissioner attempted to make Del Pilar responsible for the entire anti-friar movement, the decree ordering the change of residence was not issued, because a few days before the decision was signed (October 30, 1888), the bird took flight. On October 28 of the same year, he quietly embarked for Spain, “in accordance with several important Filipino entities, for the purpose of obtaining from the public men of Spain in the liberties which the progress of the Archipelago demanded.” He was accompanied on board by Mariano Crisóstomo, his brother-in-law Deodato Arellano, and Gregorio Santillan. When he left the shores of the homeland, he left forever his dearly beloved: his wife, his daughter Sofia, then nine years of age, and the youngest of all, the charming Anita, the speaking image of her father, one year and four months of age, and his sister Yayang, married to Dedodato Arellano. None of his kin uttered any complaint; they all accepted the sacrifice.

On the afternoon of the day preceding his departure, he met with Rafael Enriquez and another at the house of Pedro Serrano at Trozo, and they decided, before dispersion throughout the world, like the apostles, to write the revolutionary *Pasyon* and *Catecism* in Tagalog. The evangelic catechism was entitled *Dasalan at Toksohan* and was written in Tagalog

prose by the three who were the best Tagalog writers of Bulacán; the *Pasión* was entitled *Pasiong dapat ipagalab nang puso nang tauong babasa*, and was written in beautiful octosyllabic quatrains. Rizal considers them classics and models of Tagalog wit and satire; they inspired to him his *La Visión de Fr. Rodriguez* and *Por Teléfono*. Aside from these booklets he had, even before his departure from the Philippines, already published several noteworthy articles and had sent abroad, to be printed there, perhaps the best of his anti-friar writings, under the pseudonyms of *Dolores Manapat*, *Piping Dilat*, *Plaridel*, *Carmelo*, etc. When he left the country, he was 38 years old, had already written the best of his works, and had acquired the difficult science of life by the right of conquest and not through books or the dust of libraries.

III

CORRESPONDENCE

Before chronicling his campaign in Spain (1889-1896), it will be well for us to become more closely acquainted with the man. His private correspondence, addressed to his wife and daughter, and, therefore, intimate and sincere and inaccessible to any less noble rumor, on account of it being the sacred sanctuary of the confidences, will show him to us as he was and serve as a guiding thread whereby to follow him with the firm step through the campaign, full of anguish, of the precursors of our revolution of 1896.

He speaks with Calvo y Muñoz, who promises him his aid. The latter actually spoke in Congress, as deputy, and here is something concerning what he said, and of the result thereof and of the propaganda made by Del Pilar for the purpose of calling the attention of the Spanish Government towards the need of the Philippine Islands, and of his intention of getting the friars mixed up in the matter:

“Madrid, *March 5*, 1890 [2] And so it was: very soon he spoke of the Philippines in Congress. What he said is also what we say in order to awaken the sleeping intellect of the Spaniard to the needs of our country. Perhaps those with the shaven heads will contribute towards it, because their ire will be aroused and their newspaper will begin to talk nonsense, and nothing is more necessary than to have our country frequently discussed in order to call attention to it.”...

The letter of April 29, 1890,[3] fills him with hope, and he even attempts to attract the deputies that are on the other side:

“Weyler is going to be relieved. If Burgos takes his place, Calvo Muñoz may, perhaps, be made Director General by him. I begged the latter in that case first to introduce the bill on representation in the Cortes for the Philippine Islands. He says he will do everything possible. We shall be all right if Burgos comes with Calvo: he is a favorite of the *Segundo Cabo* there, and Colonel Pazos is a nephew and the right-hand man of General Burgos. This Colonel Pazos is one of our collaborators in *La Solidaridad* and signs himself *Padpyvh*.”

“Quiroga also says that it is not Burgos who will go, but Calleja. I do not know which of the two. The rumor that went about the Congress on Saturday, however, was that Weyler will actually be relieved.”

“The several deputies of various factions to whom I have spoken have given me their word that they will approve the representation of the Philippine Islands in the Cortes. I have not yet succeeded in talking to any of the friar friends: I am going to see if I can win over a few of them.”

On July 9, 1890,^[4] his hopes are less buoyant and he encounters some conservative intrigues:

“I do not know if Burgos will succeed in going. It was the Queen who promised him, but I do not know yet whether he will accept the place, now that the opposition is getting in its work. It would be very desirable if it could be Burgos, because his relative and right-hand man, Colonel Pazos, is a friend of mine.

“It now seems that Weyler is to be relieved by Martinez Campos. He was responsible for the exaltation of the conservatives, and

these desire, for that reason, that Martinez Campos go far away, so that he may not become the cock of the walk in the cabinet, Pidal, the protector of the shavelings, is wild because he has been unable to land a portfolio.”

“This cabinet is not going to last.”...

The letter of October 15, 1890, [5] speaks of banquet at which he endeavored to get the liberal party to promise to make representation in the Cortes a plank of the party platforms; he also speaks of the trap which he set there for Padre Nozoleda in order to compromise him or hurt his prestige; the fruit of the seed planted by him, he says, is still unripe, but when it shall be mature, he will be able to return calmly to the Philippines:

“We are preparing a grand *pipiripao*, to which the party leaders will be invited (they have already given their promise), and at which we shall speak of the necessity of there being deputies for the Philippine Islands, in order that upon the accession to power of the liberals, this will be an obligation to be redeemed by the party. Two stenographers will be present at this banquet and will take down what everybody says, and we shall afterwards have it printed, for the information of all. Nozaleda will be invited. If he is going to sit down to table with us, he will not dare talk against us; if not, it will be his duty to write to us, and in his letter he will not be able to unburden himself against us, because we shall turn it over to the newspapers. If he neither comes nor writes, we shall make it public that he does not amount to much so far as good manners are concerned.”

“My return will be delayed still further, because only now the seed that I have brought is beginning to germinate, and it would

not be right for me to leave it; it would be a pity. After it has matured, I shall no longer engage in raising poultry.”

These letters reach as far as the year 1895, and the impression which they create is one of irritation; it is a continuous weaving and undoing. When Del Pilar’s hopes were running high, disappointment came and all his hopes vanished. Thus, when he had a candidate ready who held glory higher than gold and who was about to triumph the Melilla war occurred and had a baleful influence not only upon his spirits, but also upon those of the Spanish nation.

While Del Pilar was struggling and gave himself no rest in his endeavors to raise his country from its state of prostration, his livelihood became difficult to such an extent that he had not a crust wherewith to appease his hunger, nor clothes wherewith to keep out the cold, nor cigarettes to smoke. The efforts of the Propaganda were weakening to such an extent that he was compelled to use the sacrifices of his poor family not for his own necessities, but for the expenses of the paper and the printing of *La Solidaridad*. Oppressed by illness, such as a tumor on the neck, dengue, la grippe, rheumatism in the right arm, and a profound melancholy which caused him to look upon death with love, it is indeed marvelous that his spirit did not become contaminated and that doubts did not assail the firmness of his soul of a true believer. The temptations were strong and suggestive, because when he was in the most strained circumstances, he received the news of the terrible revenge of his enemies, who had reduced his home to ashes. It is comforting however, to see how his spirit was not broken by all these misfortunes, and how he did not storm against his enemies, but rather used words of affectionate charity.

“As to the person who set fire to our house,[6] this does not astonish me; they will do something more than that to us, and for good reasons. But if they have used some countryman of ours for

that misdeed, I trust he was led astray by involuntary blindness, because I can not believe that the person who betrays me can go to such an extreme if he knows how much I think of him. I harbor no resentment. All that worries me are those “notes” which I made about things during my leisure hours when still a student, and which cost me deep and long meditation, and, besides, the poems of our grandparents which father and aunt Ticang confided to the paper before they died. It is a pity. As you have a good memory, try to restore them, with Memang’s assistance; have also the papers for the children written up, in order that they may read them when they grow up; I wish them to find the writings for their father upon awakening.”....

And yet there were still persons who, far from being grateful to him for the work which he was doing for his country, recriminated him and reproved him for certain sacrifices. Del Pilar, receiving it all with a patriotism worthy of imitation, advises his compatriots to show faith and valor in the exercise of their citizens’ rights in order to prevent their being miserably exploited:

“Do not listen to the gossip of Capitán Andrés and of that blessed Antonio. [7] It is thus that a man who will say the truth to his people is treated: he is reviled.

*“Every beastly bigot burns perfumed
Incense upon his own altar.”*

“That good Antonio is not mistaken when he says that a pigmy who measures his strength with a giant achieves nothing. But if that is so, it is worse to surrender without struggle and allow oneself to be enslaved. Besides; why is the giant sighing for an armistice? Why have the stipends disappeared and we have in

their stead the salaries, which relieves the situation of the *cabeza de barangay*, because the parish priest will no longer insist upon carrying the dead and absent eternally upon the rolls? Moreover, we are certainly not struggling with Goliath here, but are doing everything to further the interests of the people. If he knows that I lack strength, why does he not help me? Tell Antonio that he is educated; that he has the esteem of the people; that he is no Capitán Andrés or Eusebio Plata and must be careful of his good name; that it is a real shame to hear him utter words worthy of a vile slave, but unworthy of a lawyer.”

“I have made them believe here that he is one of those who give me strength, one of the hopes of the people, and it would make us blush with shame to have the news spread here that the ideals of our lawyer are those of clandestine cockfight. He must not behave in this manner; he must honor his compatriots, if they are weak, don’t show it.”

“The allowance of salaries does not eliminate the fees. The government can not abolish the fees of the Church so long as that government is catholic. What the salary does eliminate is the famous stipend, which is nothing else than the one-eighth of the cedula tax.”

“Very well; the fees that are collected over there are excessive and the citizen must know the tariff of the Church in order that he may not pay more than is due. The parish priest can not sue any person for not wanting to pay more than what is marked in the tariff, because the authorities can not disobey the provisions of the tariff. This tariff was established by Archbishop Don Basilio Sancho and was the result of an agreement between him and the other bishops of that territory.”

“Have the poor bear well in mind the following article of the tariff, in order that they may not be deceived. It reads thus:

“*Furthermore*.—the poor who have not the wherewithal to pay the fees, except by selling or pawning the tools of their trade of animals necessary for tilling the soil, or fields needed to sustain their lives and those of their families, shall not be charged anything for baptisms, nor for marriages, nor for burials: all shall be done by the parish priest for the love of God.”

The struggle, which had been carried to the very gates of the stronghold of the friars, had its natural effects, and as the enemy had succeeded in fortifying himself and was not easy to vanquish by force, the friars resorted to diplomacy. Their astute diplomatists displayed wisdom and skill, endeavoring to undermine Del Pilar’s integrity, but they had no success. The letters describing this underhand work are very funny. Here are a few, without making selections:

“Madrid, *January 22, 1890*. [8] The shaven pates sent me a flag of truce, inviting me to parley with them. I told them I was not their enemy, but merely parried their blows; if there was no blow, there was no parry. They say they are going to organize a pro-Philippine party here and solicit my affiliation and that of my friends. I replied they should first issue a manifesto, followed by an invitation addressed to the Filipinos, and if the program was beneficial to the Philippine Islands, many, I said, would come in. In one word, I told them neither yes nor no.”...

“Madrid, *February 4, 1890*. [9] The acute itching that now afflicts those with the shaven pates may, perhaps, result in a better treatment for the Tagalog; they now seek to obtain the love of

the islanders, seeing that it is impossible to continue frightening them with idle boasts; the decoy they are using here is that if I do not make war upon them, they will work for the felicity of our people. They say they are going to organize a strong party in which I and the youth ought to take part. I said neither yes nor no; I merely absorbed all they told me.”...

“Madril, *April 1, 1890*. [10] The Dominicans are working here to obtain authority to organize in each parish a pawnshop with Dominican capital. The Government did not grant them this authority, alleging that to do business with the world does not agree very well with the vow to turn the back upon the world. The Augustinians are laughing over the failure of the Dominicans. These, on their part, say that the loss of the prestige of the friars is due to lawless Augustinians, and that they had desired to restore it by means of beneficent establishments in the pueblos. Now Padre Marin (Dominican) remarks that unless the Holy Ghost descends over there, there is no power that can revive the agonizing power of the friars.”...

“Madrid, *March 3, 1891*. [11] I received word from a Dominican who is way up, not to consider the Dominicans as my enemies. I answered I considered nobody as an enemy; that we only asked for what was rightfully ours. He again sent me word that he did not oppose what we wanted, insinuating that those who opposed it were the Augustinians, Franciscans, and Recollects, but not they. Thank God! Formerly they frightened us to death by merely looking at us, and now they like to say “Not I, Sir.”

“Madrid, *April 14, 1892*. [12] They are already badgering the new governor-general over there and even published their objections in the newspaper *La Epoca*. The latter is a conservative paper which upholds that general. However, none of the other newspapers of that stripe followed suit. Those who replied to *La*

Epoca were the liberal papers, *El Correo* (Sagasta's); *El Pais* (Ruiz Zorrilla's, republican); *El Liberal*; (without master). These will come out for the general. And inasmuch as praise by the enemy is the finest of all praise, Despujols gained in the opinion of the people and in reputation."

"This gives us ammunitions, because we shall be able to tell even the friar lovers what has already become evident: that the enemy of Their Reverences is not the man, but reason."

"Inasmuch as Padre Font's paper (*La Política de España en Filipinas*) came out for General Despujols before he sailed from here, it can not say anything now; it wishes to criticise, but cannot say a thing"...

In the fight unto death between the great champion of the people and the *de facto* sovereign, the friar, one of the combatants had to succumb in the opinion of the people. After the first encounters in the Philippines, the enemy already began to totter and resorted to palliatives and parleys. Padre Quiros, in the name of his brethren of the robe, took up the struggle valorously. He was the most beloved among the parish priests in Bulacan and had access to Del Pilar, hence nobody was better suited than he to act as plenipotentiary and fix the real terms of the negotiation in case of success, and if unsuccessful, everything possible had been done. On the other hand, Padre Toribio H. del Pilar, Del Pilar's brother, who had been deported to the Marianas in 1872, had already returned and was coadjutor of Bigaa, and he had the ascendancy of a head of the family over his brother and was a great friend of the plenipotentiary, the priest of Guiguinto. Padre Toribio had tasted the bitter rice of exile and was peaceable, a friend of repose, and a faithful guardian of the family ties. Standing on the brink of the grave, it did, of course, not seem well to him that Marcelo should suffer his sad fate in his old age.

The enemy knew that the eldest of the sons occupies the place of the parents in the Filipino family, especially as regards that holy respect, love, and veneration which can not cease nor diminish in any manner. And Marcelo was precisely the type of puritanism in the family; he only waited for his brother's death in order to come forth from the ranks and enter the fight with flying banners. Could Marcelo embitter the last days of his brother, who had suffered so much under the rigors of banishment? Of a brother who, like Priamus, knelt at the feet of the new Achilles, more cruel still than the one of the legend, and kissed the hands still stained with the blood of his sons?

The living chronicles of Bulacan say that 50,000 duros and, besides, the revenue from the exclusive representation, in the offices of the States, of the Bulacan property of the friars, were offered. The chronicles say, further, that a "the motion is not carried," was the final decision of the incident. In case of decisions of this kind in the Philippines, there were no recourse but administrative relegations; but this was also not feasible, as we have already said, and new attempts, perhaps even more tempting, were made in Spain, but with the same negative result. However, all did not go well, because he was not allowed to enjoy each hard-earned victory: the impatience of his compatriots and the desertion of his friends took all the sweetness out of victory, and his life was embittered by malevolent insinuations. With what disabused passion and grave eloquence he describes all this!

"According to what I have communicated to Vicente [13] the ideal of the patriots is giving good results. The Gazette here has already published the salaries of the parish priests and the reduction of the taxes of the poor. The new Archbishop does no longer want to leave for that Barataria; he is intriguing to be sent to some other bishopric and will only go if he fails. It seems that if he can, he will get out of taking the Manila see. Tell them that even if they fail in other things, they must not give themselves

entirely over to grief or feel too miserable. What is happening is seriously worrying those who are used to winning the game. A simple scratch is gall to them, because they are not accustomed to being hurt. For this reason the compatriots ought to be glad they got pinched a little. Here we do not sleep, but are struggling to conquer still greater concessions, and we may conquer them, but sight must not be lost of the fact that the condition of the fight is about as if Apan, Bió, and Patok were all three fighting Geronimo, which constrains one to trust to God and assistance for the victory.”

“Tell Inte that if Biltó’s successor is not a mason, a known evil is to be preferred. Biltó’s badness is like that of a rooster: you hear him coming because of the noise which he makes with his wings; the worst evil is that which comes silently. Biltó is weak if alone; he is not going to do anything by himself; he gets his badness and strength from others; he is like the fever that comes from a tumor and which nothing will palliate: so long as the tumor is there, the fever will last, and any febrifuge will be like so much dishwater. Success is not going to be for them alone. He must not forget what I used to tell them: that there are defeats which are not defeats at all. Let them always bear in mind the rights and the welfare of the people; happen what may, we must not become demoralized; whether we come out victorious or not, the honor will be ours. If the old comrades flee in order to go over to the victor, we must be thankful for it, because it gives an opportunity for a separation of those who can do nothing but cry “Viva!” from those who are faithful to their compatriots and to the cause of justice. The exaltation of the gentlemen of the cowl will not last long; they themselves are considerably worried just now, and the masters of Apan are, for this reason, already taking the wealth of their reverences to Australia and are intriguing here to be authorized to sell their lands.”

“Aside from this it is good to have them feel the pulse of the people from time to time; it is worse to be carried away by confidence in a people whom it is not wise to trust. A people that does not know its benefactor, but is taken in by any fraud or swindler, resembles a tree that has not yet hardened and is still tender: if you make an upright for your house of it, the white ants will surely eat it. And this is another reason why I desire to return there, because my frame is growing and there is a lack of uprights. Each letter of Vicente paralyzes me: I must not remain here if I have nothing but this indolent passiveness to look for.”..:

“From the letters that have arrived from there,[14] I have learned that the fiestas of Santa Cruz and Binondo were a success, and that nothing of what the gentlemen of the cowl prophesied has happened. Thank God! The effect has been good, because I had predisposed the minds of the minister and other high officials, the rumor having circulated beforehand that the friars were busy propagating imaginary uprisings.”

“Weyler has already been relieved, but his substitute does not want to leave here. Tell them there not to allow the fright to overcome them, because Weyler’s wings have been clipped and he is, therefore, trying another tune, but it is a good thing that it has availed him nothing; I am sure they will not accommodate him. If possible, they will render him powerless to do mischief; but if he gives them the slip, we must not let him catch us. It is necessary to look out for him, but not fear him.”

As the enemies were unable to take revenge upon Del Pilar personally, they worked their will with his family, relatives, and friends, and each of these revenges hurt him deeply. The letter of February 18, 1891,[15] shows his state of mind when one of his relatives, Padre Gregorio

Cris6stomo, was offended. With what dignity does he express himself in speaking of that priest; the final paragraph is full of biting irony for the petty tyrants and for those who allow themselves to be tyrannized over:

“Tell Uncle Imbó and Aunt Biang that I deplore what has happened to Padre Goyo. Temerity in the cause of right is certainly an honorable attitude, worthy of emulation. The saying that if you wish to live, you must act as if you were dead, is a tempting adage with which the Tagalogs have been narcotized by their tyrants. Man must defend his life and that of his fellow-man against any danger, among them the manifest violation of his rights. And if this is everybody’s duty, it is principally that of the men who enjoy the esteem of the people, which esteem must be compensated by sincere regard and patronage on the part of the person so favored. Let everyone do what he can, and he who can not do anything; let him call upon God. It is necessary to pluck up heart.”

“Padre Goyo’s misfortune and Mariano’s immunity remind me of my brother Toribio and Padre Fernando. Padre Fernando, who was bold, had nothing happen to him; but my brother, who was prudent, went to the Marianas.”

The Spanish policy, which yields only when it is forced to yield, and the success due to Del Pilar’s constancy and tenacity, are revealed in the letter of May 8, 1895:

“My mission shows new, encouraging phases. The Government is gradually changing its attitude towards the Tagalogs; it endeavors to indulge them, fearing that they will place themselves under the protection of Japan. It already considers the friar as a liar: it says there are no filibusters in the Philippines.”...

This section regarding: the friars, their intrigues, and reprisals, and that

respecting his countrymen, especially the Bulacan people, are certainly rich. Through them all we find a certain air of profound sadness, kept alive by homesickness. At times it is illuminated by rays of intense joy, but even this joy is plaintive, surcharged with considerations and salutary advice concerning civism and patriotism suggested to him by the desertion of his friends, the lack of faith in the destiny of the country shown by his compatriots, and, especially, the impatience of those who, lacking the courage to risk anything, shamefully break down on the way and carry demoralization among those who are fighting heroically and bravely for the country.

Del Pilar is so good that he not only finds some justification for this attitude of his countrymen, but even in judging his enemies, his words of justice are tempered by expressions of benevolence and tolerance which, to him, were always synonyms of Christian charity. In his desire to do good for the sake of the good, he confounds them all in one sole embrace. But where he rises to a height bordering on heroisms is in praising the heroic struggle for duty of those who suffer and are starving for justice, and in encouraging with the words of the apostle those who, without suspicion, wavering, or impatience are waiting for the triumph of the sacred ideal and, far from being discouraged by the demoralizing influence of defeat and failure, he thanks God who strengthens his arm, who gives him the courage to get ready for a new struggle, more desperate even than the first, and who endows him with the strength of an athlete to carry defeat into the enemy's camp. His words then acquire the elevation, the ardor, and the Roman intonation of that Consul Varro who, despite Cannae, was confident of the final victory of his people.

In great men, everything is great, and whatever they touch acquires a certain stamp of greatness recognizable at first sight. The domestic affections, so obscure, the most solid and sincere, acquire an inestimable social value. Thus, everything referring to his friends and relatives, and

especially to his wife and children, makes such an impression upon the imagination that it is impossible to forget them: he is an inexhaustible fountain of pure sentiments revealing the virtues of a family man, and this is doubly valuable for us Filipinos, because it shows us, more than any treatise, that morphology of the Filipino family, that manner of being peculiar and characteristic of the race, in its native purity, as it manifests itself in the domestic customs.

Del Pilar, who is the oracle of his family, relatives, and friends, does nothing of any importance without first consulting a species of family council composed of the nearest of kin. He wants to return to the Philippines, for instance; the council must determine the advisability of it; to the council he submits his humble opinion, without any desire to impose his will, and the decision of the council is final in the premises. The solidarity of sentiments and interests is inalterable and fixed, and is constantly renewed and consolidated. The letters of his wife, relatives, and friends are Del Pilar's faithful newspaper, just as Del Pilar's are theirs. The letters abstracted or transcribed are addressed to his wife and are a chronicle of everything. But the best are the portions referring to his daughters.

The eldest is about ten years old, and in order that she may understand, he makes the letters as thick as a mongo or a chick-pea. He is constantly on the lookout for the confounded postman, and even if the wife and daughters do not write anything, he is sure to know everything, because Deodato Arellano and the relatives give him the details of the privations of the family and of their ailments. He tells the daughter to take good care of their mother and obey her, and there is no letter to the mother in which, after the signature, there is not another for Sofia and Anita, with the letters as thick as chick-peas, a prodigy of calligraphic and literary simplicity, full of funny solecisms.

Sofia is unable to make headway in the schools of Bulacan; she is too near her mother, who spoils her, and he consents to her going to Manila

to study with the *maestra* Margarita Lopez, but the mother must visit her often: the daughter must never be separated from the mother:

“If she neglects her studies in Bulacan, it is right that she should go to Manila.[16] But when I think of the girl being away from you, the tears fill my eyes; aside from the grief of the child, I fear that the sudden separation from her mother and little sister will make her ill; she has become accustomed not to sleep without feeling you close to her, and I do not deem it well for you to separate suddenly.”

“The girl will surely obey. But the suffering will gradually undermine her health. You must visit her frequently and remain several days with her. If she were a boy, I would tell you something quite different, but as she is a girl, it is necessary that she should not go away from the mother, not even for an instant.” ...

The daughter must not detest her studies, but love them, and it is the business of the grown people to make her studies agreeable, in order that she may love to study and to sit on her mother’s lap:

“I want her to be diligent in her studies[17] but use all means in order to have her not suffer or grieve. This is the best not only for Sofia, but for all the girls. The child can not be expected to become diligent of herself: it is the business of the grown people to exercise their ingenuity in order that the child may take a liking to study. The child has no inclination but to romp and play on her mother’s lap: the grown people must make it their duty to get the girls to love their studies.”

Sofia must get accustomed to reading,[18] writing, and counting, and to feminine occupations; she must rise early and mingle study and work with her plays:

“It is necessary that Sofia should practice reading, writing, counting, and the work peculiar to her sex. Sofia is gifted; with a little teaching and study she will learn. Have Aunt Pina educate her. Get her accustomed to rising early, in order that she may not grow up a weakling. Give her enough play; a few hours are sufficient for study and the daily work.”

It is very well that Sofia should grow fond of studying, but the mother must visit her frequently; there are things that only the intuition of a mother can divine and that escape a teacher’s diligence:

“It is all right that Sofia loves Maestra Margarita’s school[19] and also that she has schoolmates. You must visit her often in order to get acquainted with her inclinations. There are things that will escape even the most lynx-eyed teacher, but that do not remain hidden from the eyes and the instinct of a mother. You did not lose Sofia out of your eyes when, as a baby, she played with her childhood companions; now you must also continue to be extremely vigilant.”

Sofia is growing up into womanhood, and he hopes the mother is not neglecting her intellectual and moral education. She is naturally good and he believes she will give no grief to her mother. But, might there not be someone who would sully his honor by sullyng hers? He exclaims.

“Sofia is arriving at the age of puberty,[20] I hope you will be Argus-eyed in the education of her intellect and will. When she was a baby you were anxious to keep all bodily disease from her; now you must exercise the same care with regard to diseases of the soul. To be sure, the child has a good disposition, and I make myself the illusion that she will not cause her mother any grief. I am living far away from you and will not be able to defend her from the pitfalls there. But, *would any man sullyng the honor of my daughter not be ashamed of himself?*”

What he says of Anita is still more charming. He watches her mischievous plays; he knows by heart the letters that Anita is learning little by little; he writes Sofia to take care of her sister and have pity on her when she quarrels with her and pushes her, because she is not yet responsible for what she is doing. And, if a carromata should knock his daughter down as she was running across the street? Or if she should get the smallpox, this being the hot season. . . . My God I perhaps I shall die without my daughter having been able to see me!" (He left her when she was one year and four months old.) He wants Anita to scribble him something, but wants Sofia to translate what Anita wanted to say. "My daughter already knows twelve letters, my goodness! Let her learn to write, then, but she must learn on banana leaves first, in order that she may not get the habit of bearing down too hard on the pen," and he sends her a game composed of a number of types of different countries, in order that she may learn geography while playing.

Del Pilar used to make the baker of his pueblo bake sweet buns shaped like the letter of the alphabet, and, taking them out one by one, he would show them to Sofia, asking her what letter each was, and if she guessed correctly, the letter-bun passed from the hands of the father to those of the child, who soon took care that the bun should be forever withdrawn from commerce. Then there was no girl who knew her alphabet better than Sofia. Something like this Del Pilar suggested to Sofia, in order that she might try it on Anita.

The wife knew the strained circumstances in which her husband was living; for instance, that he had to pick up cigar stubs in order to smoke them and deceive his hunger, and that he once stopped writing to her and their daughters because he had no money for stamps. Unfortunately she had nothing, either, and applied to her daughter Anita who, under the impulse of filial generosity, parted with all her Easter presents to send them to her father. The father, with tears in his eyes, replied in the following touching words:

“I can not forget the peso Anita [21] has sent me. You should not have taken it seriously, then you could have bought little shoes for my daughter. It breaks my heart to think of your penury. For this reason I ardently desire to return in order that I may do my duty towards my darlings.”

Dark nights of insomnia and nightmares trouble his imagination. He frequently dreams he has Anita on one knee and Sofia on the other, disputing each other his love, and retaining him at home, and he kisses them passionately, but wakes up terrified and bathed in tears; it was a dream, nothing but a dream. He then goes out in the streets and smothers the daughters of his friends with kisses. The orphanhood of his daughters breaks his heart; he considers himself the unhappiest of fathers because of the great misfortune of his daughters.

“Frequently,[22] he writes, I shed tears when I think of the orphanhood of my daughters. But I endeavor to alleviate my grief by praying to God with all my heart and saying, at the same time: Thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven. I am the most unfortunate of fathers, because my daughters are the most unfortunate of daughters.”

He receives no letters from his wife, and although Sofia writes him that nothing has happened to her mother, as Deodato Arellano gives no satisfactory explanation of the condition of his family, presentiments of evil take possession of him, and, weary, he prays God, his Lord, to deliver him from so much suffering, as superior to his strength.

There is no doubt; he must return home. What can they do to him? Exile him, like Rizal, or his enemies may kill him. Banishment is preferable to his despair, and dying a violent death is a thousand times better than starving to death.[23] “If it were only for the scoffs and ingratitude of his compatriots, all right, but his penury and that of his family? Could he who had the pride and dignity to refrain from applying for a government

position in order not to lose his independence, accept the tempting offers of his enemies?" [24]

Nevertheless, it was necessary to remain in Spain; the welfare of his country demanded it. Aside from the resolution of the family council and of the entreaties of his wife, Blumentritt, Florentino Torres, and, especially, Morayta and Quiroga Ballesteros advised him to stay.

In the letters already transcribed there is a wealth of Tagalog, fresh as the herbs in the morning, still wet with dew, palpitating, and of the most legitimate Filipino growth. There are also the tears of infancy and of ripe age. But in the girls they are like "May showers," and in the grown persons like the "Malayan dawns," a concentration of indefinable melancholy, ineffable perhaps, at times suddenly interrupted by sobs.

Calmer and more serene, with a gaiety at times frank and at others disappointedly ironical, but with an abundant current of loyalty and sincerity, are the letters referring to his friends and comrades. The paternal solicitude of the aged Morayta; the wise advice of Blumentritt; the kindness of the inseparable Naning (Mariano Ponce); the deviltries of Lete and Dodong (Dominador Gomez), who scratched the skin of his companions with a broom of pins in order to vaccinate them, etc., etc., all this engraves itself upon the memory of the reader.

He rejoices over the arrival in Madrid of Serrano and Rizal, who come from Paris, and announces the return home of Rizal, whom he intends to follow after having had a conference with Blumentritt the coming summer.[25]

The Filipinos, among them Rizal, celebrate Christmas according to the customs at home.

"The weather is fine to-day; the cold is not so severe. Rizal and others from over there met last night to celebrate Christmas.

The left hand of each served him as a table and the right to eat according to our custom. We ate rice, turkey, *lechón* with sauce like that at home, the cook being a Filipino. When we separated, it was already five o'clock in the morning.”[26]

The affair at Calamba, with its sequel of indiscriminate deportations, embittered him and caused him to utter unfavorable considerations concerning the Great Martyr, whom he did not want to go to the Philippines to be the unwilling cause of the ruin and misfortune of an entire pueblo. Something similar, he says, happened in Malolos, but without the terrible consequences of Calamba.

“What you say he avoids certainly frightens one. That man, in addition to not completing things, destroys what others are gradually building up. This was not his will, to be sure, but temerity finally hurls him into a precipice. If my misfortune saved others, I would not regret it. But if it did not, and if, on the contrary, it injured many, it would be a real pity. What happened at Calamba I already foresaw when I was over there, and for this reason I endeavored not to interfere. What has been the result? Several people have had a fall, without any practical result. The result would have been the same if I had not opposed, in the province of Bulacan, the insinuations of certain persons of Guiguinto. The attitude of the Malolos people also made the whites squeal, but nobody suffered for it.”[27]

Del Pilar had already received pecuniary assistance from his family and was getting ready to return to his country; but the fear that his imprudence might cause the misfortune of many, such as Rizal caused in Calamba, made him desist from his voyage. Aside from the persons above mentioned it was A. Regidor who, as the oldest and most experienced, advised him not to do so and not to commit the same error as Rizal. Regidor complained, moreover, that the Great Martyr persisted in his

error. Del Pilar defended Rizal against these censures on the part of Regidor:

“I am afraid of being too hasty, because in view of my present situation a wrong step on my part will injure many persons, and even if I should pass out of this life, my compatriots would continue to accuse me of imprudence. Note that an error of Rizal’s did harm to many.”[28]

“For this reason Antonio Regidor said to me: the only wrong step I took I still deplore, and though my hair is gray, I still weep over it. Oh! he said, if it were not for my mistake, my country would be free today. And he wept when he told me that. Rizal, he continued, erred, but he can still correct his mistakes. What really worries me, he said, is that it seems that Rizal has not yet seen his error.”

“But what do you want Rizal to do, I replied, seeing that he is chained to Dapitan?”

“And I, was I not penned up in the Marianas in those days?”

“We both stopped, and a few moments passed, then Regidor sighed and said: you, too, must make no more mistakes.”

The outrages at Calamba caused great indignation to Del Pilar and the Filipino colony at Madrid, and they held a mass meeting at the Teatro Martin, at which Morayta presided. Del Pilar made a speech.

“The theater was full to overflowing and persons of much prominence were present. We then stated what had happened at Calamba.” [29]

Notwithstanding Rizal’s deportation, Del Pilar set quietly to work to have Rizal released and have him take his own place in Madrid. Inasmuch

as Deodato Arellano, his brother-in-law, was at the head of the Junta de Propaganda, he expected to convince him in Rizal's favor.

“Even then we shall see. All that is lacking is my being able to leave this without detriment. Quietly and secretly I am working to get Rizal released and have him replace me here, provided he is acceptable to you over there.”

We have given considerable space to Del Pilar's private correspondence, because it best reflects and depicts his character in certain relations of his life. It is a pity that his correspondence with Deodato Arellano was mostly destroyed and a part of it captured when Andres Bonifacio's archives were taken, together with his correspondence with Bonifacio. Of his correspondence with the members of La Propaganda and of the Philippine Freemasonry, which was extremely important, to be sure, only a few letters remain, one of which, certainly very valuable, General Blanco includes in his famous *Memoria*.

The following is the full text of the letter cited by Blanco:

Madrid, November 3, 1894.

SR. D. JOSE REYES TOLENTINO AND COMPANIONS
OF [THE LODGE] LA MODESTIA, Manila.

MY VERY BELOVED FRIENDS:

“I have your favored letter of August 8th, ultimo, received on October 9, last, with a copy of the esteemed favor of Sr. Salazar and the second of exchange No. 13,829, payable to my order, of which I acknowledged receipt by return mail, promising to make a more complete reply.

“In compliance with that promise, I begin by thanking you again for the moral and material support extended by you to this campaign, of which I happen to be the head.

“I have never felt my unfitness for this task so much as now, when the events are demonstrating the transcendency of this grand and noble undertaking. The victories that we have carried off in the opinion of the people and also within the official sphere; the modification that it has wrought in our customs, considering the headway made by the tendency, not platonic, but real and effective, towards active and militant collectivism; the rectification, if not total, yet at least gradual and progressive, of many prejudices that have formed themselves here, inspired by the friars: these and other results which I am unable to detail here, but which have come about almost imperceptibly since we first began to give signs of life in the political world and to show indubitable symptoms of aspirations towards a better government, seem to encourage all Filipinos to continue upon the road chosen; seem to tell us that here is the finger of God pointing out to us the way to our redemption, seem to be a reward for our strong and ardent faith.

“Unfortunately, however, judging by what you deign to communicate to me in your letter of July 23rd, as this campaign is progressing, instead of our force increasing, the few already constituted seem to be dispersing. The aloofness of some, the indifference of others, ‘most of them wealthy people,’ as the letter says, create an immense void around our cause.

“A justification of this indifference you find in the motives designated in the letter, among them the mistrust caused by the conduct of Panday. But, without wishing to have you believe that I intend to discuss your wise observation in any manner, allow me to say that where you see justification, I see nothing but motives

for grief. Whether the mistrust is justified or unjustified, it is always sad to see it carried to such an extent as to include persons who do not deserve it; and, as a final result, the mistrust and the withdrawal of the mistrustful harms only our own cause and strengthens that of our oppressors.

“When despite the immense power of our enemies we have all seen the impotence of their efforts; when their best weapons, prison and proscription, were wielded to no purpose, without their succeeding in weakening the tenacious impetus of our campaign, does it not seem sad to you, does it not make you weep tears of blood, that we should now owe our defeat to those who should prevent it?

“Oh! if I only had the forces represented by the potent elements which have chosen to give themselves over to indifference, for reasons which I, of course, respect, I can assure you the blows from behind would not make me bow my head.

“But, since we must take things as they come and as we are able to take them, I believe the principal thing is to have faith, great faith, in the cause of our redemption. Faith removes the barriers which have separated the peoples and nations of the universe with mountains and seas; why should it not remove also the barriers raised by differences of opinion or judgment on the part of those compatriots, who do not cease to be bound to us by the interests of our common fatherland and the rigors of our common misfortune?

“If, upon separating from us, they would join the privileged classes of the country; if they could only escape the contempt, the dishonor, under which our country is living, ill served by her own people and tyranized over by foreigners, then we

might, perhaps, have to renounce the hope of causing them to reconsider their inactivity and indifference.

“But, whatever their way of thinking may be, the fact is that inasmuch as we all bear in common the evil that strikes at the root of the liberty and honor of our country, it is just that neither they nor we should look for a remedy for that wound to foreign elements, such, for instance, as ... the Chinaman Palanca.

“Why should we look to the Chinaman Palanca for our redemption, if we have a sufficient sense of shame and dignity to secure it ourselves, providing we are determined? This is what we think, and this is what they must also think, because it would be an insult to attribute to them any other thoughts.

“They will again favor us with their valuable assistance, because just and honorable men could not conscientiously turn a deaf ear to the call of the honor and dignity of their country.

“In the meantime, what we must do is to double our efforts to conceal the gaps in our ranks; we are but few now; though we may have to act like *I feroci romani*, let us hide the absence of the valuable elements that have deserted us, because the void they have left not only weakens us, but is a disgrace to us and a disgrace to all. They will come back, and we must wait for them.

“But let us go on while we wait, and let us not hesitate in our onward march, even though the road be full of thorns and thistles; the immense misfortune of our country certainly merits that small sacrifice.

“You deign to encourage me to devise a plan of organization in order to reform our thinned ranks. This is a favor which you are

doing me and for which I am grateful, or an illusion inspired by your benevolence, which my insufficiency will cause to disappear.

“I think you have an abundance of good organization over there. That which we had when Montilla was president was good; that developed during Felipe Leal’s term was good and excellent, and that communicated to me subsequent to the date of the letter which I am now answering, under the direction of the present president, is not less excellent.

“What you need over there, in my opinion (you will pardon me if I am mistaken, because God knows how little I desire to err in what I am going to tell you), what you need, I repeat, is not directive plans, but habits of *dirigibility*, that is, habits of collective life, of discipline with regard to the powers carried by your votes, of mutual benevolence as regards our fellow-believers, without mental reservations apt to injure the mutual affection which should exist between all. “Think evil and you will hit it right,” says a Spanish proverb; this rule of mistrust we may very well apply to our relations with enemies or persons to whom we are not bound by ties of affection; but with friends, fellow-believers, and brethren it is a destructive rule which renders mutual affection and respect impossible, and where these do not exist, no organization is possible and a scattering of forces is inevitable.

“Am I mistaken?

“If I am, forgive me. I merely utter my opinion and am ready to correct it if it is a mistaken one.

“But whether this belief be correct or mistaken, it will be useful to fix our attention upon the necessity which I have indicated. If it does not remedy an existing evil, it will prevent the same in our campaign. Incipient societies are wont to suffer of the defect that

I am pointing out, and we have a sad illustration of this in the valiant sons of Cuba who, not having foreseen it, wasted blood and money.

“The great heroism displayed by the Cubans has been rendered fruitless by mistrust and disunion, mutual defamation and irreconcilability; they knew how to light and die, but not how to vanquish, when victory would have been easy for them if they had not entered the struggle divided and even antagonistic to each other.

“Oh! let us take a lesson; let each of us sacrifice himself on the altar of harmony, because he who can not vanquish himself, can not vanquish his enemies. Let us take a lesson, for God’s sake, because whether we will or not, something of the most vital importance to us is at the stake in this humble and modest campaign, namely, the happiness of our country.

“No? God grant it!

“Condemn immorality; this is good and just; is there any doubt of it? But I believe that immorality should never be presumed; that accusations of immorality must not be based upon mere suspicions, mere conjectures, gossip, and slander. It is necessary to get the certainty, and, besides, to demonstrate the truth of it, or at least to explain it in such manner that a person may rely upon the justice of his judgment.

“Besides, it seems to me that a person who condemns immorality should not separate himself from the collectivity: his retirement does not represent the condemnation of the person guilty of the immorality; it is the condemnation of the collectivity, that is, of the victim of the immoral act. Is this just? Is this fair? Is it worthy

of a man of conscience and valor to condemn the victim and acquit the offender?

“On the basis of these considerations, I prepared and sent over there a plan, not of organization, but of documentation, in order to show the morality of our administration and to prevent unjustified accusations from being uttered. It seems, however, that the new organization has no need to resort to this means in order to guarantee its invulnerability, of which I am glad.

“I have taken up enough of your time and conclude by repeating that I appreciate your kindness and that we hope you will succeed in leading into useful channels, for the best of humanity in general and of our country in particular, the currents of fraternity with which our social atmosphere is impregnated.

‘In the meantime, receive, each and all of you, the testimony of the affection which, with his fraternal embrace, sends you your obedient servant, etc.—Marcelo H. del Pilar.”

This is the letter so often quoted by many authors in order to show that Del Pilar was the founder of the Katipunan, and that Masons and Katipuneros were the same thing, and especially, as we have said, by General Blanco, who transcribed a large portion of it in his *Memoria* in order to justify his policy of attraction and proclaim per *irivios et plateas* that Marcelo H. del Pilar *was the most intelligent, the real soul of the separatists, very superior to Rizal.*

IV

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SCHEMA OF DEL PILAR'S WORKS

If Del Pilar's articles, essays, and monographs, scattered throughout newspapers and reviews, but especially in *La Solidaridad*, and the writings published independently were gathered, properly classified, and published in several volumes, as was done by General Luna and Lopez Jaena, each of whom collected his articles in a volume, Del Pilar's would make at least five or six volumes in quarto, of 400 pages each, and would have no equal in the Philippine bibliography so far as wealth of local and international information and serenity and fearlessness in journalistic controversy are concerned.

Leaving a discussion of the importance of these works for a later date, we shall proceed to give a bibliographical summary of the same, divided into four sections, viz:

- 1st. Editorials and miscellaneous articles published in the semi-monthly review *La Solidaridad*;
- 2nd. Essays and articles published in various newspapers and reviews;
- 3rd. Unpublished works; and
- 4th. Leaflets and essays in Tagalog.

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(September 30), 1892. Editorials.

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Masonry and Monckery in the Philippines.—No.117: December 13, 1893.

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The Defeat of the Government.—No, 124: March 31, 1894. Editorial.

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What the Monckery Costs US.—No. 127: May 15, 1894.

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 (a) The Shod Augustinians of the Philippines: Treatise by Padre Font.—No.136: September 30, 1894.
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A Wise Formula.—No. 148: March 31, 1895. Editorial.

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The Vindication of the Philippines.—No. 152: May 31, 1895.
Editorial.

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the Exchange with the Philippines.—No. 153: June 15, 1895.

A Correction.—No. 154: June 30, 1895. Editorial.

Religion.—No. 155: July 15, 1895. Editorial.

An Alarming Question.—No.155: July 15, 1895.

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Viewpoints.—No.158; August 31, 1895. Editorial.

To Those Who Govern, and Those Who Are Governed, in the
Philippines.—No. 158: August 31, 1895.

A Serious Danger.—No.159: September 15, 1895. Editorial.

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and Japan in the Far East.—No.160: November 15, 1895.
Editorial.

Little, but Expensive.—No. 160: November 15, 1895.

2nd. ESSAYS AND ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN VARIOUS
NEWSPAPERS AND REVIEWS

Who is the Master in the Philippines?—In *La Publicidad*,

- Barcelona, December 23, 1887. Anonymous.
- Monasticism in the Philippines.—In *El Diario*, Barcelona, January 12, 1888. With the pseudonym *Piping Dilat*. Was also published as appendix to *La Frailocracia Filipina*.
- The Triumph of the Enemies of Progress in the Philippines.—In *El Pais*, Madrid, February 28, 1890. With the pseudonym *Plaridel*.
- Noli Me Tangere. The Hatred of the Monks.—Essay Published in *La Publicidad*. Barcelona, July 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1888. With pseudonym *Plaridel*.
- The Philippines and Public Opinion.—In *El Diluvio*, Barcelona, July 27, 1888. Also an appendix to *La Frailocracia Filipina*.
- Prologue (to the Spanish-Tagalog dictionary, by P. Serrano Laktaw), Manila, 1888.
- The Monastic Sovereignty in the Philippines.—Barcelona, 1888. With pseudonym *Mh. Plaridel*. There is another, later edition, published in Manila. Was also published as feuilleton in a newspaper, on occasion of the American occupation, probably in *El Filipino Libre*, of which Dr. Manuel Xerex Burgos was the director.
- The Friar Rule in the Philippines.—Barcelona 1889. With pseudonym *Mh. Plaridel*.
- Governmental Relegation.—In *El Diluvio*, Barcelona, January 24, 1889. With pseudonym *Piping Dilat*. Was also included as appendix in *L Froilocracia Filipina*.
- The Asociacion Hispano-Filipina.—In *La Publicidad*, Barcelona, January 30, 1889. With pseudonym *Plaridel*.
- Prologue (to the pamphlet *Filipinas en las Cortes*, an address pronounced in the *Congreso de los Diputados* concerning parliamentary representation for the Philippines), Madrid, 1890.
- (Memorial of the Asociacion Hispano-Filipina, read and adopted at the meeting in the Teatro Martin, Madrid, on February 1,

1892, in connection with the Calamba affair). This memorial was signed by the Executive Committee of the Association and presented to the Minister of Ultramar.

A Correction.—In *La Justicia*, Madrid, February 11, 1892.

Anonymous.

(Address at the Banquet of the Partido Republicano Historico de Madrid, 1895).—In the pamphlet *Aniversario X X I de la Proclamacion de la Republica Española, Febrero 11, 1894, Madrid*.

The Bashi Channel.—In *El Globo*, Madrid, January 26, 1896.

Another Colonial Danger.—In *El Globo*, Madrid, January 19, 1895.

Special Page for the Filipino Woman[30] —In *El Renacimiento*, Manila, August 28, 1909.

3rd—UNPUBLISHED

Speech at the Meeting in the Teatro Martin, Madrid, on January 30, 1892.—This meeting was organized by the Asociación Hispano-Filipina in order to protest against the Calamba outrages.

Outlines of an International Code.—Spanish version of the book *Outlines of an International Code*, by David Dudley Field. The entire Title I of Part I.

Proposed by-Laws of the Sociedad Financiera de Socorros Mutuos, Titulada la Paz.—A complete plan of an association, the principal object of which is to extend and assistance to persons deported for political reasons.

Rules of English Syntax.—A translation or Spanish adaptation of a part of Braun's *English Grammar*.

The Progress of Chief Gomez: The Principal Rebel Leader Rapidly and Promptly Upsets All Spanish Combinations.—Spanish version of an article published in an English newspaper. 1895.

Cleveland's Words.—

4th—LEAFLETS AND ESSAYS IN TAGALOG

Ang Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa.—Tagalog version of Rizal's *El Amor Patrio*, published in the *Diariong Tagalog*, Manila, August 20, 1882, reproduced in the *Dahong Dagdag sa Heraldo de la Revolución*, December 20, 1898.

Cai-igat Cayo.—Retutation (Barcelona, 1888), full of fine irony and burlesque, of a short essay of Fr. José Rodríguez, written with such a mastery of Tagalog language that it passes for a classic in Bulacan. With the pseudonym *Dolores Manapat*.

Dasalan at Toksohan.—Essay printed in Barcelona (1888).

Anonymous. Rizal, as we have already said, considers it as a model of Tagalog wit and humor, and it has served as a model for Rizal's *The Vision of Fr. Rodriguez* and *By Telephone*.

Pasiong Dapat Ipag-alab nang Puso nang Tauong Babasa.—

Essay No. XII, printed at Barcelona (1888). Anonymous.

This little burlesque piece appears in the pamphlet entitled *Banal na Kasulatan*, with the following:

Ang Kadakilaan ng Dios.—Essay No. XIII, printed at Barcelona (1888) written in the best of Tagalog prose, a real Oriental pearl of the kind found only on the coasts of the Philippines. Anonymous.

Sagot nang España sa Hibik nang Filipinas.—Pamphlet without date or printer's mark, like the preceding ones, but printed at Barcelona in 889. Anonymous. In Tagalog verse, An answer to another, entitled *Hibik nang Filipinas sa Inang España*, by the Bulacan poet Hermenegildo Flores.

Dupluhan... Dalit... Bugtong.—Fragments of a characteristic Tagalog farce or mummary. (Malolos, 1907.) Anonymous.

Sa Bumabasang Kababayan.—Introduction of a book intended to teach the right and duties of the citizen, as well as other necessary political and social knowledge. Only this

introduction and a part of the chapter *Ang Kalayaan* were ever written. Unpublished.

A mere glance at the epigraphs of Del Pilar's works, which cover such a multitude of subjects and are based on a wealth of information certainly unique in the Philippine bibliography; the consideration that his works were the spiritual bread of the Philippine *lodges* and of the *Liga Filipina*, subsequently transformed into the *compromisarios* and the *Katipunan*, and the circumstance that neither Mabini, nor Andres Bonifacio, nor Emilio Jacinto, whose only political nourishment they were ever succeeded in surpassing him with the aggregate of their works, it being his works which changed the public opinion in the Philippines in such a radical manner as to cause the downfall of the Spanish power in the Islands, will give a slight idea of their importance. While Mabini, the members of the Liga, and the *compromisarios*, notwithstanding the headway made by the *Katipunan*, followed the legal criterion predominating in Del Pilar's works, Bonifacio, Jacinto, and the Philippine masses, shielding themselves behind Del Pilar's name in their combat newspaper *Kalayaan*, precipitated the masses into the conquest of their rights by the means of the arms. For this reason, the Spanish colony as well as the Spanish government and the *Katipuneros* themselves pointed to Del Pilar as the abetter of the *Katipunan*.

V

WAS DEL PILAR THE INITIATOR OR INSPIRER OF THE KATIPUNAN?

Whether he was the direct initiator of the Katipunan is a thing that has not yet been ascertained, though there is no doubt that he gave rise to its formation, and that his action was bound, indirectly, to conclude by a violent solution, which he did not desire and which he made all efforts to avoid. But if it came, foolishly provoked by the sovereign, he accepted it as a necessary evil.

Del Pilar refused to look to anybody for the redemption of his country. “Why look for our redemption to... when we have more than sufficient sense of shame and dignity to secure it ourselves, provided we are determined?”—he wrote—and although it was his desire to gain ground with the official element in Madrid and to rectify prejudices formed at the instigation of the friars, his marked tendency was to form, at any cost, a public opinion in his country, to fortify and discipline it (*active and militant collectivism*), and to have it ready for the political events. He did not desire war, but if nothing more could be expected of the sovereign country and the hazards and hardships of the mangrove thicket and of a roaming life were preferable to the calm, but insupportable life of peace, then: *sa tinubuang bayan ... sulit ang mamatay*, he said, liberally translating a few verses from *Noli*.

Del Pilar himself, answering the *Hibik ng Filipinas sa Inang España* of Hermenegildo Flores, the Bulacan poet, with his humoristic pamphlet *Sagot ng España sa Hibik ng Filipinas*, put in the mouth of Spain, in reply to the just complaints of her most beloved daughter, Filipinas, these words: “What wilt thou that I do; I am an old woman, burdened with grief, with my strength exhausted.”

*nguni pa-anhin mo, ngayo'y matanda na
hapo na sa hirap ako't walang kaya*

“Resign thyself if thy children refuse to awaken from their lethargy.”

“You who have abandoned your country—she says—I must abandon you, on my part.”

*Cayong nagpabaya sa sariling bayan
Anya'y dapat namang aking pabayaan.* [31]

Ponce writes: “He [Del Pilar] expected nothing from outsiders: rights, liberty, happiness, are conquered, not begged from anybody. Under the special circumstances which then prevailed, we were compelled, however, to ask the sovereign nation for all that the country needed and that rightfully belonged to it, though without hopes of obtaining it; it was necessary to make public the abuses, though knowing that no reparation would be made; it was necessary to demand justice, though it might not be secured. Thus the disdain was made evident and the people were shown what to expect from the sovereign country; and being so informed, the people could seek elsewhere and by other means the happiness which the mother country denied them. Andres Bonifacio, who revered Del Pilar to such a degree that he copied *con amore* the letters written by Del Pilar to Deodato Arellano, in order to keep them like relics, being convinced of the uselessness of the efforts of Del Pilar and his followers, founded with Deodato Arellano and others the *Katipunan*, because, as he said, “there was no remedy; the diplomacy of the authors of *La Solidaridad* had no positive results”; and Emilio Jacinto, the Rizaline soul, the secretary of Andres Bonifacio and the brain of the *Katipunan*, perhaps in order to show that the *Katipunan* continued to be inspired by Del Pilar, published the only two issues of the *Katipunan* newspaper *Ang Kalayaan*, printing on the covers, as director of the newspaper, and in the nature of an egis, the name of Marcelo H. del Pilar.

As we may say, paraphrasing the words of repentance of General Blanco, the pot, being overful, threatened to burst. And to the greater misfortune of that good general, the Spanish Government itself, with Blanco as its instrument, made it run over by sending Del Pilar's relatives and friends in Malolos into exile, giving Blanco *carte blanche* to do practically the same thing with every undaunted mason, and vesting him with inquisitorial power, in order that not even the most insignificant of the enemies of the friars should be left with his head upon his shoulders. All this was done at the instigation of the friars, aided, in this instance, by all the powers of the Spanish nation, as the friendly reader will see from the documents which we shall transcribe in full, because of their capital importance. Thus it is to be explained that shortly before the revolutionary cry at Pasong-Tamó and Balintawak, he wrote to his family, notifying them of his "return to the country", because the pacific negotiations within the pale of the law had been useless and it was his duty "to fight like a soldier for the cause of his country."

Here are the documents to which we refer:

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MANILA

Your Excellency:—

I have the honor to forward to Your Excellency the annexed communication of the parish priest of Malolos, Province of Bulacan, in which he sets forth, with justified complaints, the state of indiscipline and insubordination of his pariah, due to the hostile attitude adopted towards the parish priest and what he represents by the municipality of Malolos and some of the leading residents of that pueblo.

This conduct, Your Excellency, of the representatives of the pueblo of Malolos borders on impudence, so shameless is it, and is attended by a serious moral perturbation, and considering its antecedents and actual circumstances, it is so significant, so full of sinister purposes, that I deem it of unavoidable necessity, not only that the Vice-Regal Patron interest himself in the condition of that parish, but that the General Government adopted measures as efficient as may be necessary to suppress the audacity of the disturbing elements and put an effective stop to the scandalous conduct of which the pueblo of Malolos has been guilty with such rare perseverance. I can doubtless convince Your Excellency of the necessity of adopting energetic measures with regard to that pueblo by merely giving the following data:

1st. The present parish priest of Malolos is the third for whom they have made it impossible to continue at the head of the parochial administration in this pueblo since the strife first began. I must state that his predecessors were models of parish priests and the malcontents were unable to accuse them of anything affecting their honor as priests or their uprightness in the administration of the affairs of their parishes; they proceeded with tact and prudence in everything and tried all possible means of attraction in order to disarm the malcontents. All this notwithstanding, they found themselves constrained to quit their posts, tired of the fruitless struggle. The present incumbent, as irreproachable as his predecessors, went to extremes with his gentleness and condescension, yet his situation is now as bad as, or even worse than, that of his predecessors. In view of these facts, the question suggests itself: Do the Malolos people, in their tenacious and persistent war against the parish priest, seek a mere substitution of persona? Such innocent intentions are inadmissible, and however charitable one may be in judging concealed purpose, one will be forced to believe that the object

pursued by the malcontents of Malolos is to make the stay in that pueblo impossible for a Spanish parish priest. If Your Excellency, with your clear judgment, draws the same inference from the attitude of the Malolos people, you will doubtless, in view of this base conduct, issue your decree with the wrath of one offended in his purest affections: Everything could be tolerated here but race persecution.

2nd. But neither can we consent to the persecution of religion in a country where there is no freedom nor even legal tolerance of worships, and where the State expends large sums to secure the conversion of the infidels. It can not be admitted, because it is absurd, that the State should look with indifference upon attacks, persecution, and disrespect towards religion in Bulacan, while it works so hard to have that same religion strengthened and extended in Central Luzon, Mindanao, and other islands of the Archipelago. And there is no room within the sphere of positive written law, and within the juridical condition of society here in the Philippines, for the liberty boasted of by the Malolos agitators, who have for some time past been busy dechristianizing the simple people by leaflets, printed matter, and heterodox pamphlets, in which the mysteries of religion are boldly attacked and its ministers insulted in various ways. The very manner in which this propaganda is carried on, that is, anonymously and making use of secret and hidden means in circulating the injurious doctrine, clearly reveals that the propagandists themselves are convinced that their labors are of the kind which must be done in the dark in order to avoid the penalties of the law. And in fact, Your Excellency, our juridical status, based on the Indian Code and supplementary legislation of a later date, in no manner repealed by the recent application to these Islands of new Codes, do not permit the liberty of anti-catholic propaganda and attacks upon the ministers of religion. Whatever

may be the leniencies or deficiencies in the premises of which the Penal Code can be accused and the insufficiency of means on the part of those whose duty it is to apply it, the truth is that the executive can still make use of procedures more efficient than those sanctioned by the Penal Code, for the purpose of correcting any religious or social indiscipline.

3rd. It is publicly known that at Malolos there exists a masonic lodge which, as we presume, is the cause and origin of the disturbed condition of that pueblo. And this being the case, there is no doubt that by eliminating that disturbing center, it will be possible to re-establish in Malolos the peace and calm which has been absent for some time, just as there can be no doubt that when Your Excellency shall have determined to remove that cause of disorder, the latter will disappear just as quickly as Your Excellency will see to the execution of your order. It is not incumbent upon me to discuss here the meaning and political importance which a secret society formed of native elements may have in a colony; but I must say that it is strange that the governors of the provinces are frequently alarmed over the innocent organizations of some charitable association which publicly performs certain religious acts, while they worry so little over the establishment of masonic associations in their provinces, when, owing to their secret nature, to the secrecy attending the holding of their meetings, and to the secret character of their resolution, the same must at least inspire the suspicion that the ends pursued are not very holy. Whereas we understand the political prudence that prompted the chief executive when he took measures of precaution even where pious associations were concerned, because sinister purposes are sometimes pursued under the shelter of a sacred end, we do not understand indifference where associations are concerned which are certainly not sacred and which, notwithstanding their secrecy, have proved

with facts recorded in contemporaneous history that their principal purpose is that of overriding all religious and political discipline and spreading the spirit of revolt everywhere.

I ask Your Excellency's pardon for having diverted from my purpose, which is that of showing that the masonic associations are illegal, considered in their relations with the established religious order alone. This order is the Catholic Church, the Religion of the State, a public institution protected by the law, against which it is not lawful to conspire in the Philippines. And inasmuch as in the events in Malolos and the things denounced by the parish priest, taken as a whole, we see a system of persistent conspiracy against the Church, we find ourselves in the necessity of applying to Your Excellency for measures that will put an effective stop to the scandal, which measures are so much the more urgent because of the fact that unless they are taken now, it is much to be feared and almost sure that the evil will not confine itself to Malolos, but will, by the law of all contagions, spread to other pueblos.

God guard Y. E. for many years. Manila, March 13, 1895.

(Sgd.) FR. BERNARDINO,
Archbishop

His Excellency, the Governor -General,
Vice-Regal Patron of these Islands.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES
DECREE [32]

By virtue of the authority in me vested, and for the same reasons of a political and administrative nature which have counselled other measures with regard to the pueblo of Malolos, in the Province of Bulacan, I direct that the residents of said pueblo hereinafter mentioned fix their residence for the present in the places assigned to them, and that they remain subject to surveillance by the authorities. Manila, May twenty-fifth, eighteen hundred and ninety-five.

Let this be communicated.

(Sgd.) BLANCO

DON MANUEL CRISOSTOMO, will establish his residence at the fortress of Jolo.

DON CEFERINO ALDABA, will establish his residence at Puerto Princesa.

DON JUAN ALDABA, at the fortress of Jolo.

DON SATURNINO BUENDIA, at Puerto Princesa.

DON ANASTACIO DE LEON, at Davao (Mindanao).

DON JUSTO TEODORO, on the Island of Siassi (Jolo).

DON VALENTIN ALDABA, at Cottabato (Mindanao).

DON VICENTE GATMAITAN, at Iligan (Mindanao).

and DON LUIS H. DEL PILAR, who is a resident of the provincial capital of Bulacan, will establish his residence at Sarangani (Mindanao).
Manila, May 25, 1895.

(Sgd.) Blanco.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

Your Excellency:

One of the localities of this Archipelago that is the most under the influence of the anti-religious idea introduced in an evil hour and in an imperceptible manner in this country by sons of Spain confined here administratively or expatriated, as it were, for diverse reasons, some of them being even high government officials, was doubtless the pueblo of Malolos, one of the wealthiest and most populated of the Province of Bulacan.

The municipality of that pueblo having disagreed with the parish priest, because he had refused to authorize the list for the collection of the personal cédulas, for the reason that it contained thousands of taxpayers less than those, subjects to that tax under the law, the *principales* initiated a period of estrangement from the Church and of resistance and strife against the parish priest, which situation, finding the ground well prepared by the conduct of certain officials who had little liking for the religious corporations, and by the movements that did so much harm about the years 1887 and 1888, continued to develop until it now constitutes a really serious evil.

If that situation, if that campaign initiated and carried on against the reverend parish priest by what we might call the directing class had any alternatives, it was more or less accentuated, in accordance with the executives of the province that succeeded each other, but did not cease and was not personal; and several religious selected by the corporation as the best suited for attracting the malcontents and straightening out the situation by the exercise of prudence and the greatest Christian meekness, saw their good purposes defrauded and had it made impossible for them to continue at the head of the parochial administration.

The present parish priest, convinced that it was useless and even harmful to continue using methods of benignity, persuasion, and counsel, addressed himself to the Governor-General, as vice-regal patron, giving a history of the matter and requesting a remedy for the situation, which had been recently aggravated by the fact that, inasmuch as the majority of the rebels and principal agitators belonged to the wealthier and less ignorant classes, they always managed to choose the councilmen from their own group, and thus exercised a powerful influence upon the people, and this influence is greater now than ever, owing to decentralizing measures which, however, are not less beneficent nor censurable on this account. Another reason may be the revival in the propaganda of masonry, which propaganda, like the seed of that dangerous sect, came from the peninsula, from where it still seems to be directed, and it is a well-known fact that the islanders are working to swell the ranks of the proselytes here and to firmly establish that society, so fatal to our colonies.

Coinciding with the action of the parish priest, and confirming the affirmations of the latter, the Very Reverend Metropolitan Prelate addressed this General Government, requesting measures to correct the rebellious attitude, the shameless hostility of the municipality and other residents of Malolos towards the Church and her ministers, and to eradicate the deep-seated evil revealed by that situation; pointing out the illegality of what he terms “persecution of the religion”, in a country where there is no liberty nor even tolerance of worships, and attributing the moral perturbation in that pueblo to the existence of a masonic lodge.

This General Government fully concurred in the ideas of the Prelate, and foreseeing the necessity of adopting measures of extreme rigor, deemed it advisable to hear the governor of the province, who had until then not reported or indicated to me anything concrete and of importance revealing or even indicating such an abnormal situation. The then civil governor of Bulacan, who had been at the head of his province

for over two years, corroborated, in their substance, the facts denounced, qualifying as irreligious and subsequently anti-catholic the residents of Malolos in general and the municipal tribunal and its delegates in particular, which tribunal and delegates, he says, endeavored to molest the parish priest and injure his prestige with the people, not because of his personal conditions, but on account of his being a parish priest and a friar, affirming, without fear of making a mistake, that the majority of the principals were masons, which notwithstanding he denies the existence of lodges in the pueblo; and after acknowledging that the situation of that pueblo is “most deplorable and highly detrimental”, the conduct of its citizen, censurable, and a remedy for these evils urgent, he declares that he can not think of any measure to adopt or propose.

In view of this statement, and of the fact that neither the municipal tribunal nor the residents had committed any violation of the law—and here it will be timely to call attention to the peculiar circumstance that in localities hostile to the priests (friars), the people take great pains to fulfil their duties towards the State and to appear a, very loyal to Spain and to the non-ecclesiastic authorities, which all the people of Malolos did—I realized that a civil governor who had shown little diligence and still less circumspection, who had not realised the transcendency of the situation in that pueblo, and had not even thought of giving me timely notice of the same, was not a suitable auxiliary to second my purpose and carry such a serious matter to the proper conclusion. I would have relieved him, had it not been for the consideration that his term of office had expired and that he had to relinquish it about that time, anyway. In view of these circumstances, and in order to reach the maximum limit in the knowledge of the extension of the evils denounced and the determination of the individuals maintaining those disturbed conditions, and ready to proceed with rapidity and energy, but also with prudence and without precipitation, which might give rise to exaggerated punishment or result in severe punishment for someone not deserving it or deserving it in a lesser degree, and in the escape of the principal

culprits, I sent a special delegate to complete the investigation begun on the ground, conferring with the authorities, parish priests, and officers of the Guardia Civil, and even hearing the members of the municipal tribunal and some of the residents.

The result of this mission, performed with extraordinary zeal, intelligence, and tact by the second chief of the secretary's office of this General Government, did not modify the information already in our possession, nor attenuate the seriousness and importance of the facts, but rather aggravated them and confirmed them completely and beyond the peradventure of doubt. The members of the municipal tribunal and several others were, according to the unanimous general opinion, anti-catholic, and were believed to be affiliated with masonry in active, though dissimulated and secret, propaganda. They themselves acknowledged that the parish priest was a model priest and that he had exhausted persuasion and gentleness as means of attracting them: the residents themselves declared that their hostile attitude had been in no manner provoked by the parish priest, who had shown the greatest desire to live in peace and harmony with his parishioners; and they themselves, finally, stated that they thought and proposed that the parish priest should have no influence in the pueblo nor any intervention in the municipality; that the pueblo could govern itself alone, without necessity of any tutelage by ecclesiastic authorities; that it was their aspiration to prevent the influence of the religious orders in the Philippine Islands, and that—this was the statement of the capitan municipal—he had not attended the TE DEUM held to thank for the victory of Marahuit, because inasmuch as they had nothing to do with the Church, they did not wish to give any pretext, by such public action, for the belief that they had renounced their ideals and their intention to keep away from the parish priest.

If the first news showing the condition of the pueblo mentioned impressed me sadly, the audacious and irreverent declarations just transcribe filled me with grief, Your Excellency, because of the

ingratitude and perversity that they reveal, which ingratitude and perversity, if they could possibly be compatible here with the affection for the fatherland and the name of Spaniard, would justify one in doubting the sincerity, purity, and efficacy of those sentiments, and make one expect and even fear that, gradually degenerating, and as an inevitable consequence of the profession of such ideas and the practice of so immoral and unpolitic a system, they will end by becoming hatred for the Spaniards, and, finally, filibusterism or separatism.

This being the situation, and it having been shown in a most evident manner that it was of imperative necessity to impose a severe punishment upon the persons who had created and were maintaining that disturbed condition, and who were known, including, in the first place, the members of the municipal tribunal, I forthwith issued a decree, by virtue of the power vested in me by the Royal Decree of May 19, 1893, ordering the total removal of the said municipality, in the terms and with the statements which Your Excellency will see in the authorized copy which I have the honor to transmit herewith, and ordered the provisional organization of that body with saner, less significant, and better fitted elements of the locality.

As indispensable complement of this measure, which would have done little or no good if the persons who were the directors and principal, if not only propagandists of those disturbing ideas, were not removed from the pueblo, I compelled the persona removed, also by virtue of the administrative authority in me vested, to change their residence, for which purpose I designated the island of Mindanao. This determination I adopted after coming to the thorough conviction that it was absolutely necessary in order to eradicate the evil and to prevent it from spreading to other pueblos, fortunately few, where some of the evil seed had been dropped.

I also directed, as an efficient and salutary complement of those measures, that greater vigilance be exercised to prevent the circulation

of the newspaper *La Solidaridad*, of the clandestine introduction of which I had confidential information; I removed in various points of the Archipelago subordinate employees affiliated with masonry, and adopted other measures which I considered served the purpose of strengthening and confirming those adopted in Bulacan.

It is sad, Your Excellency, that the punishment, which is certainly just and deserved, should fall upon these unfortunates who, however important they may consider they are, are nothing but secondary agents of others, natives and Spaniards, who reside in the mother country and who, making use of means, here secret and even unlawful, but there public and protected by the laws, for spreading the pernicious ideas which cause in pueblos like those of this territory and among people like the natives, simple and backward, generally speaking, disturbances like the one under consideration; and the resulting contrast gives rise to very sad reflections if one remembers that there have been, and still are, government officials of high rank and, until quite recently, more than one who exercised high authority, affiliated with masonry, who, taking advantage of their official position, have doubtless contributed to swell the ranks of the affiliates of that harmful sect in the Philippine Islands.

I do not excuse nor even extenuate the seriousness of the offences of those whom I have just punished; but I must conscientiously acknowledge and declare that the bad examples to which I allude and which are continually being offered to the country, contribute powerfully towards opening the way for ideas whose principal, if not exclusive aim, is that of destroying and lessening the influence and prestige of the religious orders and even the permanency of Catholicism, and it will be well to remember the recommendations of the wise laws of the Indies and not choose officers belonging to certain societies, just as the physically imperfect are being kept out.

By combating that propaganda and bad example at your end, and destroying here, as this government has done in the present case and is

ready to do in the future, whatever *foci* may exist or be discovered, the number of the proselytes will be reduced, the evil will diminish until no interests will be injured by it except those of the few deluded persons persevering in the secret practice of those ideas, and with the charm, with the attraction now offered to these people by the mysterious meetings, the strange symbols, and the collection taken up with the utmost secrecy and, of course, almost always paid with more deceit than spontaneousness, there will be an end of the worry, not to say apprehension, inspired by that association of ideas and wills which, with the time and practice, might degenerate into, and for certain purposes is even now, a school of conspiracy against our country.

That these remedies, applied timely and energetically, may be expected to produce this good result, is fully proved by what has happened now.

As soon as the measures taken with respect to the pueblo of Malolos had been adopted and had become known as if by magic, not having been published by any official means, they produced such a salutary effect as to augur a rapid cure for that infected locality and a not less prompt reaction for the pueblos that seemed to be predisposed to become, or had already become, contaminated. Hence this General Government deemed it well to defer making a report of this incident to Your Excellency until it could do so in a more complete manner.

What I foresaw happened, and now the pueblo of Malolos, free from the pressure of the disturbing elements, is recovering its calm and enjoying moral peace, and is returning to religious life, from the practices of which it was gradually drifting away. This shows that the masses of the people, while easily carried away by swindlers and by bad example, are good and obedient to the just orders of the authorities, and that the machinery of the government is still efficient, although certain laws and what in them is called a power, oppose and at time hinder it to such an extent that one thinks seriously of the necessity of strengthening, by the re-establishment of the powers abolished a few years ago, the authority of

the first representative of their Majesties and of the Nation in this remote territory.

I do not deem it necessary for the moment to say anything further to Your Excellency after what I have related, because Her Majesty's Government and Your Excellency know with what cheerful zeal and firm and loyal will I second their noble plans for the welfare of this territory, in the compliance of a primordial duty and in grateful response to the confidence that they repose in me.

God guard, etc. Manila, August 7, 1895

(Sgd.) RAMON BLANCO

His Excellency, the Minister of Ultramar.

MINISTRY OF ULTRAMAR

Confidential

Your Excellency:

The measures adopted by Your Excellency for the purpose of correcting the disturbed conditions which have, for some time past, prevailed in the pueblos of Malolos and Taal, and of which Your Excellency has been informed in detailed official letters, are inspired by such lofty and upright purposes of government and are so necessary, just, and efficacious that, although they are fully within the powers vested in Your Excellency and perfectly in accord with the recommendations made by this Ministry to your government, and do not, for this reason, require any superior sanction, which could be deemed granted beforehand, yet this Ministry wishes to state that they merit its fullest approval, not because it desires this to serve as a stimulus to induce your government to persevere, but

in order to emphasize once more the satisfaction with which your wise decisions and opinions are received.

The facts and conclusions set forth by Your Excellency, based on investigations made in the two localities mentioned, show the serious harm done by the secret societies, reveal an evil of extraordinary transcendency, and point out a more or less remote, but sure, danger. The secret societies, principal among them masonry, have influenced in a considerable, and unfortunately very effective, manner in our colonial troubles and reverses, and this costly lesson counsels the greatest vigilance, coupled with salutary rigor and prudent discretion. These societies which, being secret, are illicit, illegal, and injurious in any State, are sources of still greater evils in territories where the situation, conditions, and circumstances are of a special nature such as is the case in the Philippines, and whether they style themselves Masonry and claim to be exclusively anti-religious or opposed to the prestige and influence of the religious corporations, or whether they exhibit more or less concealed separatist tendencies, it is believed and feared that, as a general rule, their efforts are in the latter direction if finally considered, because the prestige and influence referred to have always been, and are being, exercised and utilized in the cause of our country at the same time as of that of the religion of our State, and for this reason said associations, if they are not already schools or hotbeds of conspiracy against the sovereignty of the State, may degenerate into such and constitute a disturbing element and a hindrance to order, sound culture, and good government wherever they succeed in gaining a foothold. On the other hand, considering the time and circumstances under which, circumscribing ourselves to “Masonry”, this having so far been the form in which they have manifested themselves, that sect found the opportunity to develop among the Insular elements, it is not astonishing that, as indicated by Your Excellency and confirmed by public information, more or less numerous lodges or groups exist in the capital of the Archipelago and in the capitals and most

important towns of the provinces, and there is no doubt that, whether there be complete or incomplete solidarity of purpose, communication is being maintained with analogous associations in this capital and Barcelona, and communication will be established, if this has not already been done, with groups formed by those who have fled from the Islands from fear of measures of repression or of the punishment incurred by them and have gone to Hongkong or Japan. It is therefore of the most imperative necessity and greatest advisability that the campaign initiated. Your Excellency with such wisdom and salutary effect be prosecuted with diligence and constancy until the evil shall be eradicated or, at least, until those who, despite the measures so far adopted, which should serve them as lesson or warning, persevere in such fatal undertaking, shall be reduced to impotence. And for this purpose, and inasmuch as the work must be active and permanent, on the part of this Ministry as well as of the superior and provincial authorities succeeding each other in the territory, a plan is required which shall provide for a uniform procedure, prevent imperfect solutions make it possible to know perfectly and easily, at any moment, everything related with the subject, and assure the achievement of the essential purpose pursued, for the accomplishment and stability of which the partial measures adopted, the effects and sufficiency of which may be of a passing nature must not be deemed efficient. In view of what we have set forth, and taking into consideration what Your Excellency has said in the official letters referred to, and the provisions of the Laws of the Indies, especially of those cited in the Royal Order of August 2, 1888; H. M. the King, (whom God guard), and in his name the Queen Regent of the Kingdom, have been pleased to order:

First:—That your General Government again instruct the chiefs of the provinces and districts to investigate, with the necessary secrecy, whether there exist in the localities under their jurisdiction any secret societies, whatever may be, or may be presumed to be, their purposes, the number and circumstances of their adepts, the relations or ramifications of the centers or groups with others established in the capital of the Archipelago

or elsewhere, and any other data in the premises which may be useful, reporting in detail to Your Excellency.

Second :-That in view of the lists and antecedents resulting from such investigations, and after such examination and elucidation as may be necessary, a register shall be kept by your General Government of all who, in its judgment, should be recorded in the same, setting forth the society to which they belong, or to which there are sufficient grounds to believe they belong, and stating whether they profess, or are presumed to harbor, separatist ideas; making thereafter such additions or eliminations as may be necessary, in view of the data which will be transmitted periodically by said provincial or district chief and such decisions as your General Government may adopt, as a result of the same, care being taken that the places of residence of the persons registered be of record at all times.

Third :—That assiduous vigilance be exercised, in a form which must not be ostensible, over the persons included in that register, especially over individuals propagating or directing the labors of those associations, which vigilance should likewise be accentuated in the case of persons returning to the Archipelago from the peninsula, Hongkong, or Japan, if there is any reason to suspect that they carry in their baggage proclamations, pamphlets, or any printed matter or documents of a seditious nature or opposed to the purposes of the State.

Fourth:—That in order to inquire into and keep posted with regard to the work carried on by the Filipinos residing in Hongkong and in Japan for the purposes herein referred to, your Government communicate with our representatives or consular agents there, furnishing them with all useful news and data to this end.

Fifth:—That the very reverend prelate and the parish priests belonging to the religious orders be invited, in such form and to such extent as Your Excellency may deem proper, to cooperate in the work that the

Government proposes to carry on in the interest of the country and of the orderly religious life of the people of the Islands, in order to avoid, any contingencies which, though remote, are nevertheless possible.

Sixth:—That without prejudice to turning over to the ordinary courts, in cases where this may be proper and where the action of said courts may be efficacious, any individual conspiring with or forming part of said secret societies, whenever such procedure is not advisable and your General Government deems it timely and necessary to adopt rigorous measures, within the administrative power with which it is vested deportation or the designation of a fixed place of residence is to be preferred to expulsion from the territory, because thus they can be sent to place like the Marianas, Paragua, Balabac, Mindanao, etc., where surveillance is easy and escape difficult, and where there is security that they will not cause harm and may mend their ways, while in the other case they would swell the cohorts established in the peninsula and in foreign countries, and there constitute *foci* now dangerous, not so much through their action, but because of the propaganda which they will carry on against the prestige and good name of Spain.

Seventh:—Leaving the limit to which the repression shall be carried entirely to Your Excellency's discretion, the attention of your General Government is invited to the advisability of proceeding with activity and rigor in the capital of the Archipelago where presumably the most numerous contingent of affiliates of "masonry" is located, and where the chiefs and principal heads of that condemned sect and the most intelligent and sagacious conspirators, primarily and principally responsible for the evil that we endeavor to remedy, reside.

Eighth:— That in case there be any public official taking an active part in the propaganda or labors proper to the secret societies, a detailed report be made to this Ministry, for such action as may be proper, and,

Ninth:—That your General Government inform this Ministry of the result of the investigation made and of the measures adopted in compliance with these instructions, and caution the provincial and district chief that, owing to the extremely confidential character of everything in connection with the compliance of this sovereign order, the work entrusted to Your Excellency must in no case be turned over to officials other than peninsulars, directing them to adopt such other prudent precautions with regard to the custody and delivery of records and papers relative to the subject-matter, as Your Excellency may deem proper, in order to avoid publicity, which would largely destroy the efficacy of everything ordered and to be done.

I so inform Your Excellency, by royal order, for the purposes herein stated.

God guard Your Excellency many years.

Madrid, July 2, 1896.

(Sgd.) TOMAS CASTELLANOS

The Governor-General of the Philippine Islands.

Dr. Pardo de Tavera, commenting upon General Blanco's report, says the following:

“General Blanco reported to the Ministry of Ultramar, under date of August 7, 1895, in his confidential communication No. 1888, and explained what had happened. The parish priest had bitterly complained to him against the freemasons which he said existed at Malolos, and General Blanco said: ‘Coinciding with the action of the parish priest and confirming the affirmations of the latter, the Very Reverend Metropolitan Prelate addressed this General Government, requesting measures to

correct the rebellious attitude, the *shameless* hostility, of the municipality and other residents of Malolos towards the Church and her ministers, and to eradicate the deep-seated evil revealed by that situation; pointing out the illegality of what he terms ‘persecution of the religion’, in a country where there is no liberty nor even tolerance of worships; and attributing the moral perturbation in that pueblo to the existence of a ‘masonic lodge.’ General Blanco was what they used to call here a liberal and a freethinker. Nevertheless, forgetting his theories, he is subjugated by the arguments of the Archbishop and adds these words, addressed to the minister: *As I fully concurred in the ideas of the Prelate*’ I deemed it advisable to hear the governor of the province. The then civil governor of Bulacan, who had already been for over two years at the head of the province, corroborated, in their substance, the facts denounced, *qualifying as irreligious and subsequently anti-catholic the residents of Malolos in general* and the municipal tribunal and its delegates in particular, which tribunal and delegates, he says, *endeavored to molest the parish priest* and injure his prestige with the people, not because of his personal conditions, but on account of his being a parish priest and a friar, affirming, *without fear of making a mistake*, that the majority of the *principales* were masons, which notwithstanding he denies the existence of lodges in the pueblo.’

“The Inquisition had disappeared, but as we have seen, the principles upheld by it were still in the hands of a general who, like a modern Duke of Alba, put his sword to the throat of those who would not be catholics and were irreligious. The zealous general inquisitor sent a special delegate to Malolos to investigate what was happening there. The information obtained by the general is transmitted to the Ministry thus: ‘The members of the municipal tribunal and some others were anti-Catholic and were supposed to be affiliate, of masonry in active, though dissimulated and secret, propaganda. They themselves acknowledged that the parish priest was a model priest and that he had exhausted persuasion and gentleness as means of attracting them; the residents themselves declared that their hostile attitude had in no manner been

provoked by the parish priest, who had shown the greatest desire to live in peace and harmony with his parishioners; and they themselves, finally, stated that they thought and proposed that the parish priest should have no influence in the pueblo nor any intervention in the municipality; that the pueblo could govern itself alone, without necessity of any tutelage by ecclesiastic authorities; that it was their aspiration to prevent the influence of the religious orders in the Philippine Islands, and that—this was the statement of the *capitan municipal*—he had not attended the TE DEUM held to thank for the victory of Marahuit, because inasmuch as they had nothing to do with the Church, they did not wish to give any pretext, by such public action, for the belief that they had renounced their ideals and their intention to keep away from the parish priests.’

“Neither the members of the municipality, nor the *capitan municipal* could have made a more ingenuous or loyal statement; nevertheless the inquisitor’s soul that slumbered in General Blanco was revealed in the face of the frankness of the freemasons, and caused him to write on the next line the following words: ‘These *audacious and irreverent* declarations filled me with grief because of the *ingratitude and perversity* that they reveal, which ingratitude and perversity, if they could possibly be compatible here with affection for the fatherland and the name of Spaniard, would justify one in doubting the sincerity, purity, and efficacy of those sentiments, etc.’ and thus continues, in the language of a friar of the 13th century, one of the generals most reputed as a liberal and quasi-freemason in the Philippine Islands.

“In order to punish the members of the municipality, he did not content himself with ordering their separation from office, but, desiring to remove such dangerous individuals from Malolos, he banished them to the island of Mindanao. And, carried away by a missionary zeal, he does not hesitate to tell the Minister: “I do not excuse nor even extenuate the seriousness of the offence of those whom I have just punished, but I must conscientiously acknowledge and declare that the bad examples to

which I allude and which are continually being offered to the country, contribute powerfully towards opening the way for ideas whose principal, if not exclusive, aim is that of destroying and lessening the influence and prestige of the religious orders and even the permanency of catholicism, and it will be well to remember the wise laws of the Indies and not choose officers belonging to certain societies.

“The monastic power was crumbling to pieces in the Philippine Islands: the friar rule was tottering, and to save it, the military power came and imposed convictions by terror, banished men in order to contain the anti-monastic propaganda, demanded the application of the ancient laws of the Indies, lapsed back into the times of the reaction, of the most stupid irreconcilability and the most odious intolerance, proposing that individual, other than genuine servants of monasticism should not be allowed to come to the Philippines even as officials.

“But these remedies were of no avail: neither Blanco nor any other person was able to check the idea that was spreading throughout the country: the power of monkery was tottering to ruin and the Spanish sovereignty fell with it because it would cling to it.

“Friar Moises Santos, the parish priest, was at last able to sleep in peace, after General Blanco had taken from him the residents who were sowing the bad seed, and sent them into exile on faraway islands; but one day, as he was going on foot to the railroad station in order to take the train to Manila, and was ascending a bridge near the station, three natives approached him respectfully. Supposing they came to kiss his hand, he gravely held it out to them. Then one of the natives caught it and, violently drawing the priest towards him, struck him with his right hand a terrible blow with a dagger in the breast.

“In an instant the three men had disappeared, and in the middle of the road, bathed in blood, there lay the body of the last friar parish priest of Malolos, dying unaided, in those last days of the Spanish rule, shortly

before the declaration of war by the United States and the destruction of Montojo's fleet at Cavite."

To what Dr. Pardo de Tavera has said we must add that General Blanco soon repented of his acts. Taking advantage of the publication of Dr. Rizal's biography by Retana, he told the latter, in his letter of January 14, 1896:

"... I conclude this long missive by congratulating you upon your plan to print a book which, though it is already late, may serve as a lesson and warning to those who can not or will not see that it is not by punishment and violence that peoples are governed in the twentieth century: through the Suez canal, a tide of liberty and progress came to the Philippines which we vainly endeavored to stem, instead of leading it into the proper channels and giving it direction, and, naturally, the pot burst, by action of a physical law which it is impossible to resist."

But the worst is that on occasion of General Blanco's *Memoria*, the minister, Sr. Castellanos, not only approved General Blanco's action, but gave orders to repeat that which had been done at Malolos in all the provinces of the Archipelago, an administrative act which really caused General Blanco's imaginary pot to *burst naturally, by the action of a physical law which it was impossible to resist*.

There is no doubt that, considering their point of view and their social, religious and legal constitution, the friars under the Spanish government had reason to proceed as they did; but it is also true that the Filipinos, by natural law and by the law of progress, had to vindicate their rights. Those governing and those governed bad, therefore arrived at a point where their conflicting rights could be settled by force alone. And, as an English critic, interpreting a thought of Joubert's, says very well, in these cases force makes the law while right is getting ready, *la force en attendant le droit*. This force has become incarnated in the Katipunan.

Aside from what we have said, it is very correctly stated that Andres Bonifacio ordered Teodoro Plata to draw up the statutes of the Katipunan; and that he did this with the aid of Ladislao Diwa and Valentin Diaz. After the statutes had been discussed, Andres Bonifacio, with the concurrence of Deodato Arellano, submitted them to Del Pilar for approval. Upon the latter's letter approving the statutes, Andres Bonifacio used the same for the purpose of gaining adepts.

From all this we may deduce that if Del Pilar was not the initiator of the Katipunan, he was at least its inspirer.

VI CAMPAIGN METHODS

The cycle of the Plaridel campaign, a truly national campaign, may be divided into two periods, one from 1872 to 1888, and the other from 1888 to 1895, twenty-four years, almost a man's life. The first part was carried on in the Philippines and the second in Spain, with the public powers.

Until 1872, the Philippines enjoyed a certain moral peace, and their inhabitants especially those of the provinces were, to a certain extent, living under the influence of the church bells. While there were attempted revolts, including the one of 1872, they were nothing but desperate outbreaks of religious fanaticism, terrible revenges of persons who considered themselves unjustly kept back in their career, injured in their dignity, and harmed in their interests. There was a real reform movement, to be true, but it was carried on peaceably, within the pale of the law, and was confined to a demand for their rights on the part of the clergy, seconded by laymen and by the youth, always fond of anything that looks like daring and diversion.

Spain had been rendered apprehensive by the separation of the Americas. Believing herself surrounded by separatist perils on every side, she eluded the study and knowledge of the evil and aggravated it by drowning, or attempting to drown, it in blood. Hence, from contingency to contingency, she finally fell into mercenary, officious hands, into the hands of those ready to exploit the national debility. The Cavite revolt, quelled by native troops, gave the friars the most propitious opportunity for erecting themselves into something of the nature of a mercenary army for the protection of the interests of Spain in the Archipelago. The priests Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora were pointed out as abettors

of the Cavite revolt, and a large number of laymen, all illustrious, as sympathizers. With the falling of the heads of the farmer and the deportation of the latter. The sovereignty of the Islands passed *de facto* into the hands of the intrusive sacerdotal caste, called later the *Frailocracia Filipina*.

Among the witnesses of the terrible razzia there were Dr. Sanciango, Dr. Rizal, and Plaridel, the brother of one of the priests who were deported, Padre Toribio H. del Pilar. The air of their own country having become irrespirable to them, Sanciango and Rizal embarked for Spain, while Marcelo H. del Pilar remained in the arena, in the center of the amphitheater. A silent protest spread throughout the Islands, but nobody was able to disturb the holders of the rich parishes in their peaceful possession of the same: the mercenary army occupied all the strong points and was encamped there in a constantly threatening attitude.

Such was the situation of the country when Del Pilar began to gather recruits, to organize his guerrilla bands, to conclude alliances, and, after isolating the enemy, to make war without quarter upon him. Any perplexity on the part of the enemy was a manifest victory, because the friar, being the eye of Polyphemus of the government, was always on the lookout for game and closely guarded his strategical position. But Del Pilar knew how to overcome all embarrassing obstacles.

Having established friendly relations with the civil governors and captains of the Guardia Civil, he sought the support of the liberal friars against the radical ones, appealing to the better feelings of the former, and after doing this, he labored to unite the local cacique, who were always divided by domestic strife, constantly nourished by a daily mutual exchange of insults, and by caste distinctions skilfully exploited by the friar such as those which existed between the mestizos and the natives. But Del Pilar made the young men join the ranks of the student organizations then in vogue, whose youthful imprudence finally exasperated the friars, and as

the sons had become embroiled in the strife, the parents, who had until then held back, concluded by embracing the cause of their sons.

The fiestas, jollifications or entertainments, innocent diversions and the only ones permitted, offered him a fine vehicle for his propaganda and gave excellent results. The *dupluhan*, *bugtungan*, and *dalitan*, [33] those merry assemblies to which the masses were wont to go in order to display their wit and humor, aside from giving him great readiness of speech, and winning him laurels as a jouster in the tournament of language, also swelled the ranks of his faithful.

The late Mariano Ponce gives the following description of the manner in which Del Pilar conceived the idea of association and how he won adepts for his cause prior to his departure for Spain:

“The writer of these lines was united with Del Pilar by intimate friendship and worshipped at the shrine of the same idea with him since the year 1880. He was then a student of the secondary schools and still remembers as if of yesterday those days of long ago, when he met with a number of other young men, also students, at a house in Trozo that Marcelo used to frequent. There we passed the greater part of the hours not taken up by our studies in the most agreeable and instructive conversation with our future apostle. He took pleasure in inoculating our virgin intellects with the germ of the new ideas, and our hearts with the purest love for our unhappy country. We rapturously listened to him as he stated, with the attractiveness and magic of his winsome speech, his ideas and opinions on things or events of the day or on any other topic whatsoever. From that modest little circle of friends, whose center and soul Marcelo was, there was born the idea of organizing to protest.

“The apostle and enthusiastic and sincere propagandist already showed himself. He studied with eagerness, with rapture, not

only in books, but men and things, using his powerful intellect and his iron will.

“His voice had an unexplainable suggestive power which went to the soul gently and imperceptibly, a softness which persuaded and conquered the heart. His words were always inspired by the same logic and the same inflexible criterion, but he adopted different tones according to the degree of intelligence and instruction and of the psychic susceptibility of the person whom he addressed, and according to what his impression of the person suggested. His energetic features became animated and impregnated with a prophetic light; his eyes shone with enthusiasm like those of a seer, and his broad, majestic forehead seemed surrounded with the nimbus of inspiration. Thus he broke the ice of indifference in some, fixed the wandering attention of others, elucidated dim ideas in one, solved a doubt in another, and conquered everybody; and all within the modest circle in which our propagandist was moving at that time.

“In those days of the reign of evil, every generous impulse and every manifestation of redeeming ideas had to move in the dark in order to avoid serious reprisals; hence it is probable that but few persons knew of the silent labors of our deplored friend.

“Nevertheless, thanks to the apostolic fervor and constancy of *Selong*, as we used to call him, in confidence, his sphere of action, very modest in the beginning, gradually widened.

“The protest, in order to be more effective, required organization. This was an element lacking in the protest of the clergy, which, therefore, resulted in failure. Selong, taking a lesson from this experience, organized secretly—it could not be otherwise—the first political group that ever existed in this country.

“The troubles and annoyances which an undertaking of this class brings with it, especially in the Philippines, under the reign of theocratic despotism, did not deter our propagandist, who went as far as he could possibly go. Once, when he had a disagreement with the parish priest of Quiapo, while acting as godfather at a christening, he suffered thirty days of imprisonment in Bilibid, and often he was in danger of being deported, on account of his bearing the stigma of filibuster and anti-Spanish.

“And the outrages became more frequent and the number of victims grew. Of the latter, not all decided to demand justice; the few who did it, experienced trouble in finding a lawyer who would take their case. Nearly all were afraid to put themselves face to face with the master, who became more and more insolent and eager for prey.

“Del Pilar was an exception: he never refused to take the case of any unfortunate who had the right on his side and came to him, whatever might be the power and influence of the adverse party. *He worshipped justice and right so fervently that he accepted martyrdom or them.*” [34]

In the meantime he founded in Manila an organ of public opinion, the *Diariong Tagalog*; entered into agreements with the great powers (Calvo y Muñoz, Centeno, Quiroga, etc., etc.), gaining their good-will personally or through plenipotentiaries, and preached the *new gospel* in the courtrooms, his favorite place, and the ushers, bailiffs, and, especially, the humble *scribes*, (Briccio Pantas, Numeriano Adriano, and Apolinario Mabini), transformed into apostles, carried the Master’s teachings everywhere, the result being that the modest savings bank, the idea of which originally came from M. Ponce, materialized in the shape of the *Junta de Propaganda*, which appointed him representative of the Philippines with the public powers in Spain. The famous manifestation

of March, 1888, was one of the consequences of this fruitful, exceedingly dangerous, but skilfully managed, political propaganda.

In the Archipelago, especially in the Tagalog provinces, numerous anonymous leaflets were in circulation denouncing the abuses, extortions, and crimes of the ruling sacerdotal caste. Del Pilar himself wrote some which crossed the bill pond, among them the beautiful passage of Crispin, Basilio, and Sisa in *Noli Me Tangere*, a scene taken from a real occurrence that took place at San Rafael, Bulacan, where Friar Antonio Piernavieja had charge of the souls, but which Rizal magic wand transformed into a Rembrandtesque picture, full of sinister flashes of lightning.

He made use even of the cockpits. The cockpit was then not a public gossiping place or fermenting pit: it was a place of amusement and recreation; a business center, club, exchange, bank, all rolled into one. There lumbermen, quarrymen, nipa dealers, lawyers, and physicians were to be found, singly or forming groups, and while the captain of the Guardia Civil arrested a disguised criminal, the alcalde mayor made the final arrangement, for the embarkation or the freight of his merchandise.

Del Pilar went there for recruits and in order to demonstrate that the peninsular lion was not so fierce that he could not let his nails trimmed in open combat on the public square, to the consternation of his countrymen: thus *exempla trahunt*.

However, the spectacle of a rebellion made him frown, and like Dr. Sanciangco and Dr. Rizal, both fervent assimilists, he was in the beginning satisfied with certain reforms in the administration of the Islands. The liberty of the press and representation for the Archipelago were his principal aims.

To Del Pilar, the sum and substance of the evil was that the trier was the obligatory intermediary between the Spanish government and the

Filipinos: *The procedure of the regime evolved by the friars in the Philippines, he says, is as follows: before the people they accuse the government of all sorts of despotism; before the government they accuse the people of being rebels and filibusters; and thus, alarming both, they keep them in a state of perpetual antagonism in order to erect themselves, as they have done, into an intermediary power which disposes of the antagonistic forces at its pleasure.* [35]

The remedy was to displace the intermediary and then pillory his methods of exploiting the people. In performing this mission, he had to use different methods with the different people. In speaking to the peasant or the townspeople, he would proceed like a practical demagogue and revolutionary, pointing out, with burlesque and satire, that the feet of the friar colossus were only of clay; before the señor he would act like a *solicitous ally*, warning him constantly of the risk which he ran if he continued to listen to the friar alone. For these different methods, different classes of literature and style were required; for the government, judicious and moderate representations, like the articles in *La Solidaridad*, and pamphlets written in Spanish; for the people, the cleverness and with what God gave him, reinforced by his profound knowledge of the treasures of the vernacular, such as the *credos* and *pasiones* in Tagalog, which struck the friar where he was *the most vulnerable*, in his pocket-book.

Through *La Solidaridad* and the leaflets and pamphlets in Spanish he would tell the Spanish government, more or less, the following: Independence or separation from Spain would mean suicide for the Filipino race; [36] the geographical situation of the country and the capacity of the neighboring power simply such a menace of a national catastrophe that they impose the necessity of mutual intelligence between the islander and the sovereign: perfect assimilation between Spain and the Philippines". Spain with the Philippines [37] would be invincible; without them she would go to her ruin. However, since it is for her interest, and for her interest alone, that monkery has constituted itself into an intermediary power, and done much harm in that capacity, it is of

urgent necessity that the friar rule be brought down, either by depriving it of all purely wordly power, or by replacing the friars by Spanish secular priests. [38] Unfortunately Spain still believed in the influence and the power of the friar; she believed his constant boast that he was the invincible bulwark of her sovereignty in the Islands; that he was the only one who knew the islander and the Philippines, the only one who, on account of his character, means, and social position, was able to prevent the success of any separatist undertaking by means of skillful espionage. [39]

It was necessary to come out bravely against all these gratuitous affirmations of the friars and to give them parting shots in the shape of statements of facts, sometimes cool and serene, and on the other occasions comical. He charged the friars with having been conscious perverters of the truth, conspirators, responsible for the death of Padre Burgos and the deportation of Rizal, and, pointing out their equivocal position before the Spanish nation and the Filipino people, he tore the mask from their faces and made them bite the hook like the *igats* of Bulacan, he says, bite the hook of the native fisherman.

An important chapter of the charges is the one regarding the education and character of the Filipino. According to *Si Tandang Basio Macunat* by Friar Bustamante, the islander is an eternal child, a traitor to God and his King when he leaves his carabao and the slave-driver's whip, learns Spanish and frequents the university of Manila; [40] which campaign of defamation and calumny, according to Del Pilar, was seconded by penny-a-liners and other worthies, [41] without this being an obstacle to the detractors turning right around, when it suited them, and, promptly forgetting; all their twaddle, blowing about the high degree of civilization attained by the islander, thanks to the pedagogic virtue of the *calumniated* friar.

But the friar, who formerly held the cross above the sword; who, full of faith, shrunk at no sacrifice, and who was the protector of the Indian against the brutality of the *encomendero* and the rapacity of the *alcalde*

mayor, has now descended from his mystic pedestal to prostrate himself before the golden calf and wallow in the mire, and lacks that profound charity and holy meekness of the monk of old, who was a man according to the heart of God.

Mabini prepared a substantial summary of “the campaign and the reforms demanded by *La Solidaridad*, a semi-monthly review directed by Del Pilar, according to Mabini, with *rare skill*, which summary deserves being transcribed in full:

“The review, after having related in a more detailed manner the political condition and the sufferings of the Filipinos, said, among other things, that these, far from being contented with their lot, looked anxiously to the Spanish Government for changes and reforms which would permit them to enjoy gradually the benefits of civilization; that the few Filipinos then living in Spain found themselves constrained to publicly interpret the desires of all their compatriots, for the reason that any such manifestation was punished in the island with torture, removal of residence, and deportation; that those desires, being inspired by the necessities that had been created in the natural course of events, instead of being diminished by repression, would be augmented and become irresistible, like the air, which acquires greater elastic force in the measure that it is compressed; that the Spanish government should not allow the compressed desires to explode in the shape of an insurrection, but should avoid the contingency of the Filipinos seeking a remedy for their ills in separation; and that the love and gratitude of the Filipinos towards Spain were the only pillars capable of maintaining the Spanish rule in the Philippines throughout the times, as they would be the only ones that would not fail in her moments of great stress and afflictions.

“Proceeding to speak of the reforms or improvements which could calm the popular longings, he asked, among other

things, that the form of government of the Islands be changed from the military to the civil; that the powers of the Governor-General be limited and determined by law; that the individual liberties protected by the Spanish constitution be made extensive to the Filipinos; that the Islands be duly represented in the *Cortes*; the expulsion of the friars, or, at least, the secularization of the parishes; the filling of the public offices of the Insular Government by competitive examination, with the exception of the offices of Governor-General and those of the bureau or department chiefs, which must always be occupied by Spaniards, the competitive examinations to be held in Spain for one-half of the vacant positions and in the Philippines for the other; the permanent tenure of the offices to filled; the reform or abolition of the *Guardia Civil*, etc .

“Of course, the friars published another newspaper in order to oppose these demands, but their main argument was the incompetency of the *indio*, due to his ignorance and innate indolence. They argued that the reforms demanded, being incompatible with his savage state, would ruin the *indio*, who was used to work with the whip in sight, as they would be too strong food, so to say, for his uncultured stomach; that, in the event of their petition being granted, the Filipinos would demand more and would become exacting and importunate and be never satisfied: that in reality, the mass of the people was contented with its lot and paid no attention to *La Solidaridad*, which was directed by a few filibusters. The reply was made that the *indio* was ignorant because the education he received was very deficient, due, principally, to the fact that the friars, who were the inspectors of the public primary schools and the private secondary schools, did not want “the *indio* to be instructed; that, nevertheless , the official statistics showed that in the Philippines the percentage of the population able to read

and write was the same as, if not greater than, in the peninsula; that the indolence of the native was mostly due to the lack of easy and cheap transportation for his products; that reforms were being requested precisely in order to enable the *indio* to emerge from the state of savagery in which he was being kept , and in order that the government, upon being better informed of his necessities, might provide for them in the proper manner; that the number of representatives could be fixed in accordance with the percentage of Filipinos able to read and write; and, finally, that in order to clear up and dissipate all kinds of doubts, it would be advisable, as an experiment, to establish some of the reforms and to grant to the Filipinos the right to freely and peaceably express their sentiments.

“These arguments being irrefutable, the friar organ was so imprudent as to say more than once, laying stress upon the words, that the liberties of the peninsula had cost blood, and not ink. It is evident that such a provocation was puerile, but, nevertheless, it was very imprudent. The Spanish government remained silent in the face of all this; but its acts demonstrated in a manner that left no room for doubt that it was on the side of the friars, and that it abandoned the people who were bearing all the burdens of the State. From time to time some liberal leader, tired of waiting for his party to get into power, uttered a few vague promises, which he managed to forget as soon as he got hold of the desired portfolio”. [42]

So much about Plaridel’s manner in Spanish. As to the Tagalog, that is rice of another class: tender toasted *pinipig*, smoking and crisp, which “absorbs the entire delicate potion of *soconusco* (cacao from Soconusco-*N. of Trsl.*)”. Here is a sample, translated into English:

CATECHISM AND DECLARATION OF DOCTRINE
IN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS [43]

The Sign of the Cross

By the sign of the *cara y cruz* [Note of translator: *cara y cruz*, literally, face and back, meaning the face and back of a coin, is the Spanish name of the gambling game known as “pitching pennies”], from our Lord, the Friar, deliver our carcasses, in the name of the filthy lucre, the white calves, and the vagrant spirit. Amen.

An Act of Contrition

O Friar, my Lord! false god and altogether too worldly, who hast broken into my house and robbed me of my goods; I am heartily sorry; deliver us from all evil, because I am sure Thou art my executioner and my most hated lord and enemy; I firmly resolve that Thou shalt not swindle me again, and that I will shun Thee, in order that my purse may not again suffer; and I further resolve to spread the news of Thy sharp practices, and hope that someday I shall be able to give Thee a sound thrashing, for the sake of the outrageous charges Thou makest for burial vaults, and of the scandalous manner in which Thou fleecest me in Thy trafficking with the cross. Amen.

The Lord's Prayer

Our Stepfather who art in the convent; cursed be Thy name; Thy greed depart; Thy wind-pipe be slit on earth as it is in heaven; return to us this day our daily bread; and make us laugh with Thy horse-laugh, as Thou laughest when Thou fleecest us, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from Thy evil tongue. Amen.

The Ave Maria

Hail *Baría*, the till of the Friar overflows with Thee; the Friar is with Thee; blessed art Thou among things, and blessed is the coffer he filleth with Thee. Holy *Baría*, Mother of the Fees, pray for us that we may not be skinned and put to death. Amen. [44]

The Salve Regina

God save Thee, Queen *Baría*, abducted by the Friar, our life and sweetness. O, fruit of our sweat and of the sleepless nights of us exiled children of Eve, for Thee we sigh, moaning and weeping in this vale of tears. Ah, Thou, whom we have thought for our children, turn upon us Thy face and cross, and before Thou exilest us, tickle our ear with Thy chink. Santa *Baría*, mother of the Fees. O Wisdom, O Fortitude, O tinkling gold! Pray for us, that the evil designs of the Friar against us may not prosper. Amen.

The Commandments of the Friar

The Commandments of the Friar are these ten:

The first: Love the Friar above all things.

The second: Thou shalt not dare to defraud him in his fees.

The third: Thou shalt abstain from the Friar, even on Sundays and holidays.

The fourth: Thou shalt mortgage thy body in order that thou mayest have the money wherewith to pay for thy parents' burial.

The fifth: Thou shalt not croak unless thou hast the wherewithal to pay thy funeral expenses.

The sixth: Thou shalt not covet the Friar's woman.

The seventh: Thou shalt not compete with him in fleecing thy fellowman.

The eighth: Thou shalt not gainsay him, though he make thee out to be a liar when thou art in the right.

The Gifts of the Friar to his Dupes are Four

The first: to make them his servants.
The second: to make them church people.
The third: to make love to their daughters.
The fourth: to vent his spite on them.

The Scourges of the Wrath of the Friar are Three

The gallows, on which they hanged those three priests.
To call a man a filibuster and banish him to Jolo.
To start proceedings against a man and have him thrown into jail.

The Good Acts Called Virtues

Whatever you do, keep quiet about it.
Be prudent in your utterances.
Be niggardly when you pay the priest's charges.
Do not rest until he is kicked out.

The Good Acts which Wipe Out the Sins against the Friars are Three

The first: Get him women for his pleasure.
The second: Always be ready to get up fiestas.
The third: Leave money to the Church.

The False Gospels of the Friar are Three

Pay your fees.
Give your money for rosaries and scapularies.
Ruin yourself buying candles, even though you be a pauper.
This is the first, and the second is:

Guard against evil when caused by your fellowman, unless it be the friar. The third, and last: blind obedience in every case to any mandate of the friar, regardless of order and caste.

Praised, Etc.

Praised be the most precious heart of men that is free from the stain of fraudulent acts against his neighbor, and that of him who, despite all temptations, he's not been the accomplice of those who brought about the downfall of the neighbor.

Edifying Colloquies

Question: What is the Friar?

Answer: A master who is absolutely unnecnaery for the welfare of the people, who keeps the people in ignorance, is a source of evil, and devours all our savings

Q. How many Friars ere there?

A. One only.

Q. And how many orders are there?

A. Five.

Q. Enumerate them.

A. The Augustinians, the Recollects, the Dominicans the Franciscans, and the Capuchins.

Q. Are the Augustinians and Recollects Friars?

A. Yes, they are Friars.

Q. Arc the Dominicans and Franciscans Friars?

A. Yea, they are Friars, too.

- Q Is a Capuchin a Friar?
A. Yes, a Friar likewise.
- Q Is the monkery of one different from that of the other?
A. No, they are one and the same in their monkery, but differ in their tricks and sharp practices.
- Q Is the friar a man of good habits, so much so that he is justified in calling us bad?
A. No, but all are truly afraid of him.
- Q Where is the Friar?
A. Nearly everywhere; there is not a nook in the Philippine where he is not present, and he is omnipotent.
- Q How did his children come into the world?
A. Through his act and grace in the wombs of his fair penitents, who are virgins before, during, and after the birth of their children.
- Q What is the first reason why the Friar does not want to leave us?
A. Because he is powerfully tempted by our riches, and because he has during long years become accustomed to enslaving us.
- Q What does he want to squeeze out of us?
A. When he has squeezed all our money out of us, he will surely squeeze us dry of all our blood, until we give up the ghost.
- Q Can we take our wealth with us when we die?
A. No, but we can put our heirs wise so that they will keep on the alert, and thus the Friar will not get any clue concerning the whereabouts of our wealth, and we can tell them to get it out little by little, as their real needs may require.

Q Where is the Friar?

A Seated in the easy-chair in the convent, near his money-box.

Q How can the Friar be seated near his money-box, seeing that he has taken the vow of poverty?

A It means that he is the custodian of the sacred things, which are worth quite a bit of money, so that he may sell them to us and that we may give all our money for them and thus buy us a seat in Heaven.

Q What is the Friar deadly afraid of?

A Only one thing. As regards teachings against the commandments of God, they do not worry him a bit; we know very well that the friar does not give a farthing[45] for all that; but the idea of his being expelled from the country frightens him nearly to death.

FINIS

Similar to the catechism transcribed are the other campaign opuscles in Spanish namely: *Sagot ñg España...*”[46] in which the enemy is styled a clownish mule-skinned born amidst the brambles, who has taken to the convent for the sake of the money that is in it and exploits without pity the country and the good faith of the chivalrous a glorious Spanish nation; the *Pasiong dapat ipagalab...*[47] an opuscle which Friar Felipe Garcia and his brethren of the robe declared to be Filibuster nonsense because it urged the voluntary exodus of the friars, under the penalty of their being dymanited

*At kung hindi pirme ka nang
Lilipad sa dinamita;*

Ang Kadakilaan ng Dios,[48] where he is depicted usurping the divine majesty and omnipotence, with the wide sleeves of the habit converted

into a deep well swallowing up the wealth of the country, and the roguish *Kai-igat kayo*, a forbidden fruit, as we have seen in part II of this monograph, written in reply to a booklet of Padre Rodriguez, entitled *Caiñgat nga cayo*, which speaks of Rizal in the following terms: “Dr. Rizal’s book entitled NOLI ME TANGERE, is now being read without scruples by many persons who call themselves Catholics, but the fact is that in reading it, they commit a serious sin, because it is a book full of heresies, blasphemies, and errors, one worse than the other, and contains propositions which are *false, baseless, offensive to pious ears, insulting to the sacred hierarchy and to the faithful, impious, foolish, and erroneous, which lead one into errors condemned in Luther and other heretics, smack of heresy and heretics, and even induce one into atheism*. And if the author, DR. RIZAL, feels the things he states in his book and had not retracted what he has said, he must be considered as an *impious, blasphemous, heretic and excommunicated*. [49]

“And this is considering the book only from the viewpoint of doctrine; as regards its literary worth, it is a book written with the feet, as the vulgar saying goes, which on all its pages, reveals the crassest ignorance of the rules of literature and especially of the Spanish grammar: the only noteworthy thing in the author is a stupid hatred for everything concerning Religion and Spain.

Being tired of those irreverences of His Reverence, Del Pilar hurls upon Friar Rodriguez’ head his *Kai-igat kayo*. [50] In this booklet, Del Pilar rejoices that Padre Rodriguez wrote what we have copied and encourages his countrymen to go on hooking *igat* (a species of eel found in the salt-marshes in the Philippines and caught with a stick with a hook at the end, which is dragged through the mud or the mangrove swamp and on which the wriggling creature impales itself, whereupon the head of the *igat* is broken with stick and the animal thrown into the basket). Del Pilar says Friar Rodriguez is like one of these eels, and that he attacked Rizal so furiously because he, Friar Rodriguez, was one of the merchants whom Jesus drove out of the Temple with a scourge; and then, with

incomparable enthusiasm, unction, and grace he pens the first biography ever written of Rizal, with a subtle and sagacious critique of the *Noli* that made the Great Martyr extremely popular. The elegance with which *Kai-igat* is written is athenian and heralds a new spring for the vernacular; it was a source of great mortification to Friar Rodriguez, and his confreres.

Nevertheless, on occasion of Friar Rodriguez' death, Del Pilar dedicated a feeling necrology to him. And in order that the reader may himself compare the two style and genres of Pláridel, we shall transcribe the necrology mentioned:

PADRE JOSE RODRIGUEZ [51]

A semi-monthly publication dealing with the Philippines confirms the news received by us by mail, of the unexpected death in that country of the reverend father Fr. Jose Rodriguez.

This news has surprised us exceedingly. Although we combated Padre Jose Rodriguez while he was still alive, on account of his publication, entitled *Cuestiones de sumo interés*, we have never denied his virtues, his religious fervor, his eagerness to save souls.

Now that he is dead, we have only words of respect for his memory. We shall not even attempt to justify our attitude towards him while he was alive, though for this purpose it would be sufficient to reproduce his necrology published by his own partisans, in the following terms:

“Some of these leaflets (*Cuestiones de sumo interés*) of Padre Rodriguez could not but provoke smiles. Padre Rodriguez was one of those extraordinarily mystic friars who are living outside of the world of reality.”

Padre Rodriguez was bound to come to this on account of his personal character and of the education that formed his heart and intellect.

A man of energetic and inflexible character, he received an excessively mystic education, and the product of these factors was bound to be a stubborn idealization of real life.

He is credited with having furnished the Orphanage under his direction with a printing press; and indeed, the efforts made by Padre Rodriguez for the purpose of creating a typographical plant for that institution from next to nothing are worthy of applause.

This printing press, worked by the children of the orphanage, is what has rendered Padre Rodriguez the most popular in his campaign against every idea signifying progress.

It was, therefore, not strange that many persons should think of Padre Rodriguez when, in the time of General Despujols, that press was denounced as having turned out certain proclamations, which were then causing a lot of excitement.

The country was flooded with incendiary proclamations against Spain and the friars, and sanguinary exhortations against these latter and the integrity of Spain meant, in the last analysis, that in the Philippines the hatred for the friar implied hatred for Spain, and that the Spanish policy should be inspired by the interests of the monastic orders.

It was evident that if these proclamations benefited anybody they benefited the friar; and the printing press established by Padre Rodriguez in the Orphanage was denounced as the place where those proclamations were printed.

The authorities proceeded to search the establishment, and though the result of the action of the judge, Sr. Rodriguez Berriz, was, or *should have been*, a mystery to us, yet we can affirm that Padre Jose Rodriguez was incapable of authorizing that Machiavelian intrigue by his participation.

Padre Rodríguez might have given some light in the criminal action instituted with regard to that matter. Padre Rodríguez' veracity was proverbial: he being a mystic and unattached to what makes up real life, his testimony would have been a faithful reflection of his conscience. Would his testimony have compromised certain powerful entities of the country? Would it have exalted them?

We know nothing of that. The fact is that Padre Rodríguez died, and with him an exceptionally important witness disappeared from the scene.

Of what did Padre Rodriguez die? We had no news of his having been ill; he was so robust and full of health.

When a sudden and unexpected death occurs under circumstances like these described, the public opinion is mistrustful and overlooks no hypothesis that might explain the cause of the death.

With regard to that of Padre Rodriguez, the letters which we receive from Manila reveal the general perplexity that this event has occasioned throughout the country.

Although the illness that carried off the provincial of the Augustinians, Padre Carretero, was also very rapid, we are at least to told that he died of "malignant fever."

As regards Padre Rodriguez, there are several different versions.

We do not wish to attribute importance to any of them and limit ourselves to depositing upon the grave of the dead our most ardent vow for their eternal rest.

M. H. del P.

Aside from the Olympic serenity, the certainty of judgment, and the manifest benevolence towards the good Padre Rodriguez, we see the subtle and mortiferous Filipino dagger, thrust deep into the Augustinian corporation. But the writings in Tagalog are still more formidable. This may, perhaps, not appear clearly in our Spanish version which is due entirely to our inability to translate the Tagalog tongue into that of Castile, a thing that should not defraud the truth. And the truth is that by his Tagalog writing, Del Pilar, in addition to endowing the language with a dewy freshness and elasticity, naturalized for the first time in the letters the picturesque, rhythmical, vibrant popular language, unknown, on account of its having fallen into disuse and oblivion, in the entire Tagalog literature of a prior date. In it we perceive the vigour of mind of a people, brilliant and easy of application to literature and poetry, on account of its being so naturally ingenuous and quickly understood that the reader not unaccustomed to the language grasps with the rapidity of lightning the meaning of the phrase uttered, in which each turn, each word, and even each particle awaken in him reminiscence of things and persons familiar to him, and which it is impossible, owing to the change of medium, to convey in a translation. Del Pilar could say in Tagalog all he pleased, however crude, without ever offending the finer ear of the islander. The tone, the gaiety tempers everything as in certain French songs where the tone is everything: *C'est le ton qui fait la chanson*. They not only travelled through the Tagalog provinces, entering all nooks and

crannies and taking the place of the *novenas*, *pasiones*, *doctrinas cristianas*, and booklets with indulgences of Friar Rodriguez, but afforded pleasant instruction, recreation, and amusement to the masses exploited by the friars; they went straight for their pocket-book and were like the avenging torch which inserted into the eye of Polyphemus, made it burst into a thousand pieces. They gave the death-blow to the sway of the dominant caste and it is more due to them perhaps, than to any other kind of propaganda, that there's such a change of opinion among the general masses; like that most terrible of light cavalry, they broke the ranks of the enemy and then pursued the stragglers in the rout. They have of their own right acquired titles of nobility in the republic of the letters. Rizal, as we have said, points them out as models of Tagalog wit and satire.

In these writings in the vernacular, there is nothing imagined or invented by Del Pilar. He merely gathered from the ambient medium in all that he found floating in it and arranged it artistically. Proverbs, lessons, allusion, judgments, and even prejudices: all were of the people which he represented and of which he was the mouthpiece. They were, for this reason properly interpreted by the masses, and have a double merit, the historical and the literary, as they inform us of what the Filipino masses then thought and felt with respect to the common enemy and because they purge the Tagalog literature of a literary mannerism of long standing, invigorating it with purely popular elements, indigenous to the soil, and endowing it with harmony, number, and measure characteristic of the Tagalog tongue, to the extent that the acidity and mordant of the roguish sentences convert the very dung into earth from which springs the beautiful *camantigue*.

And although the asperity of his writings justified the unbounded provocation of the enemy, they were like an anodyne compared with eructation like those, for example, of Friar Miguel Lucio Bustamante (author of *Si Tandang Basio Macunat*), of Barrantes, and Quioquiap, and were still less offensive than some of the outbursts of certain friars and

foreign friends of theirs, with the aggravating circumstance that the outbursts of the latter are not jokes, but concern scientific matters. Here are a few samples:

The illustrious traveller F. Jagor, who became quite familiar with the priests and liked them all, *und sie ausnahmslos liebgewonnen*, tell very curious things about them: that they arrive from Spain as boardless youths, timid, ignorant, rude. and with horrid ideas and hatred for the heretics; that they only become polished in the Philippines, where they receive instruction, consideration, and very considerable revenues; that their government is like that of Sancho Panza, and when they build churches, roads, and bridges, the bridges generally collapse, the churches have ridiculous facades, and the roads go to pieces, because in Spain they would only handle the plow, while in the Philippines they undertake great things. *Derselbe Mensch, der in Spanien hinter dem Pflug hergegangen ware, führt hier grosse Unternehmungen aus; ohne technische Bildung, ohne wissenschaftliche Hilfsmittel baut er Kirchen, Strassen, Brucken.* [52]

Jagor also hints that the stomach of the priest is his faithful clock: we know that the noon hour has come because His Reverence is assailed by hunger, and in order to make the thing more solemn, Mr. Jagor heralds it in French: *Il est l'heure, que Votre Majesté désire*. Nevertheless, he says, the friars do not know how to eat *paté de foie gras*, and he would gladly have initiated them into the secrets of that delicious tidbit, if they had not been too impertinent in their endeavors to convert him, for which reason Jagor, in order to punish them, bought all the tins in the possession of the friars and had himself the selfish pleasure to eating the contents in the wilds of the virgin forest, *Zur Strafe für ihre Zudringlichkeit enthüllte ich meinen Withen nich die richtige Gebrauchssanweisung, haufte ihnen die noch übrigen Blechbüchsen ab, und hatte später das Vergügen im Urwald Gänseleberpastete zu essen.* [53] That the Augustinian to whom Padre Llanos had recommended him was dirty, surly, and very ignorant in geography, and argued at length the transcendental point whether Nuremberg was the capital

of the grand duchy or of Russia, and other nonsense; that the priests were the accomplices of the Crown in the sale of bulls, side by side with snuff, brandy, etc., one of them, that of the composition, allowing a person to rob, swindle, prevaricate, give false testimony, and even commit adultery, etc., etc., and that the confession was the terrible rock on which the virtue of the friar suffered shipwrecks, on account of their frequent dealings with girls. He denounced that there was an appendix to a certain Tagalog grammar, which was eliminated in the copies set aside to be sold, and which contained the series of questions which the confessor studying Tagalog learned, and of which several pages referred to nothing but sexual intercourse. *Im Anhang zur tagalogischen Grammatik, der in den für das Publikumlichen Exemplaren fehlt, ist zur Bequemlichkeit des jungen Pfarrers, welcher der Sprache noch nicht mächtig ist, eine Reihe von Fragen enthalten, die er der Beichtenden vorlegen soll; mehrere Seiten derselben beziehen sich auf den geschlechtlichen Umgang* [54]

Aside from religion and what concerns it, Blumentritt is still more outspoken and makes exception only of the foresters as far as the laymen are concerned, and as to the regulars, speaking of linguistics, in which they seem to be the most fecund and omnipotent, the ingenuous Blumentritt says: "that the Spanish friars, who have published and still are publishing a large number of grammar and dictionaries of the native tongues, have not the slightest systematical knowledge of the Malayan tongues, except the Jesuits and Dr. Pardo de Tavera: *the Jesuits and the Philippine Creole, Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera are the only notable exceptions.*"

Elmer D. Merrill, who had been charged with investigating the botanical work done in the Philippine Islands, says in his official report the following: *Sebastian Vidal was the first and only one of the Spanish botanists who thoroughly understood the necessity of comparing his specimens with the types in various European herbaria before publishing his reports consequently his articles are the only ones of all those published by the various Spanish botanist who have worked on this flora in which we can have confidence...* [55] *The work of Blanco, Llanos,*

Naves, and Fernandez Villar must be considered detrimental to the advancement of the science of botany in this Archipelago, rather than promoting it, and when one attempts to work with the publications of these authors, he will soon learn to appreciate their failings, from a scientific standpoint, [56] and states in detail the errors of each of these religious. However, in reporting upon the work of the Filipinos, for instance, that of the Augustinian Friar Ignacio de Mercado, born at Parañaque in 1648, of a Tagalog mother, whose book *Libro de Medicina de est atierra y delaraciones de las virtudes de los arboles y plantes que estan en estas Islas Filipinas*, though it had passed from hand to hand in order that the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Jesuits might copy it, and despite the deterioration suffered by the manuscript, elicits from him the following emphatic statement: most part of the plants are readily recognizable from the drawings[57] of which there were 358, out only 210 are still of some use, the others having become lost, destroyed or deteriorated. As regards Regino Garcia, besides praising him, he thankfully acknowledges his valuable cooperation: He has been of material assistance to me in supplying data of value in the preparation of the present paper.[58]

The strangest, however, is that even the Augustinian historian, Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, says, in substance, that until he came into the world, the Philippines had no history: “The histories of the Philippines are composed of bigger and larger volumes than those of the most ancient and widely-spread nations of the rest of the globe. In order to fill these books, our historians, who generally are regulars, have found it necessary to deal extensively with the lives of many religious and with the determinations of their chapters, which are of very little interest to the rest of humanity. Others have transcribed the records of administrative proceedings and have related a lot of unimportant thing which are a bore to the present generation. For this reason there are but few people in Manila who know the history of the colony in which they are living, simply because it is so tiresome, etc. , etc.” [59]

Padre Zuñiga even laughs at the extravagant facades of certain churches, saying that their designers must be good theologians, but poor artists, and in his fastidiousness he tells us that “An *alcalde mayor* wished to dredge the Rio Grande at Arayat in order to facilitate navigation and provide water for much barren land which did not produce anything. The superior government asked the parish priests of the province for a report. Most of them were Filipino clerics and all concurred in the *alcalde*’s opinion. But in one of the pueblos that had remained in the hands of the Augustinians there was the ex-provincial, Friar Pedro Martinez; the report made by him was that the province would be ruined if the river were dredged, and in view of his report it was decided that the river be not dredged, and they added in Manila that the *alcalde mayor* and the clerics with him were going to ruin Pampanga. I always revered Padre Martinez; he was a man well versed in theology, the canons, and morality, and in all sorts of subjects related with the Indies; I never had a conversation with him without learning something; but he did not know a thing about hydraulics and hydrostatics, not even what they were, and yet his opinion in a manner of which he had not the slightest notion defrauded Pampanga of great benefits.” [60]

As regards *scrivere vite di Santi et corteggiare*, this is, *novenas*, catechisms, etc., in the Philippine tongues, another Augustinian has said that the Filipino clerics wrote much more than the Spanish religious, but, alas! they were working *non sibi sed aliis*.

We state all this, omitting what authorized Filipinos have written, in order to show that Del Pilar has not only been tolerant in his writings, but that he was even more benign and charitable than the authors cited, as he was always very broad-minded with regard to certain literary and scientific shortcomings of his enemies. After all, Del Pilar probably said, very few or none of the so-called sciences were born in their final shape and fully equipped; they are subject to constant information and rectification, and every worker in them, however humble he be, certainly deserves the

congratulations of the fortunate ones who came after and who were successful because they found more favorable conditions and had the aid of those auxiliary or related sciences which facilitate and foster scientific success. Fifteen years after the date on which the words above inserted were written, Merrill rendered a just posthumous tribute to Padre Blanco, as a man who had well deserved of science.” [61]

Here are Merrill’s conclusions with regard to the *magnus opus* of Padre Blanco, which we take pleasure in transcribing:

“1136 species described by Padre Blanco have been reduced to 993 after revision by Mr. Elmer D. Merrill.

“686 described by the same author as new.

“The many species described by Blanco two or three times as different from each other, have been reduced to 143.

“1080 have been duly identified by Mr. Merrill

“50 are doubtful on account of deficient description or because the plant could not be found, although its common name and locality had been given by Blanco.

“Of 690 binomial designations of Linn~ applied to the Philippine species by said author of the “Flora,” 400 are erroneous, representing 60% of the total number. This is due to the fact that Padre Blanco lacked precise notions concerning the geographical distribution of the plants.

“3 genera of Blanco (*Lunasia*, *Palaquium*, and *Malaisia*) are valid.

“Of the 686 species described as new, only some 195 have contained recognition.” [62]

This probity of Del Pilar's, which even extended to his enemies, was fully acknowledged by the latter on occasion of his death.

“Marcelo del Pilar was the most important journalist produced by the purely Filipino race.”

“We did not consider him as an artful filibuster; at times we saw in him the calculating conspirators, the journalist gone astray, who had no real hatred for the sovereign country, though he showed he had it for the state of affairs prevailing in the Philippines.”

“But whatever the truth may be, we must not lose sight of the fact that it was *Marcelo*, (as his intimate friends called him) the Tagalog, who, as a publicist, inspired us with the greatest esteem when serenely, and apparently with the greatest sincerity, he gave his views on very arduous political problems.”

“Correcter in form than any other, skilful in debate, tenacious in maintaining his conclusions, the personality of Marcelo del Pilar, as a propagandist, is doubtless the greatest produced by the Tagalog race. While he had not the culture and intensity of purpose of his countryman Rizal, he had, however, the advantage of knowing how to instil his thoughts in a subtle manner into the minds of his followers.”

“He was adversary, a rival; he insulted us at times, we never could approve of the tendency of his political activities; but he was industrious, he was intelligent, and, perhaps, he was the victim of his own engagements...” [63]

Our late Zulueta has adopted this judgment of Retana as his own.[64] Mariano Ponce, who was intimately acquainted with Rizal and Del Pilar and formed with them something in the nature of a triumvirate, says that

Del Pilar was a *persona grata*, as they would say in diplomatic language. His loyal and open disposition made him very well liked in the society and political circles of Madrid, where he had many friends. And, really, “in the political writings of our authors we see the frank and sincere man, the man of deep feeling and lofty thoughts, who has the courage to say what he thinks and feels, however bitter it may be, and whether or not it may result in persecution and trouble. *He united sincerity with politics, which is not an easy thing.*”

“As a controvertist, he was feared and respected by his own adversaries. His motto was *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*. He said the bitterest truths in the most correct and cultured style; and even in the heat of the discussion he never lost his self-possession and made reason and logic speak their proper language, calm, clear, with the strength of conviction, completely free from sophisms.”[65]

James A. LeRoy, an American philippinist not to be doubted, after saying that Del Pilar was among the forerunners of the revolution the one who had an “economic mind,” different from Rizal, who was a “poet or dreamer,” said that he, Del Pilar, “was at the outset of the propaganda in Spain (1889) a maturer man than Rizal. Coming straight from the problems of actual life among his people, he stated their grievances with more practical reference to direct and immediate remedies and with special reference to their economic status. . . . Del Pilar, he adds, would have made a good representative of his people in the Cortes.”[66]

De facto he certainly was the representative of his people. Ponce testifies to this fact when he says that: “notwithstanding his scant resources, he succeeded in awakening in Spain an interest in the Philippine question. At no other epoch of history was our archipelago so much discussed as at that time. And this interest was kept alive and continued to increase until our emancipation from Spain. And even after the catastrophe which resulted in Spain losing her last colonies, Marcelo is still remembered at

its capital, and in the Spanish parliament some deputy or the other still cites his name, together with that of Rizal, in speaking of the Philippines.[67]

As regards his Filipino companions, he was the only one who succeeded in restraining the innocent bacchanal of the more undisciplined youths of the colony. At last, after all those efforts, the most brilliant success crowned his perseverance. The most intimate solidarity was established between the disheartened and egoistic compatriot, and the director of *La Solidaridad* was able to organize that editorial staff so remarkable in the annals of Spanish and Philippine journalism.

The patriotic bees entered the hive, leaving on the threshold all mistrust and suspicions which had no reason to exist among sons of the same mother. From that group there came the editors of *La Solidaridad*. Mariano Ponce, the industrious, faithful Naning, now residing in Hongkong, allied himself with them and became such an intimate and close associate of Plaridel's that he was a model secretary and manager. With Naning there were Antonio Luna, alias *Taga-ilog*, José Ma. Panganiban, Enrique Rogers, Eduardo de Lete, and Ramiro Franco.

Of the Filipino colony at Madrid, a brilliant galaxy of patriots, the following members who were not on the editorial staff of *La Solidaridad*, but who contributed to its growth and success by their personal collaboration and contributions, are still (1904) in this world, militating in different camps and adoring different creeds: Arejola, Del Pan, Albert, Llorente, Roxas, Rosario Apacible, Ilustre, De Leon, Santos, Barcelona, Paterno, Lukban, Sandiko, Reyes, Asis, Rodriguez, Blanco, Acuña, Alejandrino, Liongson, Aguilera, Sucgang, Kunanan, Ventura, Tuason, Rocha, Domez de la Serna, Govantes, and hundreds of others who were living and working in Madrid as Filipino philipinists.[68]

Among them it was certainly he who was the most constant in his devotion to his country, who worked the hardest, and whose suffering was scarcely equalled. Panganiban, for instance, died in the prime of

youth, so that Rizal deplored that for this reason he had not been able to be more useful to the Philippines. Lopez Jaena met but seldom with his countrymen. Rizal himself said that he isolated himself from his countrymen to such an extent as to lose confidence in the capacity of the country.[69] General Luna never took the political activities seriously; he was a mason from 1887 to 1891 but never had any relations with the Filipino lodges, and his articles were purely literary, dealing with Madrid customs, and were written from 1889 to 1891.[70] Rizal left the Madrid field very early; his last contribution to *La Solidaridad* was the legend of *Mariang Makiling* (December 31, 1890), and he ceased to make political propaganda after the decree deporting him to Dapitan (July 7, 1892). He collaborated on *La Solidaridad* from abroad, because, according to Mabini, as Rizal saw that M. H. del Pilar managed the paper *with rare skill, he left the editorial staff* of the same and wrote the *Noli* and the *Filibusterismo*, which novels “were read by very few Spaniards, because they had been written by a filibuster,” and “were read by very few Filipinos, because their publication and the reading of them were prohibited in the Islands.” [71] To which we may add that there were perhaps, not over twenty Filipinos in the Islands who had read them, because they were fruits liable to cost a person his life if he dared to bite into them, and did not reach the masses on account of their being written in Spanish, a tongue not spoken by the masses. Moreover, on account of their size and volume, it was not an easy matter to keep them concealed from the sleuth-hounds of the colonizers unlike the sheets of *La Solidaridad*, which could be readily rolled up like a cigarette and thrown away or concealed at the slightest sign or danger. The bibliographic schema hereinbefore inserted will show that nearly all the issues of *La Solidaridad* were by the pen of Del Pilar’s [pen], who kept up his newspaper under the most distressing conditions, at a time, for instance, when he had to creep up the stairs to his lodgings on all fours, on account of the general tuberculosis from which he was suffering and which was soon to carry him off to the grave.

“I was a witness, says Ponce, of his long nights of insomnia caused by the constant activity of his mind, always occupied with ideas and questions of the moment that required study and meditation; and then, when sleep thus fled him, he would rise in the midst of the cold winter nights and work at his desk until daylight ousted the light of his lamp.” [72]

And through all this he never for a moment neglected the propaganda in the Islands through the Filipino lodges, principally *Kupang* and *Modestia*. Before leaving the Islands, he had already organized the *Junta de Propaganda*, which directed his campaign in the peninsula. It, was his “dear Mabini”[73] who, on a certain occasion, sent him a draft, on behalf of the Masons, for \$57.95, “to aid and contribute to the expenses of the propaganda” then planned by Del Pilar. *Kupang* is Del Pilar’s symbolic name and the name of the barrio in which he was born. Thus *Kupang* lodge in Malolos was founded at his inspiration and was made up of friends and relatives of his. Of the nine individuals exiled by General Blanco on May 25, 1895, six were masons, viz: Manuel Crisostomo, Ceferino Aldaba, Anastasio de León, Justo Teodoro, Valentin Aldaba, and Vicente Gatmaitan, the latter being the master of the lodge. Del Pilar was master of *La Solidaridad* lodge, in Spain, of which Rizal was the orator.

He had blind faith in the “institution and its members. The words which he wrote to his wife: “Tell *Inté* that if *Bilto’s* (the Spanish physician Berriz) successor is not a mason, a known evil is preferable,” are very significant. He believes that “masonry is the brain whose business it is to think out what the people must do,” and recommends that the lodges “study the problems of the political, economic, and military organization of our country, etc., and especially the proper development of the new municipalities because masonry is the brain whose business it is to think out what the people must do. Imagine for a moment that Spain gives us

tomorrow the intervention in the government of the State for which we have been asking. What concrete and positive solutions have we got to put it into practice? What reforms have we thought out to improve the situation of the country, develop its sources or wealth, etc., etc. .? This is what I would like to have the lodges take up; let each member state his ideas “and lecture on subject with which he is familiar: the merchant on commerce, the farmer on agriculture, the soldier on the army, etc., etc., and these accumulated studies will be fruitful for all. Thus masonry will be useful.”[74] This does not mean that Del Pilar used masonry for separatist purposes, but as a means of lawful propaganda, as he sets forth in the following manner.

“It is true that peaceful propaganda as well as separatist insurrection pursue the same purpose, namely, the prevalence of right and the adjustment of the social disequilibrium; but it is also true that if the propaganda is effective, the separatist war becomes unnecessary and, being unnecessary, there is no excuse for it.

“If the legal propaganda is sufficient to convince the authorities of the advisability of dignifying its development in the Philippines: if the legal propaganda is successful in securing from the powers in Spain the reform of the liberty killing form of government of the country; if, accepted by public opinion and listened to by the governments, it succeeds in securing for the Archipelago a legal status guaranteeing individual safety, the inviolability of the home, the inviolability of conscience, the submission of the civil and religious institutions to the mandates of law and morality; if, by means of the legal propaganda, it is possible to establish measures to prevent arbitrariness and harmonize the principle of authority with the liberties of the people, will it then be possible for the cry for separation to find an echo in the Philippine Islands? Who would risk the hazards of

a separatist insurrection if it were possible to live freely, tranquilly, and respect under the Spanish rule?

“The insurrection does not and can not constitute an aspiration, a final purpose; no, it must be a means, a resort, but the last resort. Peoples that are the victim of tyranny resort to insurrection when repeated sad disappointment have convinced them that peaceful means are inefficient to secure the righting of their wrongs.

“Very well, what we seek is to make the legal propaganda more vigorous, to make it effective in Spain, in order that its efficacy may put an end to the desperation of the Filipino people, make a war unnecessary, and therefore destroy all the combustible for an insurrectional conflagration that is being accumulated by the imprudence of obscurantism.” [75]

The reforms in the municipal and provincial administration are certainly due to this legal and peaceful propaganda.[76] The masonic organizations of the Philippines and their directive plans, he says, are all right, “what you need is not directive plans, but habits of *dirigibility* that is, *habits of collective life, of discipline*, with respect to the power carried by our votes, of mutual benevolence as regards our fellow-believers, without mental reservations which might injure the mutual affection that should exist between all. “Think evil and you will hit it right”, says a Spanish proverb; this rule of mistrust may very well apply to our relations with enemies or persons with whom we are not united by any tie of affection; but with friends, fellow-believers, and brethren it is a destructive rule which renders mutual affection and respect impossible, and where these do not exist, no organization is possible and a scattering of forces is inevitable. . . . Incipient societies are wont to suffer from the defect that I am pointing out, and we have a sad illustration of this in the valiant sons of Cuba who, not having provided for it, are wasting blood and money. The great heroism displayed by the Cubans has been rendered fruitless

by mistrust and disunion, mutual defamation, and irreconcilability; *they knew how to fight and die, but not how to vanquish*, when victory would have been easy for them if they had not entered the struggle *divided* and even *antagonistic to each other*. [77]

And because violence and bloodshed were repugnant to masonry, the Katipunan arose, vigorous and avenging. Del Pilar accepted the consummated facts, which were an indirect corollary of his labors. Filibusterism ceased to be a phantasms and adopted the form of reality: *Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin, tu lus roulu*. [78] Notwithstanding the Katipunan, the masons, according to Mabini, who were in favor of the continuance of the semi-monthly *La Solidaridad*, formed an organization known as the *Compromisarios* because each of them promised to pay a monthly quota of \$5.00 for the expenses of the paper. [79] And *La Solidaridad* was suspended, because Del Pilar's mission in Spain was considered as completed, the inefficacy of a peaceful and legal campaign having been sufficiently demonstrated to the country.

“The campaign was to take other channels and make use of new methods. Del Pilar and the writer of these lines—M. Ponce—got ready to leave Spain in February of the next year, 1896, in order to proceed to Hongkong, where there was to be a convention attended by members of the Board of Propaganda established in Manila, that same organization which we saw in its embryonic state in Trozo, and which, in the course of the time and in accordance with the circumstances, adopted different forms. This organization, which saw many vicissitudes and to which belonged all the unfortunates, the afflicted, the willing, those who loved the suffering land of their birth; this organization, which extended throughout the country, was the one that inspired and directed the campaign in Madrid and which practised true democracy, thanks to its procedure. This campaign was therefore the real *voice, the will of the country; it interpreted the aspirations of the country, of which it was the genuine representative*.

“But in fulfilling his mission, Marcelo had exhausted all his strength. Those seven years of constant strenuous work, full of hardships, anxiety, and worry, could not but undermine his Constitution, so strong and vigorous at the beginning of the struggle, because in the performance of his mission, Marcelo gave himself entirely up to it and lived and strove for it alone.

“In the spring of 1895 he began to feel ill; he did not pay much attention to it and continued working with the same zeal. When, in February 1896, we went to Barcelona to take the ship there, his illness became very serious in that city, so much so that we had to suspend the voyage. The disease continued to get worse, favored by the circumstance that his constitution had been weakened by overwork. On July 4, 1896, [80] almost on the eve of the cry of Balintawak, at the age of approximately 45 years, that great man died with the name of his country on his lips, far from her, far from his family and his home, in the arms of his friends who loved him with the love of son, of brothers, nay, more than that, with the love and veneration of one who feels that he is in the presence of an extraordinary man from whom he expects the salvation of that which to him is the most sacred and beloved.

“In the south-west cemetery of Barcelona, on a hill overlooking the Mediterranean, the foamy waves of which kiss the graves of so many of those who are gone; in the presence of that majestic vastness in which our saddened imagination saw the spirit of God floating over the waters; opposite that distant horizon in which our eye lost itself and in the hue of which we almost thought we could discern the silhouette of our weeping country, participating in our mourning; with the rhythmic beat of the waves for music and our sobs as chorus, with the blue sky spreading above us as a pall, and under the sad and cold shade of the weeping willows, we laid the remains of Marcelo del Pilar to rest in the private vault of a befriended family.[81]

VII

EPILOGUE

The political importance of Del Pilar in the destinies of the country stands unrivalled, He was the first to realize the necessity of an organization in order to insure the success of any protest, but an organization with members endowed with habits of collective life and of discipline, a thing which the protest of the Filipino clergy in 1872 lacked; he was the first who gave a certain orientation to Philippine masonry, making it militant in order to prepare it for the events of the future, in order that (in case Spain made a Spanish province out of the Philippines, as well as in case the Philippines declared themselves independent by violence, driven to it by desperation) masonry should have concrete and positive solutions ready for all political, economic, military, commercial, and other questions.

It will be said, perhaps, that masonry did not make the revolution, but it provoked it unintentionally, and perhaps, to its regret. If it had not been for the blindness of the Spanish government, which rendered a peaceable and legal life impossible by ordering a repetition, throughout the Archipelago of what it had done at Malolos, and which poured oil on the fire by cruelly executing loyal masons, masonry would have been the staunchest ally of the Spanish government. One must only remember the heroic attitude of the Malolos people which furnished the cause for those executions. Having been taught by Del Pilar, they did not hesitate to affirm to the face of the representative of the Spanish sovereign that the pueblo could govern itself without any necessity of the tutelage of the ecclesiastic authority (the first time that the Philippine annals speak of a declaration so temerary in those days), but at the same time, and more than ever, they showed the sincerest loyalty to the Spanish sovereignty. The Spanish government, however, far from appreciating that loyalty,

scorned it and mercilessly banished them all to the islands of Jolo and Mindanao.

Del Pilar, on the other hand, consistent in his loyalty, lost no opportunity to call the attention of the sovereign country to the risks which it ran by continuing the policy referred to. We can still see him on the rostrum of *La Solidaridad*, with the map of Oceania and of the coasts bathed by the Pacific in front of him, pointing out to the Spanish sovereign the topographical situation of the Islands and marking with his pencil the Caroline Islands, the island of Itbayat, and the coasts subjects to the commerce of North America as vulnerable points by which, owing to the isolation of Spain in the far East and to the constantly growing restlessness among the islanders, caused by stupid provocation on the part of the intemperate monkery and the blindness of the Spanish government, Germany, then the United States, and subsequently Japan, could easily introduce themselves, to the detriment of the Islands and the dishonor of Spain.

But, if the sovereign gave a little more attention to the Philippines and provided for her needs, Spain would gain the good-will of the islanders and there would be no dismemberment of her colonial empire, because she would be invincible, as shown by history, seeing that in her wars with the Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, and British, Spain triumphed thanks to the fidelity and efficacious aid of the Filipinos. Otherwise, without the Filipinos, who are already going to the cultured and free nations of Europe in quest of light, air, and liberty, of which they have none in their native land, and who look with loving eyes upon Hongkong, that barren, rocky island, rendered extraordinarily productive by her open door policy and *habeas corpus*, the United States would invade the country, perhaps with the aid of the islanders, and Japan, which, in the establishment of boundaries requested by Spain, had already obtained a good mouthful in the shape of the islands of Itbayat, Botel Tobago, and others, owing to the ignorance in cartography of the Spanish diplomat who signed the

treaty, would take possession of the Philippines. That the Philippines were not yet separatist; that separatism would spell suicide to his race, to which it could only be driven by despair; but that in case it should be driven to it, Spain would lose the Islands forever. There would be much bloodshed and great sacrifices on the part of the islanders, but Spain would be forced to give in.

That which for various causes the Philippine masonry and Del Pilar endeavored to avoid, the Katipunan proclaimed and put into execution. And the founders of the Katipunan drew their inspiration from Del Pilar; their correspondence, the review *Kalayaan*, the manifestoes and proclamations reflect this visibly. It must be remarked, however, that neither masonry nor the Katipunan would have encountered a favorable atmosphere if the masses of the people had not been prepared; they met with the approval of the masses precisely because their messages of grievances brought to them reminiscences of Del Pilar's opuscles in Tagalog. And this is due to his unparalleled personal sacrifices, to his ability, and to the fact that he was a *persona grata* even to his enemies, because he was not one of those who despised the enemy and who, on account of their despising him, do not take the proper precautions and practically fall into his claws, but was one of those who knew how to establish a neutral zone, something of a no man's land, where there is always a loop-hole or opening by which to enter the tents of the enemy, to become better acquainted with him, and then to keep him at bay, for the benefit of the fatherland.

As a journalist, polemic, and publicist he also stand unrivalled among the forerunners of the revolution of 1896. His vigorous, firm, and always calm and sensible prose reminds one of Sanciango's, that meritorious economist who, in 1871, published *El Progreso de Filipinas*, considered by specialists as unique in its class, in which he gives a lucid account of the uprisings, sounds the first note of alarm, establishes the best basis for a Philippine revenue system, and makes that defence of the indolence of

the Filipino which furnished material for Rizal's best opusculé. By his articles in *El Demócrata* he contributed considerably towards the abolition of the tobacco monopoly. [82]

He was inferior to the Great Martyr, on the other hand, in method, in scientific and literary systematization, in sarcasm, in invective, and in that artistic manner of grouping and selecting the rich spoils of the sciences and arts, a precious booty which is soon converted into one's own, he lacked his individual irradiations enhanced by an almost immaculate sincerity and by that *divinae particulam aurea* of Horace, whose most devoted follower, he professed to be; and he was inferior to the Great Martyr, especially, in the prerogative, so rarely granted to mortals, of having earned into reality the drama which, according to a great master, is perhaps, among all the works of art, that which comes the closest to the divine, in that it engenders real creatures endowed with reason and judgment, capable of good and evil, new citizens of the world.

In Tagalog, however, in which tongue Del Pilar communicated directly with his people, he stand high above Dr. Rizal. Del Pilar's works in the vernacular form a repertoire for which all praise is insufficient. Del Pilar changed the orientation of the Tagalog tongue and fixed it, giving it a perennial spring. In Tagalog he is one of those *quos aequos amabit Jupiter*, entitled to sit at the board of the gods and to be admitted to the beds of the goddesses.

The prose, for instance, of the first pages of *Kadakilaan ng Dios* (The Divine Omnipotence), has no cause to envy that of Padre Modesto de Castro, the prose-writer *par excellence* even for the author of *Florante*, especially in its rare grace and in that undulation of the phrase that reminds one of the waving of the stalks of a rice-field when the fresh November breeze is blowing. What is incomparable in Del Pilar's repertoire, however, is his familiar correspondence, so full of perfume and healthy joy, showing the hidden charm of the solid domestic affections, *le charme des affections solides*, enhanced from time to time by pathetic accents

of real tragical greatness. The very character of these letters, intimate and familiar, demonstrates the moral force of the man, Filipino to the core, and shows that he speaks according to the vibrations of that of his viscera which lies under the left nipple, *quoud loeva sub parte mamillae*.

But the character of the man and those traits of it which spell victory are the most worthy of admiration and a source of national pride.

The most distinguished North-American philippinist, LeRoy, says very well of Del Pilar that he was at the outset of the active propaganda in Madrid a maturer man than Rizal, and that in view of his familiarity with the peremptory needs of the Philippines he would have been an ideal representative in the Cortes; the very organ of the friars says very well that Del Pilar had an advantage over the Great Martyr in his subtle manner of instilling his thought into the minds of his followers; the representative of the Spanish sovereign himself, who was responsible for the Philippine situation and who had all sources of information at his command, knew what he was saying when he called Del Pilar the most intelligent, the real soul of the separatists, far superior to Rizal; Blumentritt said very correctly that he was the political brains of the campaign which culminated in the cry of Balintawak in 1896; Mariano Ponce very properly said the same thing, adding that Del Pilar knew how to unite politics with sincerity: all this is certainly very flattering and each is sufficient to insure the reputation of a leader; but it is not less true that nothing of what we have said would have been obtained, had it not been for the singular and indomitable character of a man who, devoting himself to one sole aim, the felicity of his native land was superior to the solicitation of material and moral well-being and to the most humiliating splashes of the mire of human misery. Only the Great Martyr could have taken his place in the struggle. But on account of the needs of the campaign, and because Del Pilar directed *La Solidaridad* very successfully, as Mabini tells us, Rizal left the editorial staff in order to collaborate with Del Pilar from abroad. Even this collaboration failed Del Pilar, beginning with 1890, and especially after 1892, owing to Rizal's deportation, and he

again found himself alone, not behind the safe parapet, but in the center of the arena, at the best without a blessing farthing from anybody, starving and mortally ill. And yet he spent sleepless nights, sounding the alarm and announcing to his countrymen the approach of the tempest:

*Sasakyan mo'y guipo, huag matutulog
Ang mañga anak mo't ma sigú sa laot.*

Del Pilar was not at all like one of the many Filipino canaries of those days who, when night fell, were wont to put the head under the wing and fall sound asleep. Rather than a canary, he was the *kalaw* of the forests of Luzon, whose break serves as a trophy of war and who in the dark and stormy night, when the little birds are given over to careless sleep, sounds the hours of the night with mathematical punctuality.

Del Pilar and Rizal were the most conspicuous among the so-called forerunners of the revolution of 1896, distinct in character and work, but mutually completing each other. Since, as a Filipino poet expressed it, the bullet shattered Rizal's skull in the morning of December 30, 1896, Rizal has been the inspiration and model of the studious youth, which did not allow an atom of the life and writings of the national hero to be forgotten, in order that all might be used as a stimulus to every undertaking or a national character. Del Pilar, on his part, in addition to contributing more than any other to make the fatherland which had its glorious epiphany in the establishment of the ephemeral Filipino Republic in 1898, with the capital at Malolos (a school of conspiracy against Spain, according to General Blanco and the Minister of Ultramar, Castellanos), the character and procedure of Del Pilar will prove, *mutatis mutandi* to every leader in epochs of great difficulty or of intense preparation for such, that in the struggle they must be prepared to contend not only with the enemy, but with their own fellow-citizens, earth-born and of the earth, with passions fired by ambition, active and aggressive, who scoff even at prudence as criminal, and that in such

epochs the heroism necessary to enable them to vanquish by the firm union of all the citizens and all the live forces of the country.

General Luna, bravest among the brave, indignant because discord, under the pretext of honor and personal dignity, began to reign among the leaders of the ephemereal Filipino Republic, used to utter, with an air of sad nostalgia, these words: *If Marcelo [were] still alive! He alone could silence this pandemonium. He knew how to handle them!* And like General Luna, the late Clemente J. Zulueta said that in national crises, when the conscript fathers raise the cry alarm: *Caveant consules ne respublica detrimentum ullum patiatur*, the man of Providence would be a Marcelo H. del Pilar.

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NOTES

1. Baptismal certificate. A true copy of its original, to which I refer. Parish House of Bulacan, September 19, 1918.

Cándido del Rosario, Secular Priest of this Archbishopric of Manila, acting parish priest of this pueblo of Bulacan, CERTIFY: That in Book No. 15 of the Baptismal Record of this church of which I am in charge, there appears, on folio 355, an entry of the following tenor:

MARCELO HILARIO

S[an]. Nicolas

On September fourth, eighteen hundred and fifty, Father D. Tomas Yson, a secular priest of this Archbishopric, and coadjutor of this pueblo and capital of Bulacan, did, with my leave, solemnly baptize and anoint with the holy oils in this church a boy six days of age, the legitimate son of Julian Hilario and Blasica Gatmaytan, a native of the barrio of S. Nicolás, of the district of D. Anastacio de la Cruz. He was named MARCELO and was held over the font by D. Lorenzo Alviz, who was informed of his spiritual relationship and other obligations. In witness whereof I sign these presents, on the date above written.—F. Ecceq.l Merino...

2. Madrid, 5 Marzo, 1890.... At siyá nga naman; di nalaon at nagsalita sa Congreso ng tungkol sa Filipinas. Ang sinabi niyang ito ay siya naman naming ikinakalat upang mahalo бага ang natutulog na isip ng kastila tungkol sa mga kailangan ng ating bayan. Marahil ay makatutulong dito na naman ang satsat sa pagkat magagalit ay magsasasalita ang kanilang periodiko ay wala tayong kailangan kundi ang parating pag-usapan ang ating bayan at ng mapansin.

3. 29 Abril, 1890... Si Vale ay mahahalinhahan na; kun si Burgos ang mahalili ay ang kasama marahil na Director general ay si Calvo Muñoz:

ipinapakiusap ko rito na kun sakasakali ay huag lamang niyang iwang di nahahain ang proyecto de ley tungkol sa pagkakadiputado ng Filipinas: pagpipilitan daw niya. Mabutibuti na pag si Burgos ang napariang kasama ni Calvo: kadati nila ang 2.0 Cabong narian, at ang coronel Pazoz ay pamankin at kanang kamay ni general Burgos: ang coronel na ito ang katulong naming sa Sol... na kun pumirma ay Padpyvh.

Ang sabi naman ni Quiroga ay hindi raw matutuloy si Burgos kundi si Calleja: hindi ko malaman kun alin sa dalawa. Datapwa't ang salitaan ng marami sa Congreso niyang Sabado ay ang tuloy na ang paghalili kay Weyler.

Ang mga diputadong nakausap ko sa iba't ibang partido ay nangangakong pa aayuan nila ang magkadiputado sa Filipinas. Sa partido ng fraile ay wala pa akong nalalapitan: titingnan ko kung magagapang ang ilan....

4. *9 Julio, 1890...* Hindi ko malaman kung matutuloy pa si general Burgos ng pagparian. Ang reina ang nangako sa kaniya ngunit hindi ko malaman kung tatanggapin pa niya ang destino ngayong nasa sa poder ay hindi niya kapartido. Kun si Burgos sana'y mabuti't kaibigan ko ang kaniyang pamangkin at kanang kamay na si Coronel Pazoz.

Ngayoy tila si Martinez Campos ang hahalili kay Weyler: aewan kun ito'y papayag. Siya ang may kagagawan ng pagakiat ng mga conservador, kaya ang ibig ng mga conservador ay malayó at ng di nakababasagulo sa Ministerio. Si Pidal na pintacasi ng mga panotsa ay galit na galit at di na sama sa Ministerio.

Ang Ministeriong ito'y dí magluluat.

5. *15 Octubre, 1890...* May inihahandá kaming malaking piging na titipunin diyan ang pinakaulo sa mga partido (katiyap na sila) at diyan pag-uusapang dapat magkadiputado sa Filipinas at ng pagpanhik uli ng

mga liberal sa poder ay maging utang na nila ang pagtupad ng gayong adhika. Sa piging na ito ay may dalawang taquigrafo na susundang isusulat at lahat ng sasabihin ng isa't isa, at saka namin ipalilimbag at ng mabasa ng lahat. Aanyayahan si P. Nozaleda. Kun siya'y makisalo sa amin ay hindi siya mangangahas magsalita ng laban sa amin, kun hindi siya dumalo, ay katungkulan niyang sumulat sa amin, at sa sulat na iyan ay hindi siya makapagpapapahamak manumpa at ilalagay namin sa mga periodico; kun hindi siya dumalo at hindi sumulat ay ilalathala sa mga periodicong siya'y walang educaccción.

Mai-isod-isod pa ang pagwí ko sa pagka't ngayon pa lamang parang nagmamanibalang ang dála kong punlá rine; masamang pabayaan at saying. Mahinog lamang ito't ako'y magmamanukan na lamang.

6. ...Tungkol sa sumunog o nagpasunog ng ating bahay, ay hindi ko pinagtatakan, lagpus pa sa roon ang mahihintay natin sa kanila at sukat naman. Sakaling kadugo rin natin ang ginamit sa gayong pakay ay inasahan kong ilinigaw lamang ng di kinukusang kabulagan, sa pagka't di ko mapaniwalaang sasapit hangan dian ang mag-lililo sa akin, kung nakatatallastas din lamang ng tunay kong pagmamahal sa kaniya. Wala akong hinanakit muntí man sa aking loob. Ang pinanghihinayangan kong totoo'y ang mga apunteng ininot-inot ko buhat pa ng ako'y estudiante, tungkol sa mga bagay na pinamuhunanan ko ng mahaba at mahirap na pagdidili-dili; bukod sa rito'y ang mga tula ng ating mga nunó, na pinagpilitan matititik sa papel bago namatay ang tatay at ang tia Tikang. Sayang! Matatandain ka rin lamang ay pagpilitan ninyo ni Memang na má-iulí: gayon ding ipasulat mo ang legajo ng mga bata at ni makita nila kun sila'y lumaki; ang ibig ko sana'y ang maguisnan nila ang titik ng kanilang ama.

7. *12 Junio, 1890* Huag mo ng pansinin ang mga sabisabi tungkol sa akin ni Cpn. Andres at ng mabaet na si Antonio talagang ganito ang nagtatapat sa kaniyang bayan: siyang alimura.

“At sa balang sukab na may asal hayop
mabangong incienso ang isinusuob. ”

Tunay ang sabi ng mabaet na si Antonio, na walang masasapit ang munting bumangá sa malake. Datapwa’t kung walang masasapit ang bumanga ay talo’t higit na walang tinutungo ang gawang sumukó, at paalipin. Bukod sa roo’y kung walang masasapit ay bakin umaalok ang malake sa pakikipagkasundo? bakit naalis ang estipendio ‘t ang nahalili ay sueldo, bagay na ikaluluag ng kabisa sapagka’t wala ng kailangang mahigpit ang kura sa pag lalaglag ng patay at ausente.

Bukod sa roo’y hindi naman ang pag bangá sa malake ang linalakad dine, kundi ang pag hingí ng ikaluluag ng bayan. Kung nalalaman niyang kapos ang aking lakas, bakit hindi, niya ako tulungan?

Sabihin mo kay Toniong na siya’y nag aral, siya’y iguinagalang ng bayan, hindi siya si Capitang Andres, hindi siya si Eusebio Plata, dapat niyang pakamahalin ang kaniyang pangalan, ay totoóng kahiya hiyang; maringig sa kaniya ang mga saging aliping alangan sa isang Abogado.

Ang panabi ko rine ay isá siya sa nagbibigay lakas sa akin, isa siya sa ma-aasahan ng bayan, ay kahiya hiya tayo kung mabalitaang ang mga panukala pala ng ating senor Abogado ay panukalang tupada lamang. Huag ganoon, papurihan animo niya ang mga kababayan natin: kung walang magagawa ay huag man lamang pahalatá.

Sa pananaog ng sueldo ay talagang hindi iná-alis ang deretsos. Ang deretsos ng simbahan ay hindi maia-alis ng gobierno, samantalang ang gobierno ay catolico. Ang iná-alis ng sueldo ay ang dating estipendio, na ito’y dili iba kundi ang ikawalong bahagi ng ibinabayad natin sa cedula personal.

Ngayong ang deretsos na sinisingil diyan at labis, kayá ang namamaya’y dapat mag aral ng arancel sa simbahan at huag magbayad kundi ang

talagang katampatan. Hindi makapaghahabla ang Cura kung ayaw magbayad ang tawo ng lagpas sa arancel, sa pagka't hindi mapupuwing ng may kapangyarihan ang nau-utos sa arancel. Ang arancel na iya'y lagda ng Arzobispong Dn. Basilio Sancho na pinagkayarian nila ng iba pang Obispo sa mga lupang iyan.

Itanim ng mahihirap sa kanilang isip ang susunod na tagubilin ng arancel at ng huag silang madaya. Ganito ang sabi:

ISA PANG TAGUBILIN

Ang mga maralitang walang sukat ikabayad ng deretsos kundi magbili o magsangla ng kasangkapan, hayup na gamit sa pagsasaka o bukid na sapat lamang sa kakanin nila at ng kanilang familia, ay hindi hihingan ng anoman sa binyag, kasa l at sa libing, at gagawing lahat ito ng kura alang-alang sa Dios.

8. 22 *Enero, 1890*... Ang mga panotsa ay nagpasugo sa akin at ina-alok akong makipagkasundo na sa kanila: ang wika ko'y hindi naman nila ako ka-away, kundi nana-nanga lamang sa mga taga nila: pag walang taga at wala namang sanga. Magtatayo raw di umano ng isang partido rine na lalakad ng ikagagaling ng Filipinas. ay pumasok daw ako at ang mga kaibigan ko; ang sagot ko'y magpublicar sila ng isang pahayag at anyaya tuloy sa mga filipino at pag ang programa ay ikagagaling ng Filipinas ay marami ang wika kong mahihikayat. Ano pa't wala silang nakitang tango ni iling sa akin.

9. 4 *Febrero, 1890*... Ang hapding dinadamdam ngayon ng mga panotsa ay pagbubuhatan marahil ng ibabait nila sa tagalog; ang hinahabol nila ngayong ay ang maibalik ang loob ng tawo rian. yayamang hindi nila makuha sa dilat at pana-panaan. Ang pasugo sa akin dine ay huag na raw sana silang bangain at sila na ang lalakad ng iba pang katuwiran ng ating bayan: magtatayo raw sila rine ng isang matibay na partido ay

pumasok daw ako at ang mga kinabataan. Ako'y hindi tumango, hindi naman ako tumangui: pinuri ko na lamang ng pinuri balang sabihin sa akin.

10. *1 Abril, 1890....* Linalakad dine ng mga dominico na magkaroon sila ng pahintulot na makapagtayo sa bawa't parroquia nila ng Monte de Piedad, na salapi nila ang gugugulin: hindi pinahintulutan ng Gobierno at sawi raw sa kanllang pagtalikod sa mundo ang mag negosio sa mundo: pinagtatawanan ng mga agustino ang pagkabigo ng mga dominico. Ang sabi naman ng mga dominico'y kasalanan daw ng agustino ang pagkasirarian ng prestigio ng lahat ng fraile, bagay na ibig sana nilang iule sa pamamagitan ng Monte de Piedad sa bayan bayan: ngayon ani P. Marin (dominico) ay kundi ang Dios Espiritu Santo ang manaog dian ay hindi na mapipigil ang paghina ng kanilang dating lakas.

11. *3 Marzo 1891 . . .* Nagpasabi sa akin ang isang dominiko rineng may mataas na katungkulan, na huag daw silang ituring na ka-away: ang sagot ko'y wala kaming kinaka-away, hinihingi lamang namin ang talagang atin. Nagpasabing muli na sila raw ay hindi sumasalansang sa aming hinahabol: pinaiintidihang kaipala raw ay ang mga agustino, recoleto't franciscano ang humahadlang, sila raw ay hindi. Salamat sa Dios! Ng una'y sa dilat na lamang tayo kinukuha; ngayo'y gumagamit na sila ng" hindi po ako."

12. *14 de Abril, 1892....* Ang bagong general dian ay sinisiraan na ng mga puti rian. Doon pa naman ilinagay ang kanilang panira sa periodicong *La Epoca*: ito'y periodico ng mga conservador na kakampi ng generala na iyan. Datapua't walang tumulong na isa man lamang sa maraming periódico conservador. Ang nagsisagot sa *Epoca* ay ang periódicong liberal: ang *El Correo* (kay Sagasta), *El Paiz* (kay Ruiz Zorrilla, republicano). ang *Liberal* (ualang panginoon). Ito ang nangag-malasakit sa general na iyan. Ang puri ng kaaway ay siyang lalong malaking kapurihan, kaya sa ginawa nang fraile ay lalong pinalaki si Despujols.

Ito'y nagbibigay lakas sa amin, sa pagka't pati ng mga kasapi ng mga puti ay napagsasabihan naming diyan ay makikita nilang ang kalaban ng kanilang mga pari ay hindi ang tauo kundi ang katuiran.

Ang periódiko ni P. Font (*La Política de España en Filipinas*) ay siyang nagpuri nang nagpuri kay general Despujols bago umalis dine. Ngayo'y hindi makakibo: ibig pumintas ay hindi makapintas...

13. 26. *Noviembre, 1889* . . Ayon sa ibinalita ko na kina Vicente, ay may kaonting karayagan na ang adhika ng nangagmarnahal sa bayan. Inihayag na sa Gaceta rine ang pagbaba ng buis ng mahihirap at pag-suseldo sa mga cura. Hindi na ibig bumalik diyan ng bagong arzobispo; humahabol na siya'y ilagay na sa ibang obispado, kung hindi mangyari ay saka pa lamang babalik diyan; hangang may magagaua ay tila hindi na ibig umupo sa arzobispado ng Maynila. Sahihin mo sa kanila na matalo man sa ibang bagay, ay huag namang lubosin ang dalamhati, huag lubosin ang sindak. Ang mga nangyayari ngayon ay malaking bagay sa mga nasanay na sa walang pagkatalo. Kiíng lamang ay minamahapdi na nila at hindi dating nakatitiis ng kiling, kaya itong kaonting kurot na ito'y damutin na ng mga kababayan. Hindi naman sana paglilikat dine at nag u-upanding makakurot pa, at kaypala'y makakurot din; datapua uariin naman nilang ang lagay ng laban ay para ni Geronimo at pagtulungan ni Apan, Bio at ni Patok: ang talaga ng Dios na lamang ang sukat asahan....

Sabihin mo kay Inte na kun hindi rin lamang masón ang kapalit ni Biltó ay mabuti pa ang masamang kilalá na. Ang samá nito'y para lamang ng manók na matunog ang pakpak, malayo pa'y nakikita mo na: ang lalong masama ay yaong dumarating ng hindi mo nakikita. Si Bilito'y ualang lakas na sarile, ualang magagua kung siya lamang; ang sama at lakas ay na sa ibang tawo: siya ay parang isang lagnat na dala ng pigsa, kahit anong apula ang gauin mo sa lagnat ay walang kabuluhan, sayang lamang ang gamot sa lagnat, hangang nagnanaknak ang pigsa

ay naroo't naroroon din ang lagnat. Huag nilang hahangarin ang matampok sa panalo lamang; huag lilimutin ang madalas kong sabi sa kanila, mayroong katalunang panalo rin; huag lalayo sa katuiran at sa ikagagaling ng bayan, mangyari ang mangyari, huag masisindak tungkol sa bagay na ito at manalo't matalo, at tayo ang puri. Kun ang mga dating kasama ay humihiualay sa kanila at napakakabila sa mga nagtatagumpay, ay pasalamat sila at nagkaroon ng panahong napagkilala kun sino ang talagang taga hiyaw lamang nang viva, at kun sino ang talagang may loob sa kababayan, at may loob sa katotohanan. Hindi parati ang pagka paibabaw ng satsat sila may hindi uma-asa, kaya't inililipat na ang yaman ng pareng among ni Apan sa Australia, at linalakad dineng pahintulutang silang maipagbale ang mga Hacienda.

Hindi man sa gayon ay mabuti rin naman ang minsan minsan ay mapulsuhan nila ang bayan: lalong masama ang palulong sila sa pag-asa sa isang bayang hindi ma-aasahan. Ang bayang di marunong lumingap sa nagpapala, kundi sa kilala nang dumadayo at nagpapahirap, kun бага sa kahoy ay totoong mura pa; pagpinagpilitan mong haligihin ay kakanin lamang ng tangá. Ito'y isa pa sa ibig ko nang ibalik diyan sa pagka't palalaki ang balangkás ko'y kulang ng hahaligihin. Balang sulat ni Vicente ay isang pangpauntol ng aking lakad, hangan sa ako'y tatahimik na lamang dine ay hindi ako dapat matira rito kun pag tahimik lamang ang gagawin.

14. *24 Diciembre, 1889...* Sa mga sulat na galing diyan ay napagtalastas kong nagdaang mahinusay ang fiesta ng Santa Cruz at Binundok na di nangyari ang mga ipinakalat ng mga panotsá, salamat sa Dios. Ang mabuting nangyari ay ang handá na ang loob nang Ministro at iba pang matataas na tawo at ang timano ay sumabog na rine ang balita na pawang pakana nila ang mga sinasabing mangyayari rian.

15. *18 Febrero, 1891...* Sabihin sa Ka Imbó at sa Ka Bian na ikinalulumbay ko ang nangyari kay Paré Goyo. Datapua't ang pagkadohaguing buhat sa paggalang sa katuiran ay isang dangal namang

sukat pangimbuluhan ng lahat. Yaong kawikaang kung ibig mong mabuhay ay mag asal kang patay, ay isang matamis na hibong ipinangpatulog sa katagalugan ng nag hangad sumupil sa atin. Ang tauong nabubuhay ay dapat ipag-tangol ang kaniyang buhay at ang sa kapua tauo, sa ano mang kapanganyayaan gaya na nga ng malinaw na pag-api sa nakikilalang katuiran. At kung lahat ay may katungkulan nito ay lalo't higit yaong mga kina-aalang-alangan sa bayan, na para na nga ng mga pari sa pagka't ang alang-alang ng bayan ay sukat namang gantihin nang tapat na pagmamahal at pagtatanggol sa nagsisigalang. Bauat isay gumaua ng makakaya at ang di makakaya'y ihain sa Dios. Alinsunod dito'y kalamain nila ang kanilang loob.

Sa pagka-pahamak ni P. Goyo at di pagkaano ni Mariano ay na-aala-ala ko ang kaká at si P. Fernando. Si P. Fernando ay masulong, siyang di nanó: ang kaká ay timtiman siyang napa Marianas.

16. *29 Abril, 1890...* Kung kinalilingatan sa Bulacan ang pagaaral ay mabuti nga ang sa Maynila siya matira. Datapuá tuí kong gugunitain ang pagka-walay sa iyo ng batang iyan ay umaagos ang luha ko: bukod sa dalamhating tanggapin ng bata ay ina-akala kong baka ipagkasakit ang biglang pagkawalay sa kaniyang ina at kapatid nasanay na iyan sa hindi man lamang makatulog kundi ka kasiping ay hindi mabuti ang biglain. May di nga bagá sa pag-sunod ang batá? Ang paghihirap ng loob ay unti-unting nagbubunga ng sakit. Ang mabuti ay dadalawin mong madalas sa tirahan mong mga ilang araw. Kun lalake sana iyan ay ibang bagay ang ipagtatagubilin ko sa iyó; nguni't babae ay kailangan sanang huag malayó sa ina kahit isang minuto.

17. *14 Mayo, 1890....* Ang ibig ko sana'y papagsikapin siyá ng pag aaral, nguni' gawan ng paraang huag niyang ipagtanim at ikahapis ang gawang mag aral. Hindi lamang kay Sofia; sa lahat ng bata ay itó sana ang mabuti. Huag hintin na ang bata ang magkusa sa gayong pagsisikap: ang matanda ang dapat umisip ng sukat ikawili ng bata sa ikatu-tuto niya.

Ang bata ay walang hilig kundi ang maglilikot at ang sumakandungang ina: ang matatanda ang siyang dapat mag hatid sa bata sa ikawiwili sa pag aaral.

18. *24 Junio, 1891....* Si Sofia sana'y magsanay na bumasa, sumulat, cumuenta at matuto ng mga gagawin babaye. Si Sofia'y may talento, kaonting turo lamang at kaonting aral ay matututo. Papasokin mo kaya sa ka Pina; sanain ninyong magbangon ng maaga, at ng di lumaking lampa. Kahit na dagdagan ang laro ay magkaroon lang ng araw araw ng panahong ipag-aral at ipag-sanay sa mga gagawin.

19. *30 September, 1890....* Mabuti kung nawiwili si Sofia sa escuela ni maestrang Margarita: mabuti naman ang may kagaya sa pagaaral. Parati mo lamang dadalawin at ng nakikilala mo ang hilig ng kaniyang kalooban. May mga bagay na hindi mapapansin ng maestro, nguni di makawawala sa mata at pakiramdam ng isang ina. Ng maliit si Sofia ay malaki ang pag iingat mo sa paquikipaglaro sa kapuá bata; ngayon ay sukat mo ring pakaingatan.

20. *24 Mayo, 1895....* Si Sofia ay magdadalaga na, inaasahan kong di mo kalilingatan ang pag-aalaga sa kaniyang isip at loob; niyong maliit pa'y masikap ka sa pag lalayó sa kaniya ay ipagkakasakit ng katawan, ngayon naman ay sa sakit ng kalolowa dapat paka alagaan. Kun sa bagay ay may katutubong bait ang batang iyan, ay hindi naman, sa banta ko, magbibigay hirap sa kaniyang ina. *Ako'y malayo sa inyo, hindi ko maipagtanggol sa mga panganib diyan. Datapwa, hindi naman kaya ikakutya sa sarili ang magbalak na lumapastangan sa anak ko?*

21. *21 Mayo, 1893...* *Totoong hindi ko malimotlimotan ang padalang piso sa akin ni Anita. Huag mo naman sanang tinotoo ang pagpapadala at ng na-ibile ng chapin si ineng. Nag puputok ang dibdib ko tuing gugunitain ang pagsasalat ninyong mag iinarian, kaya malaki ang nais kong ma-ui na at ng maganap ko naman ang pagkakalinga sa mga kapilas niring buhay.*

22. *17 Agosto, 1892....* Ang kakanin ko lamang ay dinidiligencia ko araw araw. Na karating na ako sa mamulot nang beja nang cigarillo maka hitit laman...

23. *15 Marzo, 1893...* Huag mong panimdimin ang akoy tatraicionen ng mga pute. Sa mamatay sa patalim at mamatay sa gutom ay mabuting makalilibo ang mamatay sa patalim....

24. *18 Enero 1893...* Hindi ko naman ibig humingi nang empleo sa gobierno, sapagka't mapuputol ang kilos ko. kaya ang mabuti ay maui na ako rian. Kun ako'y idestierro ay doon na tayo magsasama sa pagdedestierrohan sa akin....

25. *6 Agosto, 1890...* Narine na si Pedro Serrano; dumating kamakalawang buhat sa Paris kasama si Rizal. Si Rizal ay babalik narian, ako man nama'y susunod na pag may na pag-iwanan nitong tinatanganan ko rito. Datapua ibig ko munag makipagkita kay Blumentritt: ako'y paroroon sa kanila sa haharaping verano.

26. *25 Diciembre, 1890.....* Ngayon ay mabuti ang panahon, ang lamig ay hindi lubhang masasal kagabi ay nagkatipon kami nila Rizal, marami kaming taga-riang nag noche-buena, ang mesa naming kinanan ay ang kaliwang kamay ng bawa't isa at ang kanan ay pansubo: ang kinain naming ay kanin, pavo, lechong may salsang para ng salsa rian, sa pagka't ang nangusina ay Filipino. Nang maghiwahiwalay kami ay a las cinco na ng umaga.

27. *17 Agosto, 1892....* Ang sinasabi mong huag kong partisan ay katakot-takot nga naman. Ang tawong iyan wala ng naboboo ay pawang linalansag ang unti-unting itinatayo ng iba. Hindi iyon ang kaniyang nais; nguni't sa kapusukan ng kaniyang palakad, at walang tinutungko kun di ang mapanganyaya. Kun ang ikinapapanganyaya ko'y ikagagaling ng marami ay saysng na totoo. Ang nangyari sa Kalamba ay ipinagpauna ko na ng naririan pa ako, kaya ini-ilagan ko sana ang makialam sa

panukalang iyon. Ano ang nasapit? Napahamak ang marami ng walang kapararakan. Iyan din sana ang nangyari sa provincial ng Bulakan kun ako'y hindi sumasalansang sa udiok ng ilang taga Guiguinto. Sa palakad ng mga taga Malolos ay nagngitngit din ang puti; datapua't walang napahamak.

28. 21 *Diciembre, 1893*.... Datapua ako'y nanganganib magbigla at sa tayó ko ngayong, ay, isang pagkakamali koy marami ang mapapahamak kaypala'y hindi sa buhay na ito lamang ako sisihin ng mga kababayan. Isang pagkakamali ni Rizal, ay tingnan mo't anong dami ng napanganyaya.

Dahil dito'y nasabi nga sa akin ni Antonio Regidor; isang pagkakamali ko, aniya ay tinatangisan ko magpa hanga ngayon, at nagkaputiputi na aniya ang aking buhok ay hindi mapatidpatid ang aking luha. Oh!—aniya—kundi lamang ang kamalian koy timawa na ngayong ang ating bayan.—At tumutulo ang luha ng ito'y sabihin sa akin.—Si Rizal, aniya'y nagkamali nguni't nasa sa panahon pang mapanuto: ang totoo lamang aniyang ikinalulumbay ko'y tila hindi niya nakikilala ang kaniyang kamalian.

—Ano po naman, ang sagot ko, ang gagawin ni Rizal ay napipiit sa Dapitan?

—At ako ba—aniya'y—hindi napipiit sa Marianas niyong mga dako roong panahon?

Natiguilan kami kapua, at ng makaraang ilang sandali ay nagbuntong hininga't at ang wika sa akin: ikaw naman sana'y huag nang magkamali.

29. 3 *Febrero, 1892*... Punong punó ang teatro noon, at mga mahal na tauo ang naquinyig. Ilitnathala namin doon ang nangyari sa Kalamba.

30. This is the title given by the late M. Ponce to a letter in Spanish, written by Del Pilar to the young women of Bulacan, through his niece, Josefa Gatmaytan.

Here is the letter in full:

Barcelona, March 13, 1889.

Srta. Doña Josefa Gatmaytan.

My dear niece: —The hazards of life which it has pleased Providence, in its inscrutable designs, to assign to me, have compelled me to leave our beautiful land and those dearest to my heart. I was unable to bid farewell to the persons whom I hold dear, owing to lack of time, and I am now going to make amends by addressing, through you, the young women of Bulacan, in the conviction that it is you who are called upon to regenerate our pueblo, as there can not be any doubt that, owing to her influence in the family, whether as a daughter or sister, wife or mother, woman is not only a balm for the rigors of life, but an element which imperceptibly leads man on the road of virtue or on the path of perversity and cowardice.

In all the countries that I have visited so far, I have found eloquent evidence that wherever the women are virtuous, there vice is timid and dignity predominates in the customs of the people, but where the women are frivolous, there the men bear the stamp of immorality, and neglect or contempt of the most sacred duties are the current thing.

What occurs in the sphere of morality is also observed in the sphere of intelligence. The instruction of woman stimulates and elevates the instruction of man, and it is therefore the custom, in certain foreign localities, to have periodical public contests for the boys and girls of various schools and colleges, where they compete in the fierce struggle of the intellects for the prizes offered in order to show who has the most thorough and best instruction.

The young people of Malolos have, on their part, taken a step towards the conquest of instruction and will be successful, though iniquity may endeavor to bring about the failure of their aspirations. The newspapers and letters which we receive from Madrid, France, England, Austria, and other places express their approbation of the conduct of these young folks, as they recognize from that attitude that the consciousness of dignity is beginning to awaken in the beautiful and sacred half of the people of Malolos. So enthusiastically was that pleasing news received that the wise and virtuous author of “Noli Me Tangere” writes them a long congratulatory letter from London, of which you had better secure a copy, as it would be the finest legacy that you could hand down to future generations.

Hence, in my long, melancholy nights, when I lie awake, thinking of my home, now deserted, and of the young women who are the ornaments of my pueblo, I can not but ask myself this sad question: why should a pueblo like Bulacan, which gave birth to a Pascuala and a Socorro Kaingal, to an Augustina and Magdalena Paguia, to an Eugenia Fernando, to the Enriquez, and to many others whose brilliant talent I have had an opportunity to observe and silently admire, be inferior to the pueblo of Malolos? Let Malolos be superior in earthly wealth, superior in dresses and bagatelles (which I doubt); but I see no reason why in the aspiration towards knowledge, in the efforts of intellect, in comparison with the pueblo of Malolos, the pueblo of Basilia Tiongson and her kind, Bulacan should be reduced to a pueblo of the “sisters” Iska, Verónica, and suchlike.

No, do not consent to it, dear girls; understand that I am not deceiving you, as you will, perhaps be told by people interested in maintaining the fair sex in deplorable ignorance. I do not deceive you. I do not seduce you, I have no personal interest in it, nor do I ask you, nor will I ever ask you for offers of candles, masses, or anything.

No doubt they will slander my religious sentiments in order that you may not believe my words: but you all know me, and if you do not, there is my daughter, at an age when she can not yet dissimulate her real belief; interrogate her, scrutinize her conscience with regard to religious matters, and the judgment which you will then form will enable you to judge the religious sentiments of the father. You can give the lie to all who slander me in this respect, in the security that you will do justice to one who loves you with true, sacred affection.

I observe a social phenomenon in our pueblo, a phenomenon which fills me with sad reflections. In our society, there are hundreds of women who approach the sacred communion table every Sunday, and this notwithstanding, when a wet-nurse is needed, the people of Manila and of many other parts come to Bulacan.

This affects your honor, you Virgins of Bulacan, and you must investigate and find a way of redeeming them; you must act independently because, let it be said with regret, your magnates of the people, the men in charge of the popular conscience, do not worry about your reputation; think this over, reflect, observe their conduct, and you will not deny their deplorable indifference.

Perhaps I have not much longer to live: I do not know whether the hardships of my agitated existence will allow me to return to see you and to contemplate again your charms and virtues, and, therefore, before old age descends upon my head, before I go to my last resting-place, I deem it my duty to call your attention to this particular, this blot upon the honor of Bulacan, which is ours, that of our mothers, of our sisters, of all.

This sad phenomenon will convince you that virtue does not consist in reciting prayers, striking the breast, and other outward acts; the virtue most acceptable to the Creator consists in perfecting the intelligence which He, in His infinite love granted to His creatures to serve them as a light upon the path of life.

It is your duty to perfect your intelligence by instruction; you must also communicate to your similars the knowledge that you possess and which they may need; because, do not forget it, dear girls, an intelligence without instruction is like a lighthouse without a light: instead of guiding the seafarer, it may bring about his shipwreck.

A knowledge of the Spanish language will offer useful reading that will perfect your instruction, hence you must work with interest, with decided interest, to have the study of the Spanish language diffused among the women, the single as well as the married.

Fortunately a good opportunity is offered to you. According to what I hear, Socorro has been appointed the principal of the school of your pueblo. In view of the amiability of that illustrious teacher, in view of her love for the pueblo where she was born. I hope she will not, if you ask her for it, refuse to open a school for adults.

The study of Spanish is not a luxury from which the poor and the married should be excused; it is not a useless thing, to be sacrificed to a joke or to one of the witticisms so peculiar to and frequent among Bulakeños. Every day you see the difficulties encountered in the country by those who do not know Spanish, and, leaving aside other prolix considerations, ask many of our worthy and respectable old people there who do not know Spanish; ask them how many tears, how many sighs their ignorance of the Spanish language has cost them, and they will surely answer you by cursing the time when they were unable to learn that precious tongue. Very well; I now tell you that if they had had a mother who, knowing Spanish, had been able to teach it to them, they would not have any cause for cursing their remembrances.

The young women of today, single or married, will be the mother of tomorrow, and they must store up knowledge, not only for themselves, but in order to avoid giving their posterity a right to speak ill of the past.

The thing well deserves the sacrifice of a few hours of *panggingi* and other pastimes.

Therefore, from this distant region, from across the seas, I exhort you with all the ardor of my soul, asking you for a little love for the pueblo which, in the midst of its unhappiness, gave us all, protected our cradle, delighted our childhood and our adult years, and saves us from bitterness by the sacred relics of our recollections. Love it, you dear girls, contribute to its happiness, do not look upon it with the smile of intelligence: learn, instruct, encourage love of study, and you will have fulfilled your mission on earth.

I therefore earnestly recommend that you see that a true spirit of union and concord reign among you; cast aside and forget the petty dissensions that are wont to cloud the sky of your charms; let each of you sacrifice her self-love on the altar of the common best, and be sure that the future worked by your union and fraternity will be grand, sublime.

Encourage each other to elevate with your precious hands the honor and the future of Bulacan; influence your parents, brothers, all those who have real affection for you; influence them, I repeat, in order that they may aid in this work and do something to further instruction. Tell them that each intellect that is trained is worth more than all the temples of the universe ever built or that ever will be built; because a trained intellect is the sanctuary where the kindness and magnificence of the Creator are visible in their greatest splendor.

Good-by, Josefa, give my regards to the feminine youth of Bulacan and my love to your father and brothers and command your affectionate uncle, who expects correspondence from you with every mail but written in Spanish.—MARCELO H. DEL PILAR.

31. SAGOT NANG ESPAÑA SA HIBIK NANG FILIPINAS

Puso ko'y nahambal ng aking maringig
bunso, ang taghoy mo't mapighating hibik;
ualá ka, anak kong, sariling hinagpis
na hindi karamay ang iná mong ibig.

Ualá kang da[li]tâ, ualang kahirapan,
na tinitis kang di ko dinaramdam;
ang buhay mo'y bungâ niring pagma-mahal.
ang kadustaan mo'y aking kadustaan.

Pag [si]lang mo, bunso, sa sangmaliuanag
nang panahong ako'y di pa nagsa-salat
ualang inadhika ang ina mong liyag
kundi puspusin ka ng ginhaua't galák.

Sa aua ng langit icao ay saganá
ng sukat iyamang malalagong lupâ
lahat ng pananim ualá mang alagâ
sa kaparangán mo'y tumutubong kusâ.

Ang tabaco't café, palay, tina't búlak
abacá, at tubo'y kailangan nang lahat;
sa mangâ lupa mo'y tantong nag gugubat
itong sa sangmundo'y hiráp mahaguilap.

Sari-saring kálap na sakdal ng tibay,
sakdal ng la-lakí, sa dikit ay sakdal;
hindi makikita sa sangdaigdigan,
nguni't sa bundok mo'y nanagkalát lamang.

Sari saring hayop malaki't maliit
buhat sa ma-among magpa hangang ganid
saganang saganâ sa lupâ mo't labis
sa cailanġan mo, bunsong ini-ibig.

Ang asufre't tingâ, ang tanso at bakal
ang guinto at pilac ay naġahuhucay
sa manġa lupa mo't sa dagat nama'y
sarisaring perlas ang natatagpuan.

Tantong naliligid ang manġa lupâ mo
nġ dagat nġ China't dagat Pacifico;
baling manġalakal sa boong sang mundo
pauang na-aakit dumalaw sa iyo.

Talagâ nġa manding ikaw ang hantunġan
nang sa ibang nacióng sinimpang puhunan;
ikaw nġa't di iba dapat makinabang
nang yamang sa iyo'y gauad nġ May-capal.

Sa gayo'y kailanġan mata mo'y mamulat
isip ay guisingi't nġ makatalastas
nġ sukat asaling ipagkaka palad
sa buhay na ito't nġ di ka mag hiras.

Akong iyong ina'y taga tupad bilang
nang manġa tadhana nġ Poong May-capal
ipina iui ka't ang hanġad ko lamang
musmus na isip mo'y sakiting aralan.

Ituro sa iyo ang utang na loob
sa nagcacandiling ma-auaing Dios;
matuto ka namang sumamba't umirog
puso mo sa kanya'y huag makalimot.

At para mo na n̄gang pasalamat bilang,
ay makapagtangol ka sa kapanahunan
n̄g aring tinamo't mapamahalaan
tapat na paggamit n̄g santong catuiran.

Ang taga pag turo'y pinaka pili ko
hinirang sa lalong mabait na tauo;
ako'y nabighani't umasang totoo
sa may sinumpaang mahigpit na voto.

Ang lahat n̄g frayle ay may sinumpaang
sa harap n̄g Dios, na anaki'y tunay,
na ito raw mundo'y kusang tatalikdan
kusang tumatangi sa lahat n̄g yaman.

Saan di n̄ga bagá, bunsong ginigiliw,
fraile ang siyang aking hihiran̄gin
na taga pagiui bilang taga tin̄gin
sa iyo't n̄g di ka bagá pag liluhin.

Mahiguit na n̄gayong tatlong daan taon
na ini-iui kang fraile ang may kandong;
katiualá akong sa gayong panahon
ang isip mo't yaman nama'y yumayabong.

Katiualá akong napapanuto ka
sa landas ng iyong sukat iguinha;u;
katiualá akong dangal mo't ligaya
ngayo'y tinatanghal na ualang balisa.

Tatlong sacerdote ang ipinabitay,
bukod sa maraming pinahihirapan,
at dili umano'y nakapipigil daw
ng iyong ligaya, bunsong minamahal.

Hindi ko ininó't ang boo kong ása
ay pagmamasakit ang guinauá nila
sa pag ka buhay mo't hindi ko na puná
magdarayang udyok ng masamang pita.

¡Sa abang abâ ko't laking kamalian!
laking pag ka saui! laking kadustaan!
na ipag pabayá sa kapahamakan
ang dapat mahaling usbong niring buhay.

Ngayon ko nga lamang, bunso, natalastas
Na ang nanğa abá at kinulang palad
ay pauang mabait, pauang nag sisikap
dangal ta't katuira'y igalang ng lahat.

Frayle'y napoot sa magandang nais
ng sa ati'y tapat kung mag malasakit,
ngayong ko natanto, ngayon ko nabatid
ang kandili nila'y bagkus pang gagahis.

Ang kayamanan mo'y sila ang sumamsam
nġalan pa ng Dios ang sinasangkalan
at dinadayâ kang di mo raw kakamtan
ang lanġit kun hindi sila ang bayaran.

Di ka raw titingnan nġ Mahal na Virgen
kundi ka bumili nġ sintas at calmen;
pag hindi mainam ang pagpapa libing
ang harap nġ Dios, hindi sasapitin.

Sa paniniualâ nġ manġa anak mo
maraming naghirap, at na sa convent
ang canilang yama't sila'y inquilino
na namumuisan sa paring natuto.

Ang lupang linauag at pinag hirapan
nġ magulang nila't manġa kanunúan
nġayo'y asienda na't nahulog sa kamay
nġ hindi nag pagod at di namuhunan.

Ang lakí at higpit sa pana-panahón
nġ pagpapa buis ay sulong nġ sulong
maka sinġil lamang ay di linilingon
hirap nġ nag saka't pauis na ginugol.

Salapi at pagod nġ nagsi-sibuis
ay ualang katumbas kundi ang mahapis
tanghaling sagana ang hindi nag pauis,
mábaon sa utang at tumanġis tanġis.

Ang lahat ng ito'y nina-nais sana
na malagyang lúnas ng sinta mong ina;
nguni pa-anhin mo ngayo'y matandá na
hapo na sa hiras ako't ualang kaya.

Ang mga balitang Legaspi't Salcedo
at iba't iba pang ina-asahan ko
sa pag-kakalingâ ng tapat sa iyo,
ngayon ay ualâ na't inulila tayo.

Sa nanã titirang ngayo'y nabubuhay
óo't may mabait, bayani at pahám;
Nguni sila sila'y naãag i-iringan
di magka sunder sa anó mang pákay.

Sa ibig ng isa'y hahadlang ang iba
sa baling kurin ay di magka isa
ualang mangyayari tungkol may halaga
sa gayo'y ipaanong a'asahan sila!

Kayâ kailangan, bunsong ini-irog,
matutong mag tiis iayon ang loob,
sa madlang dalitâ, kung ayaw kumilos
ang manã anak mo sa pagka-katulog.

Manã taga rine, Francia, Alemanía
at iba pang nacion dito sa Europa
ay nanãag hiras din sa frayle ng una
pauang nanã dayâ, pauâ ring ginagá.

Kanilang nasayod lahat ng hinagpis
sa paniniuala't maling pananalig
sa frayleng nag pangap na tauong malinis
na nagpa ka dukha't nag anyong mabait.

Bayan palibhasang marunong mahabag
ay nahambal ngani sa nakitang hirap,
ang frayle'y kinandong pinuspos ng lingap,
ang mga convento'y sumaganang lahat.

Frayle'y hindi naman nagpapa halatâ
dagdaga't dagdagan pag a-anyong abâ
hindi napapansin lihim nilang bantâ
na ang namamaya'y kanilang mapigâ.

Sapagka't ang frayle'y hindi kaparis
niyong mangâ Paring itim kun manumit,
ang frayle'y anak sa bundok at yungib
ng mga magulang na napakaguipit.

Anak sa dalita't boong pagsasalât
ualang nalalamang gauing paghahanap,
kayâ cailangang tuyu-in ang lahat
upang manariuâ ang sariling balat.

Pag may mama-matay na tila mayaman
frayle ang aagap magpapakumpisal,
at iu-ukilkil na ang pamanahan
ng aring inimpok ay convento lamang.

Hinlog, kamag-anak ay dapat limutin
sa oras na iyon, siyang sasabihin,
kaloloua't yama'y dapat na ihain
sa frayle't ng huag inferno'y sapitin.

Ang lahat ng ito'y nadaragdagan pa
ng bala-balaking panilo ng cuarta
calmen, cintas, cordon, palibing, pamisa
ay pauang pangdúkot sa maraming balsa.

Sa gayon ng gayo'y lumaki nga naman
ang ari ng frayle't nag hrap ang bayan;
nahalinhan bigla ng kapalaluan
ang binalatkayóng kababaang asal.

Diyan na naninghal, diyan na nang api
boong kataksilan ang pinapangyari,
ang baula't pinuno'y sa frayle ang kampi
baya'y namighati sa pagkadohagui.

Ganda ng babaye, ang dunong, ang yaman
ay naguiguing sanhi ng kapahamakan,
ualang sumaklong may kapangyarihan
sa kualta'y nayuco varas ng katuiran.

Ang balang mag sabi ang baling mag isip
na magpa aninaw ng santong matuid,
ualang mararating kundi ang ma-amis
luha'y patulu-in hangan sa ma-inis.

Sapagka't ang baling mapag hinalaan
na sa hanġad nila'y di ma-aasahan
ay ipahuhuli at pararatanġan
nġ salang dakila't madlang kataksilan.

At sa bilangua'y agad kukulunġin
sa gutom at uhaw ay pa-pipiitin
ang lamig nġ lupa'y siyang ba banig-in
nġ sa kanyang baya'y natutong gumiliw.

Hindi tutulutang mag tamóng liuanag
sa araw at gabi ang kahabag habag,
kung hapong hapo na sa gayong pahirap
ay pa-aamining siya nġa'y nag sukab.

May ipinapanġaw ang dalauang paa
kama'y at kataua'y gagapusin muna,
saka tatapatan ang sákong nġ bága
hangan di umamin sa paratang nila.

At kun masunod na, ang kanilang nasâ
umamin sa sala ang lipós dalitâ
táli nang kasunod, parusa'y ilalagdâ
sa martir nġ frayle't mapapanġanyaya.

Ang parusa noo'y samsamin ang yaman
saka unti-unting alisan nġ buhay;
idadaan muna sa isang simbahan
ang kinulang palad.... at sakâ sisigan.

Sa gitna n̄g plasa ay may nakahandâ
na nagla-lagablab na malaking sigâ
diyan igagatong sa harap n̄g madlâ
ang sa kanyang baya'y ibig kumalingâ

Taghhoy n̄g sinigan at madlang kaharap
luhâ ng magulang, hinlog kamag-ânak
pagtangis n̄g madlâ ay ualang katapat
kundi ang sa frayleng taua at halakhak

Yutâ-yutang tauo ang nan̄ga o-oyam
n̄g panahong yaon sa gayong paraan,
ang payapa't aliw noon ay pumanaw
nalipós n̄g luksâ libo-libong bayan.

Ang yamang nasamsam, buhay na nakitil
ay di babahagya't noo'y ualang tigil
ang sipag n̄g frayle sa gauang mag taksil
mag sabog n̄g dusa, gutom at hilahil.

Ano pa n̄ga't noon ay kulang na lamang
ang nan̄ga ulila'y man̄gag patiuakal;
linoob n̄g langit, nan̄gag sangunian
ay nan̄gag ka-isang sila'y mag damayan.

Diyatâ n̄ga kayâ, ang uikâ nila,
at uala n̄g lunas sa ganitong dusa?
diyatâ n̄ga бага't itong binabata
sa inanak nati'y ipamamana pa?

Huag magka gayo't yamang námalas,
na sa daang ito'y masubiang ang landas,
ay hauanin natin, sakitin nŕ lahat
ilayo ang madlá sa pagka pahamak.

Lalake't babaye, matanda at batá
nŕgayoy manalangin, sa lanŕit pa-auâ
ang santong matuid na kusang dinustâ
ay ibanŕon nati't, Dios and bahalâ.

Kanilang linusob ang mŕa convento,
frayle'y inusig pinutlan nŕ úlo,
ang balang ma-kitang fraileng naka takbó
kun hindi barilin, kanilang binabató.

Higanti nŕ baya'y kakila-kilabot
hualang pag siyahan ang kanilang poot
ang mŕa convento'y kanilang sinunog
at inuring púgad nŕ masamang hayop.

Frayle'y nanlalaban, nŕuni alin kayâ
sa galit na bayan ang maguiguing kutâ!
ang payapang dagat, pag siyang nag balâ
ay ualang bayaning makasa-sansalâ.

Yaong bayang supil, dating mahinahon
dating mapag tiis, at mapag pasahól,
inunós nŕ dusa'y malalaking álon
nŕ pang hihiganti noo'y lumingatong.

Ualang naká piguil, ualang naka sanga,
palibhasa'y bayan ang nag pa-parusa;
ang mğa pinuno'y naualan ng kaya,
umayon sa baya't ng di mapag isa.

Kaya nga bunso ko't magpa hangan ngayon
ang fraileng lumakad sa kanilang nayon,
kahit mğa bata'y nagsi sipukol
inu-usig nilang parang ásong ulól.

Sa paraang ito, bunsong minamahal
ang dating dinusta'y nakatighaw-tighaw;
ang fraile'y lumayas, iniuan ang bayan
at muling naghari ang kapayapaan.

Nguni hindi naman ako nagpayo
ang gayong paraan бага'y asalin mo,
ako'y ualang sukat na ma isaklolo,
kaya katitiis, magtiis, bunso ko.

Ualang natimauâ sa pagca dohagui,
na di namuhunan ng pamamayani;
kun hindi mo káyang frayle'y ma iuaksi
magtiis ka, irog, sa palad mong imbi.

Ang mğa anak mo'y nanḡagu-gupiling,
sa dustang lagay mo'y di nahihilahil,
mag darayang hibo ng ka-auay na lihim,
siyang diniringig, luhâ mo'y di pansin.

Diyatâ ay sino ang dapat mag adyâ
sa iyo, bunso ko, kundi nãa sila?
kun sa m̃ga anak mo'y di maka aasa,
ualang daan, irog, kundi ang mag batá.

Ang araw na sila'y magka isang loob
at mangag kaguisang sa pagka katulog;
ang araw na iyan, arao nã Dios,
baya'y maniningil.... ¿sino ang sasagot!!!

Kailanãan, bunsong, sila'y mahirati
sa pagmamasakit sa bayang sarili;
kay Rizal na librong pamagat ay *Noli...*
huag lilimutin ganito ang sabi:

“Panaho'y matamis sa tinubuang bayan
“at pauang panlugod ang balang matanaw
“ang simoy sa bukid ay pang hatid buhay
“tapat ang pagirog, sulit ang mamatay.”

Alinsunod dito'y ¿aling hira kayâ
ang sukat indahin sa pagka-kalinãa
sa sariling baya't upang matimauâ
sa madlang pahirap at sumapayapâ?

Ang lahat mong anak, guinhaua't dukhâ man,
maguing taga bukid, maguing taga bayan,
lalake't babaye, pantás man at mangmang
santong matuid mo'y dapat ipatanghal.

Ualang iba, bunso, na dapat hiliin
sila n̄g sa iyo'y tapat na pag tin̄gin:
ang pagpapabaya'y pananagotan din,
sa harap n̄g Dios sila'y si-sisihin.

Mapanglaw na sumpa n̄g Poong May-capal
sa tamad na puso'y kalumbay lumbay:
“Cayong nagpabaya sa sariling bayan,
“anya'y dapat namang Aking pabayaan!!”

Ilayo n̄g lan̄git sa ganitong sumpâ
ang man̄ga anak mo, bunsong minumutya.
sa iyo'y matuto n̄g pagka-kalin̄ga
matutong umampat n̄g iyong pag luhâ.

Ito na n̄ga lamang ang ma-isasagot
n̄g salantang ina sa hibik mo, irog;
sasakyan mo'y guipo, huag matutulog
ang man̄ga anak mo't ma siguá sa laot.

UAKÁS

32. Here is the *Record of Confidential Data of Malolos*, signed by Lieutenant Senespleda:

D. MANUEL CRISOSTOMO, about 40 years, married, landowner, ex-gobernadorcillo, and present *capitan municipal*.

Is essentially unfriendly to our institution and very particularly an enemy of the friars; has a cousin or nephew by the name of Graciano Crisostomo, a priest, who, while coadjutor at Yban (Batangas), prosecuted, leaving for the seminary, where, he was two years.

Has held his present office since January 1st of this year.

Since he has taken charge, he has clearly manifested his anti-friar ideas, putting them into practice together with his colleagues of the municipality, D. Ceferino Aldaba, *teniente mayor*; Don Anastacio de Leon, *teniente de ganados*; D. Vicente Gatmaitan, delegate: D. Jose Bautista, delegate, and Juan del Pilar, amanuensis at the tribunal, and I say into practice, because for their machinations they make use of some poor wretch whom they sacrifice or desert if things go wrong, as I have had an opportunity to see for myself having children brought to be baptized and saying they will pay no more than half a real, and burying with claims of similar nature: those who have paid the stipulated fees in the church being subjected to threats and even insults; which means that their marked idea is that of bringing the religious corporations into disrepute, to such an extent that the common people believe they are robbing them.

I can not prove anything as to whether or not they are anti-Spanish, but am as convinced of it as of their hostility to the friars.

The General Government as well as the Civil Government of the Province must have antecedents concerning the person heading the list.

D. CEFERINO ALDABA, about 28 or 30 years, married, present *teniente mayor*.

DON VALENTIN ALDABA, about 26 years, married, present delegate.

D. JUAN ALDABA, about 24 years, married, present lieutenant of police.

These three are mentioned together, because their history is the same. The first two are brothers, and the last a first cousin of theirs.

See the record of D. Manuel Crisostomo, it being only necessary to add that Valentin filed a *memoria* with the Archbishop against the parish priest of this pueblo, a memorial out of place and full of stupid claims which resulted in a decision in favor of said priest. Since then, instead of

improving, the trouble they made him became even worse. (See record of D. Manuel Crisostomo)

DON VICENTE GATMAYTAN, about 40 years, married, delegate of the present municipality, and *ez-capitan*.

Is related by marriage to Capitan D. Manuel Crisostomo, is in constant communication with him and one of his principal advisors, so much that there are few nights on which he does not go to the tribunal for lectures.

This native is a friend of and related by marriage to D. Luis del Pilar, a *procurador* and resident of the provincial capital of Bulacan, and a propagandist of *La Solidaridad* and its ideas: in the office of the said *Solidaridad*, he has a cousin called Marcelo H. del Pilar, who gives him instructions for his propaganda and this Luis is the man who, through the person mentioned at the beginning of these notes, D. Manuel Crisostomo, and the persons sustaining similar views keeps the pueblo in a state of agitation: that is, they prostitute it at a very rapid rate.

D. Vicente is a man of a retiring and circumspect disposition; he manifests his anti-friar ideas in all his conversations and is, in my opinion also one of the most prominent filibusters. There must also be previous records of number of years ago.

D. ANASTASIO DE LEON, about 42 years, married, present *teniente de ganados*.

A man of very little education, evil-intentioned, and very influential in the municipality, which latter has astonished me, owing to his scant education, but I attribute it to him being bound by ties that they must respect. He is one of those who do most of the practical work against the friars. (See record of D. Manuel Crisostomo.)

Has a crafty and cynical disposition.

Was *sacristan mayor* or principal choir boy of this church several years ago, but was dismissed on account of his conduct, and has, since then been one of the *satellites* of Marcelo and Luis del Pilar in their plans against the friars; I also believe he is anti-Spanish like the rest.

There must be antecedents.

JUAN DEL PILAR, about 42 years, married, clerk and pettifogger, acts as secretary of the tribunal.

Is a brother of Marcelo, collaborator of *La Solidaridad*, and cousin of Luis del Pilar, the propagandist of the latter. (See preceding notes regarding this individual).

In the last months of the existence of the last municipality he was dismissed from the tribunal, by verbal order of the government of the province, there being complete evidence of his anti-friar and anti-religious conduct and his propaganda work.

In his conduct, always crafty, he shows that he is not only anti-friar but also anti-Spanish. There must also be antecedents.

DON JOSE BAUTISTA, about 58 years, married, property-owner, present delegate, and one of the sponsors of the ideas fostered by D. Luis del Pilar. He has a brother named Graciano, coadjutor of the parish of Binondo, who contributes greatly toward the furtherance of his anti-Spanish and anti-friar ideas. When he was young, his father had an establishment at Zamboanga, where he was engaged in the carrying trade with a *pontin* or *falucho* but he was caught with a shipment of arms for the Mindanao Moro, which ruined him. He is now well off, having married a very rich woman in this pueblo. He and his family are from Binondo, and he is an intimate friend of Ambrosio Rianzares and Poblete, who have frequently been in this pueblo, putting up either at his house or in that of his nephew, D. Felix Bautista, a physician, also married here

Is a hypocrite and cringing attitude towards all authorities, and is a person who, with his fellow townsmen, takes pleasure in making public any misfortune, blunder, or failure on our part, making sarcastic comments upon them and acting the buffoon. As to what may be lacking in his record, see that of D. Manuel Crisostomo.

There must be some previous record of that person, of several years ago.

He is at present seriously afflicted with phthisis which attacked him several months ago.

DON FELIX BAUTISTA, about 20 years old, married, physician.

Seems to be of a timid character, but it is evident that he is a hypocrite like the person last mentioned, his uncle, he is in constant communication with Don Ambrosio Rianzares and with Poblete, and others of that kind in Manila.

In his ideas he is like the preceding one, but more timorous; he is an intimate friend of D. Luis del Pilar and of all those who figure in this book; but as to their anti-friar ideas, he has taken little part in them, that is, he takes little or no part in carrying them into practice, but is nevertheless glad when that is done.

DON LUIS DEL PILAR, 24 or 26 years old, married, *procurador* at Bulacan, where he is living.

When Marcelo del Pilar was in the Philippines, residing indiscriminately at Bulacan and Malolos, he and Luis did what they pleased with this pueblo. About seven (years) ago Marcelo left for the peninsula, and since then it is he who manages them at his pleasure, through D. Vicente Gatmaitan, D. Manuel Crisostomo, D. Anastacio de Leon, and D. Ponciano Tiongson. Don Luis, comes seldom to the pueblo and always puts up at the house of Vicente or Manuel, who live on the Bulacan highway near the Atlag bridge. In my opinion it is he who is really to

blame for the situation that has prevailed in this pueblo for several years all owing to the instructions of his cousin Marcelo del Pilar, a member of *La Solidaridad*.

He is rather smart and sagacious, makes himself liked by the authorities and the Spaniards who he thinks may be useful to him, and is rather affectionate and pleasant toward, them; but owing to his exaggerations, it is easy to see that the whole thing is a comedy. Thanks to his cunning, on occasion of the general search made in 1892 of the houses of the persons suspected of being filibusters, he was not one of those who were exiled.

In the propaganda to which I refer, not everything is “love for the cause”, but there is a great deal of self-interest, as he exploits those who think like him in the most admirable manner.

There must have been antecedents of this individual for some time.

D. PONCIANO TIONGSON, about 28 years, married, property-owner, and present justice of the peace.

Is as much of a hypocrite as D. Jose Bautista, but with less natural talent; admirer of Don Luis del Pilar and his ideas. Is somewhat related to the *capitan municipal*, Don Manuel Crisostomo, has exactly the same ideas and the same way of making them public, but is much falser.

D. LINO REYES, about 24 years, married, property-owner *ex-cabeza de barangay*.

D. JOSE REYES, 46 years old, married, late *capitan municipal*.

D. GRACIANO REYES, about 42 years, *ex-cabeza*.

These three have the same ideas as those mentioned previously, but to say the truth, I must state that they have not expressed them like the others.

D. ANTONIO TIONGSON, 62 years, widower, property-owner, and delegate.

D. SILVINO TORRALBA, Spanish mestizo, about 45 years, widower, property-owner.

They live in absolute retirement, endeavor to avoid being compromised with their fellow-townsmen, and although they have the same ideas as these. They do not take a direct part in working against the religious corporations; however, the one last named is a great hypocrite and not to be trusted.

There must also be antecedents concerning them.

To resume, in this pueblo there is nothing but marked antagonism towards the reverend parish priest of the pueblo, without there being the least cause for it, and the saddest is that this disaffection is maintained and tolerated by the municipality, in the manner above indicated.

I can not make any concrete affirmation as to their filibuster and masonic ideas. I am fully convinced that they are filibusters and masons , but inasmuch as neither in this pueblo, nor in any of those of my district (Barasoain, Sta. Ysabel, Paombong, Hagonoy, and Calumpit), any masonic lodge has existed since I assumed command of this section (August 9, 1893), nor have clandestine proclamations of a filibuster tendency been in circulation, I can not, and must not, point them out as such, as I can, and do point them out as enemies of the friars, because in view of the lack of secret antecedents in this section, I have to depend upon my own humble judgment and observation.

This book consists of fourteen folios in quarto, written by my own hand.

Malolos, May 22, 1895.

The 1st Lieutenant in command.

(Sgd.) JOSE DE SENESPLEDA

33. This is the farce known as Duplo. Scene: a room like a court room: the king seated on his throne, acting as judge, attended by princes and princesses, and, on both sides of the table in front of the king, bellacos and bellacas (buffoons, mimics.—*N. of Trsltr.*) representing his vassals and the people. The place is immaterial; it may be either the hall of a house, a shed of nipa, *talahib* or *buri* on the open field, the kitchen, etc. Plto: the king states that while in the garden, he found his *culasisi* (parakeet.—*N. of Trsl.*) dead, or that he did not find him, because he has been stolen, and he then asks who killed the *culasisi*, or who stole it? The one of the *bellacos* gets up and points out a *bellaca* as the thief, generally picking out the prettiest girl. The king, without further ado, pronounces judgment condemning the *bellaca*. The penalties as usually *dalits*, that is improvised soings in verse. Then a bellaco rises to champion her cause; he chivalrously come to the fore and defends the accused princess. In this defence the poets show their skill at improvising.

Del Pilar gave a new direction to these defences. In the following clever *dalits*, the vigorous defence, which has intentionally been so prepared that it may, or may not, be construed as seditious, is a criticism of the injustice of the Spanish authorities.

DUPLUHAN

Nagugol n̄g lahat, oh! sinta ko't ibig,
ang boo kong kaya sa pagmamasakit,
ay hindi pinalad na naipa-alis
ang parusang lagda n̄g sentenciang lihis.

Katuwiran lamang sa bunying Monarca,
ng maga-gamit kong mabisang sandata,
pagka't siyang lalo bagang may halaga,
sa balang may bait na puno't justicia.

Nguni sa aba ko't ang tinubo lamang,
nitong pananalig sa katotohanan,
ay mamulat ngayon matang nabulagan
sa pagka pahamak nitong pamamayan.

Sa iyong kandunġan tinubuang lupa,
pawang nalilimbag ang lalong dakila,
.....
na ika-aamis ng puso't gunita.

Ang kamusmusan ko'y kung alalahanin,
ay inaruga mo bayang ginigiliw,
halaman at bundok, yaman at bukirin,
ay pawang naghandog ng galak sa akin.

Ipinaglihim mo ng ako'y bata pa,
ang pagdaralitan ng iyong binabata,
luha'y ikinukubli't ng di mabalisa,
ang inangdukha mong musmus kong ligaya.

Ngayong lumaki nang loobin ng Langit,
maaanyong bahagya yaring pag-iisip
magagandang nasa'y tinipon sa dibdib.
Pagtulong sa iyo bayanng ini-ibig.

Ngayong na nga lamang, ngayon ko natatap
ang pagka dusta mo't na-amis na palad.
Sa kaalipinan mo'y wala ng nahabag,
ang gayong karaming pinagpalang anak.

Sa agos ng iyong dugong ipinawis,
marami ang dukhang agad nag sikinis,
samantalang ikaw, Bayang ini-ibig,
ay hapong hapo na't puto ng gulanit.

Santong matuwid mo na iginagalang,
ng Dios na lalong makapangyarihan,
na siya nang dapat na mag bigay dangal,
bagkus ay siya pang kinukutyang tunay.

Nguni't mabuti rin at napupurihan,
sa pag hahari mo itong pamamayan,
sa pagka't nakuhang naipa-aninaw,
na dito ang puno'y dina kailangan.

Kung pahirap lamang ang ipadadala,
nang nangag pupuno'y sa ami'y sukat na,
ang hulog ng Langit na bagyo't kolera,
lindol, beriberi't madla pang balisa.

Salamat sa iyo, Haring sakdal bangis,
salamat sa iyong bigay na pasakit.
Kung hindi mo kayang baya'y matangkilik,
ano't nag puno ka'y walang pumipilit?

DALITS

Kung sa Langit nabubuhay
ang sa lupa'y namamatay
ano't kinatatakutan
ang oras ng kamatayan?

Ginto't pilak sa pukpukan
ng platero'y umiinam;
ang puring lalong makinang
sa pukpuk ay pumupusiaw.

Kung sa liwanag ng arao
sariling sira'y titingnan
¿mang lulura kaya'y ilan
sa kaniyang aninong tunay?

EPIGRAMA

Ako'y tantong nagtataka
sa harding sinabi ko na
lihim kung turingan nila
ang susi na sa saiba.

34. *El Renacimiento*, July 3, 1903.

35. *La Frailocracia Filipina*, page 9.

36. "The separatist aspiration is contrary to the interests of the Philippine Islands: the geographical situation of the Archipelago, with its numerous, widely disseminated islands, its nascent culture, and various other causes require, as a condition for its development and progress, the strengthening of the political ties that bind it to Spain, and the real and effective fusion of its aspiration with the aspirations of the sovereign country.

"The Philippine lack the intrinsic and extrinsic conditions of the ultramarine provinces of America; their population, which has already adapted itself to the customs and laws of the Latin race, is surrounded by peoples with whom it has not the least in common as regards religion, principles, sentiments, and language, and the incipient state of its progress, exposed to the storms of international rapacity, demands for its own preservation the strengthening Spanish integrity, its interest in this respect being, perhaps, greater than that of Spain herself."

“In view of the conditions of the Archipelago, separatist aspirations spell suicide, and *the idea of suicide* can only spring from *a desperate situation*.” (*La Frailocracia Filipina*, page 13)

37. “Their aspiration does not and can not offend Spanish integrity; they do not ask for much, they do not want any fixed form of government, they do not ask the mother country to sacrifice any interests of principles. All they ask for is sincerity; their aspiration is merely that what is just in the motherland be not unjust in the colony; to be brief, that the principle of assimilation, the avowed base of Spanish colonization, be developed with frankness and loyalty, that the constitutiona monarchy in the peninsula and other ultramarine departments be also constitutional monarchy in the oceanic archipelago, that the national legislative power, the Congress and the Senate, have the same powers and authority over the islands that it has over the othe provinces of Spain.” (*La Frailocracia Filipina*, page 17)

38. “In the peninsula there is a superabundance of secular priests whose decorous maintenance is already seriously worrying the lovers of religion. Educated in the science, in virtue and in social life, they are not less worthy than the members of monkery, nor are they less loyal to Spain and to religion, and there is no reason whatsoever of doubting the services of that element to the extent of making it a law to keep them out of the rich parishes, and giving the preference to the canonical incapacity of the regular elements. (*La Soberania Monacal*, page 49)

39. Of this espionage service, ex-Archbishop Nozaleda himself boasts in the appendix to his *Defensa obligada contra acusaciones gratuitas*. Madrid, 1904.

40. He alludes to the principles upheld by *Si Tandang Basio Macunat*, to wit: *Ang ongo, ang uica pa niya, ang ongo,i sootan man ninyo nang baro at salaual, ay ongo pa rin at hindi tauo; hindi co po ibig na ang mga tagalog, ang mga indio, alalaon ay magaral nang uicang castila. Ang manga tagalog, ang mga indio бага, aniya, na*

humihiiuulay o pinahihiiuulay caya sa calabao, ay ang cadalasa,i naguiguig masama at palamarang tauo sa Dios at sa Hari.

What nauseates one the most in this work is the desire, not only to make an idiot of the Filipino, but to convert the home into a brother, to break the tie formed by God and nature, by insinuating that the girls must confide their troubles not to their parents, but to the friar. See *Si Tandang Basio Macunat...*, pages 29 and 30.

41. Among others, the buffooneries of General Salamanca, who said despicable things of the islanders in open senate and feared to associate with a Filipino deputy, on account of his *Igorot smell*.

There are insults by the cart-load, by persons who are really somebody. As a sample, we shall give the following, by Barrantes:

.....The Wild Indian

In Oceania's trackless mangrove thickets,
The bondsman of that ill-foreboding freedom
That made me love and bless my liberties.
He plants his rice wherever fancy bids him,
And, bird-like, builds his nest upon a tree branch;
He breeds with his own mother, or his sister,
And dies not knowing how he has been living.

(See: *Al P. Zeferino / Certamen / Científico-Literario y Velada / Que en su honor / Celebró / La Universidad de Manila / Manila / Establecimiento tipográfico del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás / a cargo de D. Gervasio Memije / 1885.*)

42. *La Revolución Filipina* by Ap. Mabini. M. S. Chap. V.

43. The title page of this minuscule pamphlet (in 32°, 16 pages, without date nor printer's mark, but printed at Barcelona in 1888) reads *Banal na Kasulatan XI: Dasalan at Toksohan* (Pious writings / XI / Question and Answers.) It imitates the size of the *Cuestiones de sumo interes* of Fr.

Rodriguez, with indulgences, in order to take its place. Inasmuch as Fr. Rodriguez' books had, on account of their size, been profusely distributed among the women in order to serve them as spiritual food. Del Pilar, or his henchmen, abstracted Fr. Rodriguez' booklets and replaced them by revolutionary pamphlets of the same size, among them the present one, first to the great terror and then to the great delight of *sister Iska, Veronica, and company*. This opuscle is as follows:

DASALAN AT TOKSOHAN

ANG TANDA

Ang tanda nang cara-i-cruz ang ipangadiya mo sa main Panģinoon naming Fraile sa manģa bankay naming, sa nģalan nang Salapi at nang Maputing binte, at nang Espiritung Bugaw. Siya naua.

PAGSISISI

Panģinoon kong Fraile, Dios na hindi totoo at labis nang pagkatuo gumagá at sumalacay sa akin: pinagsisisihan kong masakit sa tanang loob ko ang diláng pag-asá ko sa iyo, ang ikaw nģa ang berdugo ko, Panģinoon ko at kaauay ko na inihihibic kong lalo sa lahat, nagtitica akong matibay na matibay na dina mulimuling mabubuyó sa iyo: at lalayuan ko na at panģingilagan ang balanang makababacila nang loob ko sa pag ása sa iyo, at macalilibat nang dating sakit nang manģa bulsa ko, at nagtitica naman acong maglalatala nang dilang pagcadaya ko uma-ása akong babambuhin ka rin, alang alang sa mahal na pantión at panģanģalacal mo nang Cruz, sa pagulol sa akin. Siya naua.

ANG AMAIN NAMIN

Amain námin sumasaconvento ka, sumpain ang n̄galan mo, malayó sa amin ang kasakiman mo, quitlín ang líg mo dito sa lupa para nang sa lan̄gít. Saulán mo cami n̄gayon nang aming kaning iyong inarao-arao at patauanin mo kami sa iyong pagun̄gal para nang pag taua mo kung kami nacucualtahan; at huag mo kaming ipahintulot sa iyong manunukso at iadya mo kami sa masama mong dilá. Amen.

ANG ABA GUINOONG BARIA

Aba guinoong Baria nakapupuno ka nang alcansia ang Fraile'i sumasaiyo bukod ka niyang pinagpala't pina higuít sa lahat, pinagpala naman ang kaban mong mapások. Santa Baria Ina nang Deretsos, ipanalangin mo kaming huag anitan n̄gayon at cami ipapatay. Siya nauá.

ANG ABA PO SANTA BARIA

Aba po Santa Bariang Hari, inagao nang Fraile, ikao ang kabuhayan at katamisan. Aba bun̄ga nang aming pauis, ikaw ang pinagpaguran naming pinapapanaw na tauong Anac ni Eva, ikaw n̄ga ang ipinagbubuntong hininga naming sa aming pagtan̄gis dito sa bayang pinakahapishapis. ¡Ay aba pinakahanaphanap namin para sa aming man̄ga anak, ilin̄gon mo sa amin ang cara-i-cruz mo man lamang at saka bago matapos ang pagpanaw mo sa amin ay iparinig mo sa amin ang iyong kalasing Santa Baria ina nang deretsos, malakas at maalam, matinig na guintó kami ipanalangin mong huag mapatuloy sa amin ang man̄ga bantá nang Fraile. Amen.

ANG MANGA UTOS NANG FRAILE

Ang man̄ga utos nang Fraile ay sampó:

Ang nauna: Sambahin mo ang Fraile na lalo sa lahat.

Ang ikalaua: Huag kang mag papahamak manubá nang n̄galang deretsos.

Ang ikatlo: Manḡilin ka sa Fraile lingo man at fiesta.
 Ang ikaapat: Isanglá mo ang catauan mo sa pagpapalibeng sa ama't ina.
 Ang ikalima: Huag kang mamamatay kung uala pang salaping pang
 palibing.
 Ang ikanim: Huag kang makiapid sa kaniyang asaua.
 Ang ikapito: Huag kang makinakaw.
 Ang ikaualo; Huag mo silang pagbibitanḡan, kahit ka masinunḡalinḡan.
 Ang ikasiyam: Huag mong ipagkait ang iyong asaua.
 Ang ikapulo: Huag mong itangui ang iyong ari.

Itong sampong utos nang Fraile'i dalaua ang kinaoouian. Ang isa:
 Sambahin mo ang Fraileng lalo sa lahat. Ang ikalaua: Ihayin mo naman
 sa kaniya ang puri mo't kayamanan. Siya nauá.

ANG MANGA KABOHONGANG ASAL

Ang manḡa kabohonḡang asal, ang panḡala'i tontogales ay tatlo.

Igalang mo.....	} Ang Fraile
Katakutan mo.....	
At pag manuhan mo.....	

APAT ANG MANGA KAHOLIHOLIHANG DARATING SA FRAILE

Ang una'i ang kamatayan nang paniniuala sa kanila.
 Ang ikalaua'i ang paghohokom sa madlang guinauang kadayaan.
 Ang ikatlo'i ang madlang lait nang bayan.
 Ang ikapat ang sila'i palalayasin.

ANG AKO'I MAKASALANAN

Ako raw ay makasalanang ay ako'i mangompisal sa ka-auay kong Fraile na nakapagpapabitay sa lahat, sa kay Padre Burgos, sa kay Padre Zamora at kay Padre Gomez at sa mang'a ipinadeportar; nagkasala baga ako sa paninimdim ko sa pag uiuiká ko at sa pagpapalayas sa iniyo; ako baga'i sala o sala kapang lubhá kayá nga yata na ngannganib ako kay Santa Bariang tansó cay San Pisong pilac, at sa mang'a kaban niniyo na ako'i ipahamak nila; at ikaw naman Fraile ako'i ipahahamak mo sapagka't nag didios-diosan ka dito sa lupa, ay pararatanngan mo ako nang ako'i maparusahan. Amen.

ANG MANGA BIYAYA NANG FRAILE SA NANGA OOLOL AY APAT

Ang nauna'i ang pagutusan.
Ang ikalaua'i gauing tauong simbahan.
Ang ikatlo'i ligauan ang anak.
Ang ikapat ay gamitin sa kapannganyayaan.

ANG HAMPAS NANG KAGALITAN NANG FRAILE AT TATLO

Ipabitay kun maari, gaya niyong tatlong Pari.
Tauaguing filibustero at ipadala ka sa Joló.
Formahan kaya nang causa't bilangoin man lamang siya.

ANG KABANALANG ASAL PANGALA'I VIRTUDES

Ang klihimang sa anomang gagauin.
Talino sa sasabihin.
Mang'a deretsos ay piguulin.
Pag papa ilis ay pilitin.

ANG MANGA GAUANG MAGALIN NA IKINABABAYAD SA KASALANAN SA FRAILE AY TATLO

Ang nauna'i makatulong ka sa pag ligaw.
Ang ikalaua'i ang paglalalang nang kafiستان.
Ang ikatlo'i magpamana sa simbahan.

ANG MGA KAHATOLAN NANG FRAILE SA LIHIS NA EVANGELIO AY TATLO

Ang pag babayad nang deretsos.
Kalme't kuintas ay lumimos.
Sa kandilang pagtutulos
Maguing dukhá kamang lubos.
Una yao't ang ikalaua
Kahalaya'i mag ingat ka
Kung hihikayat sa iba
Nguni at huag kung sila.
Ikatlo at kauakasan
Ang lubos na kasunuran
Sakaling ikaw'i uutusan
Nang Fraileng sino't alin man.

ANG ALABADO

Purihin ang kamahalmahalang puso nang tauong dili nadampiohan nang anomang gauang magdayá sa capuá tauo, at gayon din naman yaong manģa di nalamuyot makisamang manghibó sa ikapapahamak nang kaniyang kapuá.

TOKSOHAN

Tanong. Ano kaya ang Fraile?

Sagot. Isang Panģinoong di kailanģan na nģayon kung sa ikagagaling nang bayan, humahadlang sa karununģan, punó nang dilang kasaman at siya pang kina kinaoouian nang lahat nating sinisimpang kayamanan.

T. Ilan ang Fraile?

S. Isa lamang.

T. Ang orden ay ilan?

S. Limá.

T. Turan mo kung alin-alin.

S. Agustino, Recoletano, Dominico, Franciscano, at Capuchino.

T. Ang Agustino't Recoletano ay Fraile?

S. Oo Fraile nģa.

T. Ang Dominico't Franciscano ay Fraile?

S. Oo Fraile rin.

T. Ang Capuchino ay Fraile?

S. Oo Fraile naman.

T. Iba бага ang pagka Fraile nang isa sa pagka Fraile nang iba?

S. Dili kung di iisa rin ang pagka Fraile nila, ang pagdadaya lamang ang iba't iba.

T. May mahal na asal kayá ang Fraile para бага nang kamahalan man lamang natin minamasamá nila.

- S. Uala rin nğani at ang sila'i pinanğinğilagang tunay na tunay.
- T. Nasaan ang manğa Fraile?
- S. Nasasalahat na halos, na ualang di kinaroroonan sa Filipinas, at pauang nakapangyayari sa lahat.
- T. Paano ang paguiguinng tauo nang kanilang manğa anak?
- S. Ipinaglilili sa lalang nila sa tiyan nang manğa confesada at dili man kung maganda:
doon nğa ay virgen kun di pa nanğa-nğanak, virgen din yata sapanğagğanak at virgen din kung makapanğanak na..
- T. Alin kaya ang punong dahilan nang ayaw pa tayong iuang nang Fraile?
- S. Kayá ayaw nila tayong uian ay dahil sa kayamana't sa dati nila tayong na aalipin.
- T. At ano pa kayá ang titiguisin nila sa atin?
- S. Kung hindi na tayo makukualtahan ay ang ating manğa dugo hangang sa mamatay.
- T. At ang kayamanan natin ay madadala бага natin sa hukay?
- S. Dili't ihabilin nating sa dapat pag manahan na huag ipamamalay sa kanila, langkapan din nang aral na untiuntiing kukunin sa pinagbaonan hangang sa maubos nilang gamitin sa tunay na kailanğan.
- T. Nasaan ang Fraile?
- S. Nakaloklok sa sillón sa convento sa tabi nang kanilang kaban.

- T. Diyata ano ang kahologan nitong uikang naloloklok ang Fraile sa tabe nang kaban kung ang Fraile ay may *voto de pobreza*?
- S. Ang kahologan ay ito, na ang Fraile ang nagiinġat nang manġa bagay na sagrado na di mumunti ang halaga na siyang ipinagbibili sa atin, at itinutumbas naman natin sa manġa bagay na yaon ang boó nating yaman sa pagasang maiaakyat tayo sa lanġit.
- T. Diyatá alin ang inaala-ala nang Fraile?
- S. Isa lamang: kung sa pag aral niya nang lihis sa utos nang Dios ay uala, at nakikita nating hinahamak ang lahat; ang baca nġa sila palayasin, ito lamang ang pangamba nila.

KATAPUSAN

44. *Baria* is a corruption of Maria (Cristina), the name of the queen whose likeness was on the copper coin worth two “cuartos.” This in Bulacan. In the other Tagalog provinces, for instance, in some municipalities of Nueva Ecija, the *baria* was called *Tinang*, a nickname for Cristina. A *baria* was therefore worth as much as *isang Tinang*. The Chinese called it *balia*. It is not yet ascertained whether the *balia* of the Chinese came from the Tagalog *baria* or vice versa.

45. *Mota*, which is one-half of a *baria*.

46. See Note 31 which reproduces the entire opusculc.

47. PASIONG DAPAT IPAG-ALAB NANG PUSO NANG TAUONG BABASA

KALUPITAN NANG FRAILE

O Fraileng libhang malupit
na ualá nang iniisip
kundi manlúpig, mang-gahís!
Fraileng hindi na nahápis
sa dugo nang inocentes;

Fraileng lubhang alisagâ
matáas magmunakalâ
at palalô kung maghakâ.
isipin mong matiagâ
lahat mong lihis na gauâ;

Fraile na lubhang suail,
ualâ munti mang panimdim
ang parati mong hanġad din
ang lumigaw at maninġil
siya mong minamagaling.

Di ka nang dádalang aua
sa bankay nang manġa dukhâ,
ang gauâ mo'i pauang dayâ,
mang-olol, mag opasalâ,
manlúpig manġalonyâ.

Fraile iyong matatamó
hirap, sákit sa inferno,
hunghang, masakím na tauo,
sa apoy mo ibobontó
pag dayâ kay Jesucristo.

Maghahari kayong hayop
na tinútulutan nang Dios,
umaral nang likô at buktot,
nguni tigni't sumisipot
manġa Elias at Enoc.

Mangungulong di kauasâ
sa manġa tauo sa lupâ,
ġbakin ngayon namumutlâ
hindi mabigkas ang dilâ
at nauaualan nang diuâ?

Kasakiman mo'i pagbaua,
ngayon ay mag-isip ka na,
pagsisihan ang tanang sâla,
at ung hindi pirme ka nang
lilipad sa *dinamita!*

ARAL

Ang Fraile kapag may pita
sa iyo at inioola
totoong minamahal ka,
nguni kapag nangyari na
sikad ang pag-ala-ala

Ang tauo hangang mayaman
manġa Fraile ang kaibigan
kung mahirap na ang búhay
o di ka na makukualtahan
kulan ka pang ipapindang.

Gayon n̄gani itong mundo
pag maфраile't ualang toto
pauang h̄lis na totoo
ang gagauin sa bulsa mo,
pang-gúlat ay Purgatorio.

Pagka't ang tauo, aniya,
ay katampatang mamun̄ga
nang palibing at pamisa,
kung hindi ipadadalá
sa Jolo at sa Paragua.

Cristiano, pakatiniñin
ang budhi mo at panimdim,
tahimik mong pag buláin
ang kahirapang dáratnin
kung ang Fraile'i di alisin.

Tayo ang pakinabang
kung sila'i ipagtabuyan
at luluag ang pagkabuhay
sákit nati't kadustaan
ay pílit mababauasan.

At saká naman susulong
kayamanan sampong dunong,
mapapauí ang lingatong;
sa ligalig na panahon
háhalili ay hinahon.

Kayâ, alin ka man at sino
dinguin ang aral na ito:
ipagbilin hangang apó
pangingilag sa convento
sa Fraile pakikitunģo.

KATAPUSAN

48. ANG KADAKILAAN NG DIOS

Di kailanģan, kapatid ko, ang magbukas ka't bumasa nang filosofia,
o nang teologia at iba pang karunungan, upang maranasan mo ang
kadakilaan nang Dios.

Sukat ang pag masdan iyang di mau-ulating hiyas na ilinaganao sa
mundong pinamamayanan mo! sukat ang pag uariin mo ang sarisaring
bagay na ditto sa lupa ay inihahandog sa iyong pangpatid nang gutom
at uhaw, pansapi sa iyong kahinaan, ang paui sa iyong kalumbayan,
panliuanag sa iyong kadimlan; at alin ka ma't sino, ay sapilitang mai-inó
mo na may isang makapangyarihang lumalang at namamahalang ualang
tiguil sa lahat nang ito.

Masdan mo ang isang kaparangan; masdan mo ang manģa halamang
diya'i tumutubô, buhat sa hinahamak mong damo hangang sa di
mayakap na kahoy na pinamumugaran nang ibon sa himpapauíd;
masdan mo't pauang nagpapahayag na ang kanilang maiksi o
mahabang buhay ay hindi bunģa nang isang pagkakataon; uariin mo't,
mararanasan ang kamay nang Dios, na naghahatid oras oras sa manģa
halaming iyan nang dilig na ipinanariua, nang init na nag bibigay
lakas at pumipiguil nang pagkabulok, nang hanģin at iba't iba pang
kinakailangang ilagô at ikabuhay hangan sa dumating ang talagang
takdang pag gagamitan sa kanila.

Tigni ang pagkahalayhay nila't isang malauak na jardín uari na naghahandog nang galak sa matang nanonood; ang mahinhing simoy na naghahatid buhay at nagsasabog naman nang masamyong bangô nang kanilang bulaklak, ay isang halik uari na ikinikintal sa inyong noo nang Lumalang sa atin, kasabay ang ganitong sabi:—Anak ko, ayán ang buhay, ayán ang ligaya, hayo't lasapin mo't iya'i handog na talaga nang aking ganap na pag mamahal: bundok, ilog at karagatan ay pauang may inimpok na yamang itinataan ko sa iyo; paraparang kakamtan mo huag ka lamang paraíg sa katámaran, gamitin mo lamang ang isip at lakas na ipinag kaloob ko sa iyo: huag mong alalahanin ang dilim sa lupa; narian ang araw, narian ang buang talagang pananglaw mo, narian ang bituing mapanununtunán mo kung naglalayag ka sa kalauakan nang dagat; uala akong hanġad anak ko, kundi ang kamtan mong mahinusay ang boong guinhawa, boong kasaganaan at payapang pamumuhay. Talastas kong kapos ang kaya mo sa pag gantí sa akin; talatas kong salat ang lakas mo, salat ang buhay mo sa ikasusunod nang nais na matumbasan ang biyayang tinatangap; kayá huag kang lubhang mag ala-ala; sukat na ang mahalin mo ang kapuâ mo tauo, alang-alang man lamang sa pag mamahal ko sa lahat; mahalin mo ang linikhâ ko, mahallin mo ang minamahal ko at bukas makalaua'i may tanġing ligaya pang pilit na tatamuhin mo.

Diyan ay sukat mo nang mabanaagan, nanasang irog, ang kadakilaan niyong Dios na di nalilingat sandali man sa pagkakalingâ sa atin. Dakilâ sa kapangyarihan, dakilâ sa karununġan, at dakilâ pa nġani sa pag-ibig, sa pagmamahal at pagpapalayao sa kaniyang manġa anak dito sa lupâ; at pantas man o mangmang, mayaman man at dukhâ ay ualang nauauaglit sa mairog at lubos niyang pag lingap.

Sa kadakilaang ito'i sino kaya sa mundo ang sa kaniya'i makahuhuad? Huag na ang sa gauang lumikhâ, huag na sa pag dudulot nang búhay at kaligayahan, ¿may pusô kaya бага sa lupang makapag mamahal sa iyo nang gayong pagmamahal? ¿may pusô kayâ бага sa lupang

makapamumuhunan nang boong pag irog sa iyo, kahit sukat na sukat nang ualâ kang igaganti kundi katampalasan? ¿may pusô kayâ bagang makararating sa gayong pag-ibig?

Mahirap sa bantâ ko.

Nğuni ðlaking kapanğahasan! may nanğag-papangap sa lupang sila raw ang kahalili nang Dios; itinuturô sa atin sa lahat nang oras, sa bala nilang kilos, ang sila'i igalang, sila'i sambahin, sila'i katakutân at dilí umano'i sila ang kahalili nang Dios: ¿bakit!!! ¿nualâ na бага ang kaniyang kapangyarihan, nualâ na kayâ ang kaniyang aua't pag-ibig sa atin, at tauo na lamang ang tatauguin nating kahalili nang Dios?

¿At sino kayâ бага ang nanğagpapangap nang gayon? ¿manğa tauong pantas bagâ na may inimpok na kabaitan o manğa maauin kayang dumadamay sa ating pighati?

Kun gayon nğa sana'i matatangap na nating maguing panğalauang Dios na rito sa ibabaw nğ lupa. Nğuni't hindi gayon ang nakikita natin, kapatid kong irog.

Ang nanğagpapangap na kahalili nang Dios ay ang manğa fraile; manğa tauong tubô sa kaparanğan at kabundukan sa España; anak sa karalitaan at ualang maipakain ang kanilang magulang ay nanğag sisipasok sa convento, buhat sa pagkabatâ; diyan lumalaki, mag susuot nang ábitong saganâ sa bulsá hangang sa dalauang mangas, mag aahit sa tuktok at ahít sa batok, mag aaral nang kapatak na uikang latin, at ipadadala nang cura sa katagalugan. Sa ganitong kalagayan ay siya nang pananagana; may mayamang táhanan sa pinagcucurahan at ualang kilos ang cristianong di pinagkakasalapian: binyag, kasal, libing, kandila at sarisaring pafiستا ay siyang guinagauang alulúd nan gating pinaghanapan na ang tunğo'i punui't saganain ang madla't maluluang nilang bulsa; samantalang iniaaral naman sa atin ang ubos na pagpapakadukhâ alang alang sa Dios.

Ito ang nanġagpapangap na kahalili nang Maykapal: kilalanín mo, kapatid ko't nang mapanulos ka sa paniniualâ, sakaling pinag sasauaan mo na ang kadakilaan nang tunay na Dios.

KATAPUSAN.

49. See CUESTIONES / DE / SUMO / INTERES / I / *Por que no los / he de leer?* / APROBADO POR LA AUTORIDAD ECLESIASTICA. Page 9 and 10.

The words transcribed are Friar Rodriguez' and were malevolently and freely translated into Tagalog in the second opusculé of Friar Rodrigéz, entitled CAINGAT NGA CAYO, which means "Look out for them." The *Caingat nga cayo* is what Del Pilar answered with his *Kai-igat kayo*, which means in English, "Go on hooking *igats*."

50. *Kai-igat kayo* means "Go on hooking *igats*." The *igat* is *Moraenichys gymnosptera leBeker*, of the family of the Myridas. This precious opusculé is as follows:

KAI-IGAT KAYO

Di maulatang gracia ang isinábog sa atin nang kagalang-galang na agustinong si Fr. José Rodriguez, sa kaniyang libritong ang pangala'y ¡Kai-ingat kayó!

Huag ninyong sayanġin, manġa kapatid ko, ang manġa biyayang itó; samantalahin, at paka-asahang sumunod lamang kayó sa panġaral ni Fr. José Rodriguez, na huag bumasa nang manġa librong kaniyang pinagturán, ay inyó na ang lanġit, inyó na ang kalualhatiang walang hanġan, at walang salagoy na áakyat kayó roon sa kátaastaasang bayan na pinamamayanan nang manġa ángeles.

Sumunod kayó kay Fr. José Rodriguez, at isa huit lamang ay máaakyat kayong may patumbi pa kung ibig.

Bihira tayong sapítin nang ganganitong biyaya; kaya tularan na natin yaong mang-igat na may igat man at walá ay kárit nang kárit sa búrak na tinutuntunǵan, at pag may igat na nátuklasan ay ipinagpapasalámat, dadakmain nang malaking tuwa at iháhampas ang ulo sa hawak na pangigat at isísilid sa buslo na pinagtitipunan nang knaiyang manǵa huli.

Sa búrak na ating nilalakaran ay huag din tayong maínip; nákitá na nǵa nating sa kákakarit nang ating manǵa kapowa tagalog, ay may lumitaw ring Fr. José Rodriguez.

Kayá nǵa ¡Kai-igat kayó!

I

Dalawang librito ang pinalabás ni Fr. José Rodriguez sa banal na adhikang mapulaan ang kababayan nating si Dr. Rizal: ang isa’y wikang tagálog at ang isa’y wikang kastila tiglalabing ánim na fojas balang isá, nǵuni’ manǵualta ang walang indulgencia at ang may indulgencia’y tigelawang kualtá: anó panǵa’t ang takal niyá ay lumálagay sa isang kualtang llibrito at isang kualtang indulgencia.

Marami sa inyó, sa bantá ko ang nakábasa nang násabing librito, ay mawawari ninyó ang mahigpit na pagka-linkis ni Fr. José Rodriguez sa ating Dr. Rizal.

Ganito ang sabi:

“Tingni, manǵa ginigiliw kong tagalog, tingni’t masdan itong kaawa-awang kapowa ninyóng tagalog, na pinupuri nang marami sa inyó na parang walang kapara sa karununǵan; walang daw gasino si Rizal; di umano’y, *kapurihan* daw nang lahi ninyong tagalog, na sukat ninyong ipagparanǵalan. ¡Ay sa aba ko! AT lalong katampatang sabihin, na sukat ninyong ipagmamakahiyá ang gayong kahabag-habag na bulag na loob; sapagka’t, siyang KAUNA-UNAHANG tagalog na kusang gumamit nang kaniyang kamay sa pagsulat nang manǵa katakot-takot na

katampalasanan sa Dios, sa ating santa Religión Cristiana, at sa manġa sinasampalatayanan natin.

“Bukod pa sa siya’y tampalasan ay HANGAL pa namán sa madlang bagay; sapagka’t, kung siyasatin ang pagkagawa nang nasabing libro’y, isip ninyong hindi ang kamay nang may bait na tawo, kung di ang paa nang isang mangmang ang isinulat noon; at halos sa lahat nang fojas ay mapagmámalas na ang gumawa’y hanġal na anġal sa paghahánay nang masanghayang pananalita, along lalo na sa wikang castile: ang tutoong tanġing matatanghal doon nang sino man ay ang isang sukab at taksil na pagkapoot niyá sa ating santa Religión at sa España.”

Sa manġa talatang ito’y mapagwawari natin na wala nang mapapanġanyaya dito’t sa isang buhay na para ni Dr. Rizal kapag si Fr. José Rodriguez ang nakapag maestro sa Panginoon Dios.

Kahimanawari ay makapaghunos dili rin ang Poong-Maykapal at huag pahibo kay Fr. José Rodriguez.

II

Mabuti rin ang kilalanin natin, iyang ipinamamansang hanġal na si Dr. Rizal.

Sa Ateneo Municipal na pinamamahalaan nang manġa Pareng Jesuita ay may inilabás na minsan isang comedian castile na ang pangála’y *A Orillas del Pásig* Malilinis, maririkit at kaayaaya ang lahat nang verso, na bawa’t isang pangunġusap halos ay nagkikintal sa puso nang ikawiwili sa pagdedevoción sa mahal na Virgen.

Di magkámayaw ang pagpupuri nang madlang nanonood na noo’y doroon sampuo nang Sr. Arzobispo, na kahit matanda na, ay nakitaan nang malaking galák at pagpupuri sa manġa naririnig niyang tulá.

Natapus ang comedian na iisang acto lamang, pagkasará nang telón ay mainḡay na hiniling nang tanang nanonood ang ipakita ang autor ꝑpalabasin ang autor!

Nalaon ang híyawan, súsulíng sulíng ang manḡa Jesuitas at hindi mákita ang autor o may gawa bagá nang comedia. Nḡuni't, sa káhahanap ay doon natagpuan sa patio nang colegio at naglalaró nang reventador.

Agad ipinanhik, dinalá sa escenario, binuksán ang telón ay diyán nákita nang madlá na ang autor ay isang batang lálabinng apat na taon ang edad na kung tawagin nang manḡa kasamahán ay si Pepe Rizal.

Iyán nḡa ang sinasabíng hanḡal ni Fr. José Rodriguez.

Anák sa Calamba, provincia nang Silanḡan at buhat sa ginoo't mababait na magulang, ay isang binate nḡayon mg eedad dalawanga puo at apat hangang dalawang puo at anim na taon; banayad ang asal, mahinhíng mananamit at sa kanḡino ma'y mahinahon at magalang manḡusap.

Pagkabata na'y walang inadhiká kundi ang masikap na pagaaral, kaya't siyá ang lugod at puri nang bala nang naging maestro niyá sa Ateneo Municipal.

Nagkaroon sa Manila nang Liceo Artístico na pinagkakatiþunan nang manḡa literatong castile; at sa kaibigang maakit ang marami sa pagsulat nang obrang wikang Castila ay may certamen taon taon na binibigyan nang mahalagang premio ang obrang pinakamainam sa lahat nang iharap sa certamen.

Pinagbukod muna ang premio sa gawá nang castile at premio sa gawá nang tagalog. Pumasok ang tagalog na si Rizal ay nakuha ang premio sa Tagalog.

Nang sumunod na taón ay pinagisá na ang premio sa Castila at Tagalog: nakipanig nang batang si Rizal sa manḡa matatandá at balítang literato,

Pare at hindi Pare; nang pagparis-parisin ang kani-kanilang obra ay napatunõ ang primer premio sa batang si Rizal, at ang Segundo premio ay sa isang datihang at pinakaunõs na redactor nang Diario de Manila, na si D. N. Puzo.

Buhat na noo'y sarisaring dalamhati ang kaniyang tinangap sa pagaaral sa Universidad: kayá nã kahit di lubhang ginhawa ang kaniyang magulang ay pinagsakitan nang mailayó rito at napasa España na doon nã tinapos ang kaniyang pag-aaral, hangang sa kinaawaan nang Dios na nalikmó siyá at nabilang sa piling nang manã paham sa Universidad nang Madrid.

Kung maaalaala ninyó ang lumubog nang Diariong Tagalog, ay may inilabás diyang isang articulo ni Rizal na ang título'y "Pagibig sa Tinubuang Lupa." Sa nasabing articulo ay iniaaral ni Rizal na katungkulan nang tawong pakamahali't giliwin ang tinubuang bayan: alintanahin ang madlang kahirapan sa pagpapala sa kinamulatan nang ating matá; tuloy pagsikapang huag masanay munti man sa landás nang katuwiran at karununã upang maganap, aniyá, ang pagkakasundo at pagkakaisang loob, na iniaamong mahigpit ni Cristo sa kaniyang Amá, buhat pa niyong gabing manalanãin tigib nang kalumbayan.

Ito ang karaniwang aral ni Dr. Rizal, tingnan natin ang kinathá niyang *Noli Me Tangere*.

III

Ang bait ni Rizal na dili hubad nang umalis dito ay lalo pang naramtan nang maululan ang aralna tinangap sa España at iba't ibá pang kahariang kusa niyang nilakbay; datapua't, munti ma'y di nakalimot sa tinubuang Filipinas.

Nai-inó niyang ito'y sagana sa ikabubuhay at ikapaanyó; nãuni't, kung bakit naniniig sa pagkalugami at tutoong hulí, kapag ipinaris sa kapowa pamamayan.

At siya nãa naman. Huag na tayong lumayó, tingnan na lamang nating ang Hongkong na ating kapitbayan isang islang di pinagaanihan, maliit at pawang kabatohan; nãuni't mayaman at maginhawa nang higit dito sa Filipinas na pinagaanihan nang palay, azucal, tabaco, abacá, sibukaw, café, cacao, calap na sari-sari at ibá pang bagay.

Pinagsiyá ni Rizal na Filipinas ay may sakunang hindi ilagó; may cancer aniyang nagpapahirap at maantak salanãin, kayá naisipang kathain ang librong *Noli Me Tangere*, na bagá sa wikang Tagalog ay “Patay-Salang.”

Isang hibík, wari, ang librong itó at pinag-uupanding baká may maawang gumamot, ay matutuhan naman ang ihahatol na lunas sa sakit nang ating pamamayan.

Isá sa manãa idinadaing ni Rizal ay yaong katampalasanang kahit si Cristo'y hindi nakapagtiis na umalintana nang siya'y dirito pa.

Nanaog si Jesus sa lupang gayak sa pagbabata at pagpapatawad: nagbata nang gutom, nagbata nang uhaw at madlang siphayo; pinatawad ang adultera, pinatawad si Magdalena, pinatawad ang pagtatuwa ni Pedro, pinatawad ang tumampal sa kaniya, at pagkaparipa sa Cruz ay ang boong pagpapatawad ang kaunaunahang wikang nabigkás sa kaniyang bibig.

Nãuni't may isang bagay na hindi niya natiis: ang panãanãalakal sa templo. Ito'y hindi ipinatawad, agad linapatan nã parusa at ipinagtabuyan nang palo nang mabait na si Jesús ang nanãanãalakal sa templo.

Ang ganitong panãanãalakal sa templo ay siya ring inuulit sa Filipinas at siya rin namang ikinalalanta nang Filipinas. Ang inaasahan nang España na magtuturo sa atin ay walang inadhika kung di ang bulagin at kalakalin ang ating pananampalataya, ang nagpapangap na kahalili ni Cristo ay siyang pasimuno nang paglabag kay Cristo at walang di kinakalakal sa loob nang simbahan.

Ang cintas, calmen, cordon at iba pang bagay ay siya raw minamaganda nang mahal na Virgen at ang may suot niyan lamang ang siyang mamahalin nang Iná nang Dios; dapatapua't, kailangang bayaran sa kanila ang manġa kagayakang itó, bagay na nagpapakilala na kinakalakal nilá patí nang pagibig nang maawaing Virgen.

Kinakalakal ang purgatorio, kinakalakal ang Dios, na ayon sa kanilang aral ay hindi maaawa sa atin, kung di tayo'y tayo'y magbigay nang salapi sa manġa sacerdotes sa lupa. Kung si Judas ay naipagbiling minsán si Jesucristo ang mga Fraile sa Filipinas ay ipinagbibili siya araw araw sa pakiaw o tingi man, sapagka't dito'y pinagkakakualtahan nila hindi lamang ang boong pagka Dios at pagka tawo ni Jesus, kung di pa naman ang mata ni Jesus, ang puso ni Jesus, at iba't iba pang sangkap nang kagalang-galang na katawan niJesus.

Palibhasa'y tunay at di paimbabaw ang pagka cristiano ni Rizal ay ipinagpipighati niya ang sankalanin ang nġalan nang Poong si Cristo sa paghakot nang manġa fraile nang ating pinaghanapan; kaya nġa't, isa itó sa madlang idinadaing niya sa kanyang kinathang *Noli Me Tangere*.

Nasingaw ang baho nang nanġanġalakal, ay hindi katakakang magsabog nang poot si Fr. José Rodriguez, na isa sa mġa maraming nakikinabang sa gayong pamumuhay.

Kaya nga, kapatid ko, may isusukal ka man nang loob sa librito ni P. José ay alintanahin mo na sana at tularan natin yaong naglalakad sa lansangang may mahalagang tinutunġo na kahi't pagtahulanan man nang aso ay tuloy ang paglakad na di pinapansin ang inġay nang tahulan.

A.M.D.G.

Agosto 3 de 1888.

DOLORES MANAPAT

51. *La Solidaridad*, No. 112, September 30, 1893.
52. See REISEN / IN DEN / PHILIPPINEN / VON F. JAGOR. Berlin, 1873. Page 73.
53. *Reisen*... Page 49 and 50.
54. *Reisen*... Page 98.
55. See *Botanical Work in the Philippines*. Manila, 1903, Page 6.
56. *Botanical Work*... Page 6.
57. *Botanical Work*... Page 11.
58. *Botanical Work*... Page 22.
59. See *Prologo de la Historia de las Islas Filipinas*. Manila, 1803.
60. See *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*. Vol. I. Page 464.
61. SPECIES BLANCOANAE / CRITICAL REVISION OF THE PHILIPPINE SPECIES OF / PLANTS DESCRIBED BY BLANCO AND BY LLANOS / BY / E. D. MERRILL / ... MANILA / BUREAU OF PRINTING / 1918. In quarto, 423 pages.
62. Notes by Don León Ma. Guerrero.
63. *La Política de España en Filipinas*. Issue of July 15, 1896.
64. *M. H. del Pilar*, by Clemente J. Zulueta. *La Malasia*. Issue No. 1, of December 10, 1898.
65. *El Renacimiento*, July 3, 1903.
66. Del Pilar's writings show nothing of the poet or dreamer, as do Rizal's; he had, in some degree an "economic mind" and he was at the

outset of the active propaganda in Spain (1889) *a maturer man than Rizal*. Coming straight from the problems of actual life among his people, he stated their grievances with more practical reference to direct and immediate remedies and with special reference to the economic status... Del Pilar would have made a good representative of his people in the Cortes. THE PHILIPPINES, 1860-1898 / SOME COMMENT AND/ BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES / BY JAMES A. LEROY / One of five copies bound for the author as a separate / from "The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898" / THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY/ CLEVELAND, OHIO / 1907.

67. In the issue of *El Renacimiento* above cited.

68. *Plaridel* by Ramiro Franco. In *El Defensor de los Obrero*. Issue of August 12, 1904. Ramiro Franco is the pseudonym of Dominador Gomez.

69. Compare: Letter A of the article *More About Rizal (2nd series)*, published in *The Philippine Review*, issue of June 1917.

70. *Archivo del bibliofilo filipino*, by Wenceslao E. Retana, Fourth Volume, Page 204.

71. *La Revolución Filipina*, already cited by Apolinario Mabini. MS. Chapter V.

72. *Issue of El Renacimiento* already cited.

73. Letter of Del Pilar to *Modestia* lodge, dated Madrid, December 5, 1894. *Archivo....* Volume III, page 119.

74. Letter of Del Pilar, dated Madrid, December 17, 1894. *Archivo....* Volume IV. Page 120 and 121.

75. Article of Del Pilar entitled *Tampoco*, published in *La Solidaridad*. No. 120, January 31, 1894.

76. Letter of *Modestia* Lodge to the *Oriente Español*, of February 20, 1895. *Archivo....* Volume III, Page 127.

77. Letter of Del Pilar to *Modestia* Lodge, inserted by us in full in Chapter III of this monograph.

78. Blumentritt's words. *Consideraciones acerca de la actual situación política de Filipinas*. Barcelona 1889.

79. In Chapter V, above quoted, of *La Revolucion Filipina*.

80. Dr. Jose P. Bantug, while passing through Barcelona, took the following notes from the books of the hospital where Del Pilar received medical treatment:

“Extenuated by the disease which had been undermining that iron constitution (Del Pilar's) for some time, he was taken to the Sta. Cruz Hospital in Barcelona. At the beginning he was in the surgical ward, but, seeing that all surgical intervention was useless, they transferred him to the medical ward, the Sala de Santo Tomás, *Bed No. 11*. In this ward, distant from the beautiful country “where he had left pieces of his heart”, he died, according to Dr. Bellini, who treated him during his last days, of *general tuberculosis*, at a quarter past one in the morning of July 4, 1896.”

The death certificate is as follows:

A stamp: “12th Class—10 Cents.” —B-6.640.339

D. JULIAN CASANOVAS Y VILLA, Presbyter licensed in Sacred Theology, Receiving Officer of this Sta. Cruz Hospital, Barcelona.

I CERTIFY: That in one of the record-books of deaths on file in this office, there appears the following entry: “On July fourth, eighteen hundred and ninety-six, at a quarter past one o'clock in the morning, in this Sta. Cruz Hospital, there died, of a natural death, MARCELO DEL

PILAR GATMAYTAN, a native of BULACAN (overseas), resident of Barcelona, forty-five years of age, journalist, married to MARCIANA DEL PILAR, daughter of JULIAN AND BLASA. He received the holy sacrament. He was buried in the south-west cemetery. —(Sgd.) ESTEBAN TEIXIDO. Presbyter. Prior.”

A true copy. Barcelona, July twenty-ninth, Nineteen hundred and ten.

(Sgd.) JULIAN CASANOVAS

Prbr.

Seal:

“Hospital de Sta. Cruz.”

“Barcelona.”

81. In *El Renacimiento*, already quoted.

82. Retana does not hesitate to affirm that Dr. Sanciango was “a good economist and a politician of uncommon capacity; but that, inasmuch as he was very temperate in his work and contented himself with being a professional man and nothing else, he did not become as prominent as other Filipinos. To this the moderation of his language and careful consideration of his ideas also contributed their share.

Sr. Sanciango has a certain analogy with D. Manuel de Azcárraga, but surpasses him in knowledge. *El Progreso de Filipinas* shows its author to be a serious and sincere assimiliist; so much so that if the author did not say in the book he that he was a Filipino, he would be taken for a Spaniard. This does not mean, however, that Sanciango was not a patriot. He was as enthusiastic a patriot as any other man; but his temperament as a writer lacked that spark, that fire which distinguished Rizal, for example, and this has doubtless contributed to his not being included among the forerunners of nationalism, though he deserves it.

In the politico-administrative bibliography, Dr. Sanciango's work occupies the first place. *It studies all the subjects one by one, not only with profound judgment, but with real erudition*; its pages show how much reading was required in order to make an interesting book.

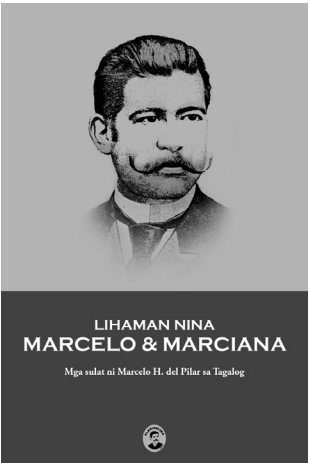
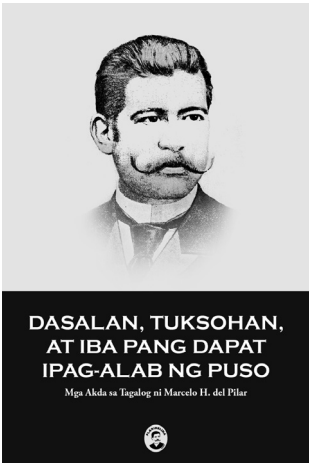
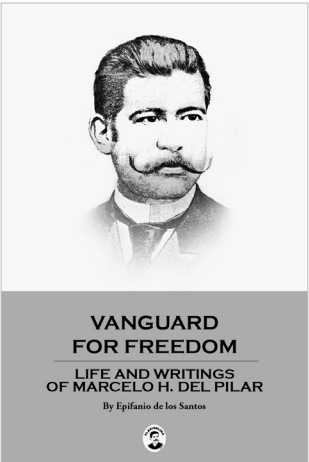
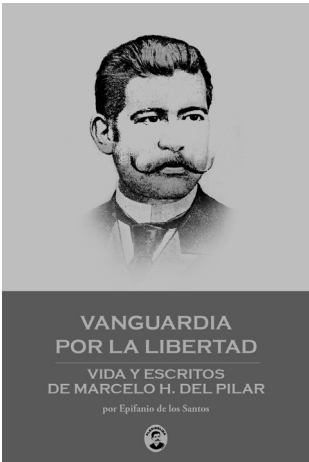
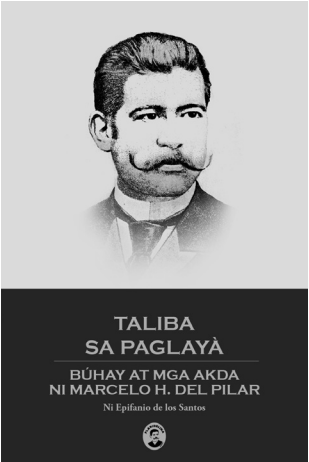
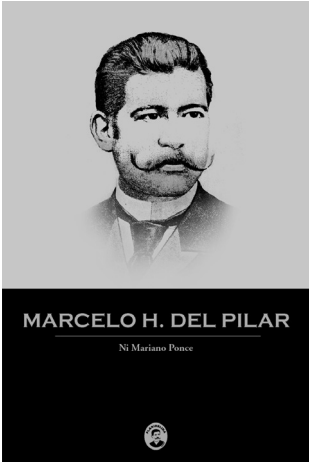
“Sr. Sanciango touches one point, entirely new as a subject: *the indolence of the Filipino*, which like so many others, he treated with real fairness, without using violent language. For Cañmaque, to whom he alludes without mentioning his name, he has the supremest contempt, which contrasts with the vehemence of others. This subject served Rizal for one of his most interesting opuscles, in which he certainly acknowledged Sr. Sanciango's priority. Sanciango was a genuine treatise-writer and was eminently Spanish, notwithstanding his program based on assimilation, was eminently Filipino, and to say this is to say all, because even the most ardent patriots who are considered as the creators of nationalism wanted more. Assimilation meant liberty and liberty was the ideal sought by the patriots. If Sanciango did not acquire more of a reputation it was, in addition to what we have said, because he avoided all boisterousness, if he had talked a great deal about the *frailocracia*, a word he never used, and if he has uttered lamentations about *tyranny*, another word that was not in his vocabulary, Sr. Sanciango would be prominent at the liberty pole. Even though he has not found a place there, the Filipinos would do well to reverse the memory of the illustrious writer who, as an author of treatises, towers prodigiously above all contemporaries among his compatriots and who, as an enlightened man, does and always will command the respect of all studious persons, be they were they may, and and be their color what it may.

“But Sanciango's merit will be the most appreciated if one briefly reflects what has become of what was wrought by Jaena, by Panganiban, by so many who were so much celebrated? Only the remembrance, the remembrance of the greater or lesser noise they made; but they left *no book*, and Sanciango left one. Hence the name of Sanciango, though it

has not been so much *noised about* as that of the others, will nevertheless, be remembered longer than that of those others.” (*Extract from a letter of Retana to the author, dated November 8, 1905.*)

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AKLAT PLARIDELINA





La Solidaridad ni Apolonio Bulaong sa Dambana ni Marcelo H. del Pilar (San Nicolas, Bulakan, Bulacan)



Ang PLARIDELINA ay itinataguyod ng iba't ibang pangkat pangkasaysayan at pangkultura sa Bulacan upang palakasin ang pag-alaala kay Marcelo H. del Pilar (MHP). Unang ginamit ni Mariano Ponce ang salitang “Plaridelina” sa ginawa niyang bibliograpiya o talaan ng mga akdang nasulat ni MHP.

Pangunahing layunin ng PLARIDELINA na pag-ibayuhin ang pag-aaral sa buhay at mga akda ni MHP sa pamamagitan ng pagtitipon ng kanyang mga inakda at muling paglalathala ng mga ito. Palalaganapin ang mga akda sa lahat ng paaralan sa lalawigan ng Bulacan bilang bahagi ng mga aklatan. Maghaharap din ng ordinansa sa Sangguniang Panlalawigan na hihimok sa lahat ng paaralan na patuloy na pag-aralan ang búhay at mga akda ni MHP. Magiging paksa sa Araling Panlipunan si MHP tuwing buwan ng Hulyo-Agosto sa mga paaralang elementarya at sekundarya; sa mga kolehiyo at unibersidad, magkakaroon ng kursong siya ang tanging pinapaksa. Sisikaping makapagpasá ng batas sa Kongreso upang lalong maisulong ang PLARIDELINA.

Los Cincos ni Apolonio Bulaong sa Dambana ni Marcelo H. del Pilar (San Nicolas, Bulakan, Bulacan)

