

Two Drafts of "Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog"

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ABSTRACT

If Bonifacio's "Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog" is compared with its Spanish translation in Retana's *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, it can be immediately concluded that the Spanish translation must have been made from a different version of Bonifacio's essay than that usually found in anthologies and collections. The Spanish translation was made from the version published in *Kalayaan*, the newspaper of the Katipunan; the *Kalayaan* version is probably a later version of what is popularly known as Bonifacio's essay. In this article, the two versions are compared, and additions and alterations to and omissions from the earlier version are identified. The reasons for the changes from the earlier version to the later version are speculated on.

KEYWORDS

Andres Bonifacio. Emilio Jacinto. Jose Rizal. *Kalayaan*. Juan Caro.

Ten years ago, while preparing a paper on Filipino perspectives of Philippine history, I decided to compare Andres Bonifacio's "Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog" with the Spanish translation of it by Juan Caro in Retana's *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*. I was immediately struck by the discrepancy between the respective opening sentences of Bonifacio's work and the Spanish translation.

[1.1]¹ *Ytong Katagalugan na pinamamahalaan ng unang panahon ng ating tunay na mga kababayan niyaong hindi pa tumutungtong sa mga lupaing ito ang mga kastila ay nabubuhay sa lubos na kasaganaan, at kaguinhawahan.*²

[1.1]³ *En estas islas, que antes fueron cuidadas por nuestros verdaderos vecinos de la Malasia, cuando aun no habían pisado esta tierra los españoles, vivían en una completa abundancia y bienestar.*⁴

Even to someone unfamiliar with both Tagalog and Spanish languages, it is obvious that there is one word in the Spanish translation missing from the Tagalog original: "Malasia." The original refers to Filipinos ruling themselves before the arrival of the Spaniards (*katagalugan* was the term used in the Katipunan for Philippine natives); the Caro translation says they were ruled by "our true countrymen" from "Malasia." Where did "Malasia" come from? The word or its Tagalog equivalent ("taga-Malasia?") must have been there in the broadsheet before Caro's eyes in which "Dapat mabatid" was printed. Jim Richardson states that Caro's translation was "undisputably made from a printed

copy of *Kalayaan*,” the newspaper of the Katipunan (4). I see no reason to doubt Richardson’s claim, but in that case, we must conclude that what has come down to us as Bonifacio’s essay was not what Caro read in *Kalayaan* and translated into Spanish.

The second sentence of the Spanish translation reinforces this impression:

[1.2] *Amigos nuestros los vecinos reinos, sobre todo el Japón, ellos llevaban el comercio, que era el mercado más abundante y donde se hallaba cuanto era necesario; por lo tanto, era el más rico...*⁵

Here is the so-called original:

[1.2] *Kasundo niya ang mga kapit bayan at lalung lalo na ang mga taga Japon. [1.3] Sila’y kabilihan at kapalitan ng mga kalakal. [1.4] Malabis ang pagyabong ng lahat ng pinagkakakitaan, kaya’t dahil dito’y mayaman...*⁶

There is no equivalent in the original to Caro’s “donde se hallaba cuanto era necesario.”

The third sentence of the Spanish translation clinches the impression that the version of “Dapat mabatid” translated by Caro is not what passes today for the original version. The Spanish translation talks about the Spaniards approaching the rulers of the *indios* and establishing friendly relations with them.

[1.3] *Pero llegaron los castillas, y se acercaron á los que mandaban y proveían á los indios y trabamos amistad con ellos.*⁷

The original makes no mention at all of the rulers: “Dumating ang mga kastila at dumulog na nakipagkaibigan” [1.4].⁸

What we have here are two versions of the same work, identical in substance but differing sufficiently in details, making it difficult to claim that one is a translation of the other. The purported original, attributed to Bonifacio, can only have been an early draft of the work printed in *Kalayaan*. The *Kalayaan* text, in effect the final draft of “Dapat mabatid,” must be a revised version of Bonifacio’s. We do not know who did the revisions, but my guess is Emilio Jacinto, the editor of the newspaper (Santos 25). It has been proposed that the Bonifacio text (and this is what I will call the purported original from now on) is actually a Tagalized version of the Spanish translation of Caro. This proposal must be rejected for the same reasons for claiming that Caro did not translate the Bonifacio text.

To what extent does the *Kalayaan* version differ from Bonifacio’s text? By not very much nor by very little either.

I have counted 35 instances of revisions in the *Kalayaan* version (henceforth what I will call the text Caro translated) vis-à-vis the Bonifacio text. This figure could be higher, as I have not counted words or phrases in the *Kalayaan* version that are not quite the same as but close enough to the Bonifacio text, such that the difference in meaning between the two texts seems better attributable to the limitations of the translator, rather than to an actual desire on the part of the editor of the Bonifacio text to alter its meaning. I have not included either what I have considered obvious mistakes in translation.⁹ By now, it should be obvious that there is a major obstacle to my work in this paper: when comparing the Bonifacio text with the *Kalayaan* version of “Dapat mabatid,” I am constrained to use a Spanish translation of the latter, as no copy of *Kalayaan* or of the Tagalog original

has survived. Obviously, I need to imagine what the Tagalog text must have been that the Spanish translates. To do so, I have made use of the Serrano Laktaw Spanish-Tagalog dictionary published in 1889.

Of these 35 instances, 23 are in the form of additions to the Bonifacio text and 10 are in the form of replacements of words or phrases with others that alter the meaning of a sentence.¹⁰ There are only 2 omissions.¹¹ Something curious about the additions to Bonifacio's text is that in 13 instances, the additions establish pairs—pairs of concepts or terms.¹² For example, where Bonifacio has only "kagalingan,"¹³ *Kalayaan* has "gloria y prosperidad" in the Spanish;¹⁴ where Bonifacio has only "binubuhay,"¹⁵ *Kalayaan* has "alimentando y sosteniendo";¹⁶ where Bonifacio has only "sa ating pagpapala,"¹⁷ *Kalayaan* has "á nuestro engrandecimiento y al bien que les hacemos."¹⁸ In addition, there is a set of two words in the Bonifacio text for which there are three terms in the Spanish translation;¹⁹ a set of three words in Bonifacio's for which there are four;²⁰ and a set of four for which there are six terms in the Spanish (see p. 113). There is also one case of a single word in the Bonifacio text having three equivalent terms in the *Kalayaan* version.²¹ The editor must have liked thinking in strings of concepts.²²

There are no long passages which have been added to or removed from Bonifacio's text. In fact, most of the additions and revisions of content come in the form of a word or phrase. It can also be said that the editor was most respectful of Bonifacio's text and reluctant to change its words. The *Kalayaan* version is a nuanced version of Bonifacio's text.

What form does this nuancing take? Above all, the changes make the text more precise. I have counted 20 instances of revision, ranging from replacing vague and general terms to refining historical allusions. Furthermore, there are 8 revisions

that appear to have rhetorical reasons behind them,²³ 3 that appear to correspond to particular ideas of the editor on Philippine society,²⁴ and 4 that seem to have as their purpose aligning the essay with the ideas of Jose Rizal.²⁵ This last type of revision actually has a higher figure, as a number of revisions for the sake of precision have their source, in my opinion, in the writings of Rizal.²⁶ My count of the revisions that invest “Dapat mabatid” with a Rizalian tone is 9.

Some of the revisions of Bonifacio’s text are as follows:

Let us first examine some pairs of terms or concepts. The Bonifacio text has “kagalingan” in one place, of which the counterpart in the Caro translation is “gloria y prosperidad.” It is possible that “prosperidad” is Caro’s translation of “kagalingan,” but there is nothing certain about this. Why add “gloria”? The immediate context of the pair is the claim that the leaders of the early natives fell prey to flattery. Compare “lalung kagalingan” with “mayor gloria y prosperidad”: the latter sounds more precise.

A second pair of terms in the Spanish translation is “palabras y lenguaje”;²⁷ the Bonifacio counterpart of this phrase is “dila.”²⁸ The context of the pair is how the Spaniards seduced the leaders of the natives. “Palabras y lenguaje” may strike the reader as synonyms, but they are not: “Lenguaje” may mean the manner of speaking, which is doubtlessly what is meant. “Palabras y lenguaje” specify the way the Spaniards seduced the natives: by word and manner of speaking. “Dila,” on the other hand, is an ambiguous metaphor.

The last pair I want to examine comes from the third paragraph of the Spanish translation, which has: “alimentando y sosteniendo con exceso y abundantemente.”²⁹ The Bonifacio text has “binubuhay sa lubos na kasaganaan,”³⁰ which, using

words from Caro, could well be translated into Spanish as “alimentando abundantemente,” except that these two words do not come one after the other in Caro. I posit that “sosteniendo con exceso” was wrongly inserted between “alimentando” and “abundantemente.” The phrase should read: “alimentando abundantemente y sosteniendo con exceso.” Assuming this emendation is correct, why add “sosteniendo con exceso”? It complements “alimentando” since it refers to the military defense the natives provided the Spaniards. In effect, “alimentando” and “sosteniendo” summarize the two benefits the natives provided the Spaniards: food and military defense.

Consider now the one instance when the Bonifacio text has a string of four concepts; its counterpart in the *Kalayaan* version has six. The Bonifacio text describes the suffering the people are undergoing at the time of its writing:

[4.1]...ngayon lagui nang guinagambala ang ating katahimikan ng umaalingawngaw na daing at pananambitan, buntun hininga at hinagpis ng makapal na ulila, bao't mga magulang ng mga kababayang...³¹

Here is the Spanish translation of the *Kalayaan* version:

[6.1]...ahora constantemente se anda resolviendo nuestra paz y sosiego, y el silencio con el eco de la súplica, el ruego y queja y el llanto y los suspiros, tristezas de la multitud de huérfanos, viudas y ancianos padres de los compatriotas y hermanos...³²

“Daing at pananambitan, buntun hininga at hinagpis” have been increased to “la súplica, el ruego y queja y el llanto y los suspiros, tristezas.” The additional concepts are “queja” and “llanto” (“sumbong” at “iyak”). Here is how the *Kalayaan* version might have been: “Daing at pananambitan, at sumbong, iyak at buntun hininga at hinagpis”—two contrasting triplets,

one referring to words, the other to sound alone. What does “Dapat mabatid” gain with the addition of “queja” and “llanto”? I think the editor was after a certain rhythm, a particular cadence, marked by the triplets. In fact, there is another triplet he introduced at the start of the sentence. “Katahimikan” in the Bonifacio text has been amplified to “paz y sosiego, y el silencio” in the *Kalayaan* version: perhaps “katahimikan at kapayapaan, at ang kawalang-imik.” I bring up this instance because the motivation behind the additions seems to be aesthetic. We must leave the door open to the possibility that the pairs the editor was so fond of served not only the purpose of precision, but also of rhetoric.

Rhetoric would likewise seem to be behind the particular revision of content that I wish to review next. The Bonifacio text has four items: [5.1] “tayo’y may sariling pagdaramdam, may puri, may hiya at pagdadamayan.”³³ The *Kalayaan* version has five items: [7.1] “nosotros también tenemos sentimientos propios, tenemos honor, dignidad, vergüenza y valor.”³⁴ The editor added “dignidad” and “kamahalan.” If the editor was Emilio Jacinto, then this is not surprising: anyone familiar with the *Cartilla* of the Katipunan knows that *ang tunay na kamahalan* was a concern of Jacinto’s.³⁵ However, at this point, this is not what I want to focus on. The editor also changed a word: we have “valor” (“tapang”) instead of “pagdadamayan” or mutual assistance. In the context of the sentence, I think *tapang* does refer to a type of “mutual assistance”—the “mutual defense” native Filipinos are ready to provide one another. But why change “pagdadamayan” to “tapang”? Perhaps because *tapang* carries a threat: mutual assistance might be understood to mean simply charity work; *tapang* means aggression against the enemy. Besides, the word contrasts dramatically with “hiya”—“tayo’y may hiya at tapang.”

Here is another example of revision of content. The Bonifacio text has [2.1] “...kinakahamok natin sampu ng

tunay na mga kababayan na aayaw pumayag na sa kanila'y pasakop";³⁶ Caro's translation has [3.1] "...entregamos hasta los hijos de nuestros compatriotas, quienes no quieren acceder á ser dominados por ellos."³⁷ Two changes are immediately noticeable. First, the *Kalayaan* version refers to the children of natives who do not want Spanish domination; second, the verb the *Kalayaan* version uses is not some Spanish word meaning "hand-to-hand combat," but rather "entregar" ("to give," "to turn in"). What is the *Kalayaan* version referring to? It must be referring to a practice of native soldiers of turning in the orphans of pagan enemy warriors to civil authorities. Why replace the Bonifacio text with this reference? The Bonifacio text is concerned with the betrayal that Filipino natives commit against their fellow Filipinos by fighting against them for Spain. The *Kalayaan* version substitutes another form of betrayal, arguably more grievous, as it places children under the very colonial domination against which the deceased parents fought.

The two omissions in the *Kalayaan* version occur in relation to a question in the Bonifacio text: [3.1] "Ngayon sa lahat ng ito'y ano ang sa mga guinawa nating paggugugol nakikitang kaguinhawahang ibinibigay sa ating Bayan?"³⁸ The Spanish translation mentions neither "ginhawa" nor "bayan." The Bonifacio text asks where the happiness (in the sense of beatitude) is, that was promised by the Spaniards to the nation. The *Kalayaan* version lowers the standards for Spanish gratitude or justice, demanding not happiness, but anything worth mentioning ("que sea digno de mencionarse"),³⁹ and while the Bonifacio text speaks with the nation in mind, the *Kalayaan* version seems to be content with anything done for anyone in the nation. There is sarcasm here.

I mentioned earlier that some revisions responded to the editor's personal view of Philippine society and its problems. I have given one example: the inclusion of "dignidad" or

“kamahalan” in the string of six qualities possessed by Filipino natives. There is another example from the same paragraph: while the Bonifacio text refers simply to “mga kababayan,” the *Kalayaan* version refers to “los compatriotas y hermanos.” For the editor, the kababayan was not simply someone who happened to live in the same country, but a kapatid—another point of advocacy of Emilio Jacinto.⁴⁰

Rizal begins and ends the *Kalayaan* version of “Dapat mabatid.” Caro’s translation of the *Kalayaan* version mentions “nuestros verdaderos vecinos de la Malasia” in the beginning, while the earlier draft simply has “ating tunay na mga kababayan.” What did the *Kalayaan* version say? “...Ating tunay na mga kababayang taga-Malasia”? This is a claim that will surprise Filipinos today. What is the source of the claim, considering there was not much to read then on pre-Hispanic Philippines? It would seem to be Morga: “...los de Manila y sus comarcas no eran naturales de la isla, sino venidos á ella, y la poblaron en tiempos atras, siendo ellos naturales Malayos, y de otras islas, y provincias remotas” (Morga 259).⁴¹ Morga is a significant source, because, as Schumacher points out, Rizal’s Morga is the source of the spirit of “Dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog” (Schumacher, *Making* 9; *Propaganda* 218-30). The quotation, however, is not about the early native rulers, but of the inhabitants of Manila and environs. The *Kalayaan* version of “Dapat mabatid” limits the immigrant Malays to the rulers of Katagalugan and implies, moreover, that they had some ascendancy of sorts over all the Philippine islands. This idea is ridiculous, if not outrageous, to us today, and yet you will find something like it implied in Aguinaldo’s proclamation of Philippine independence of June 12, 1898.⁴² Could the addition be related in some way to a point Bonifacio’s text makes towards the end: [4.6] “Ytinuturo ng katuiran ang tayo’y umasa sa ating sarili at huwag antain sa iba ang ating kabuhayan”?⁴³ Bonifacio rejects the feudalistic mind-set that makes Filipinos so accepting of Spanish vassalage; the

Kalayaan version's addition of "de la Malasia" would seem to imply that this mind-set existed even before the advent of the Spaniards. Is this also the reason why the *Kalayaan* version adds the detail (1.2) that the Spaniards approached the leaders of the native people when they sought their friendship? The problem of dependency goes way back into the past.

There are three Rizalian ideas to be found in the *Kalayaan* version, but not in the Bonifacio text. The first appears in the answer to this rhetorical question: Has Spain done anything to fulfill any of her promises? The Bonifacio text has simply "Wala kung di pawang kataksilan";⁴⁴ the *Kalayaan* version has: "Ninguna sino antes bien caprichos locos y malos tratamientos."⁴⁵ "Caprichos locos y malos tratamientos" may, of course, be understood to mean "kataksilan," but as it is, it summarizes the first part of Rizal's "Filipinas dentro de cien años" when that part discusses the attempts of Spanish society to snuff out the native society in the nineteenth century.⁴⁶ "Mga sumpung na baliw at pag-aalipusta" (my translation) fits Quiquiap and company's insults. A second idea touches on the Spaniards and native Philippine culture. The Bonifacio text accuses Spaniards of forcing natives to destroy their own culture; the *Kalayaan* version says the Spaniards forced natives to forget their own culture. The contrast is between "sinira"⁴⁷ and "olvidar."⁴⁸ The former is more dramatic, but the latter is more accurate historically. It summarizes the first part of "Filipinas dentro de cien años" which sketches the cultural change that the Philippine communities underwent.⁴⁹ The third idea describes the Spaniards in the Philippines. The Bonifacio text calls them "manlulupig," which may be correctly translated as "conqueror"; the *Kalayaan* version calls them "ladrones," "thieves." I am not aware of any text of Rizal's in which he calls the Spaniards thieves, but I do know texts in which he denies they conquered the Philippines, "except in some islands and only in a broad sense. Cebú, Panay, Luzon, Mindoro, etc., cannot be said to have been conquered"

(Morga, xxxiiin3; see also xxxiiin1). “Dapat mabatid” studiously avoids any reference to Spanish conquest. As Schumacher points out, an important part of “Dapat mabatid” is the allusion to blood compacts, which is presented as the reason why the natives supported the Spaniards (*Propaganda* 228-30). But if the Spaniards were not conquerors, then what were they? They were *magnanakaw*, people guilty of “an unlawful taking of property.”⁵⁰

The *Kalayaan* version of “Dapat mabatid” ends with Rizal. Here is the last paragraph of the Bonifacio text:

*Kaya! Oh mga kababayan! Ating idilat ang bulag na kaisipan at kusang igugol sa kagalingan ang ating lakas sa tunay at lubos na pag asa na mag tagumpay sa nilalayong kaguinhawahan ng bayang tinubuan.*⁵¹

Here is the *Kalayaan* version:

*Por lo tanto, ¡oh compatriotas, abramos los ojos de nuestro ciego entendimiento, y voluntariamente gastemos en la buena idea nuestras fuerzas y energías, en la verdadera y perfecta creencia de que venceremos y cantaremos victoria de la felicidad que se acerca al pueblo donde nacimos.*⁵²

There are a number of differences between the Bonifacio and *Kalayaan* versions. Firstly, in the *Kalayaan* version, it is not only “lakas” that is to be spent, but also “energías.” (“Tapang” is a possible translation in the Serrano Laktaw dictionary.) Secondly, these “fuerzas y energías” are to be spent not on “kagalingan,” as we read in the Bonifacio text, but rather on “la buena idea” (“sa mabuting isip” or “pag-iisip”). Thirdly, hope in Bonifacio’s draft becomes faith in the final draft, “creencia” (“conviction”). Finally, to hope in victory is added the detail of the triumphal hymn (“cantaremos victoria”) in the *Kalayaan* version, which is totally absent in the Bonifacio text. Happiness

itself ("kaguinhawahan") is described in the final draft as "que se acerca," "nalalapit." Here is my Tagalog rendering of the Spanish translation of the last paragraph:

*Kaya! Oh mga kababayan! Ating idilat ang bulag na kaisipan
at kusang igugol sa mabuting isip ang ating lakas at tapang
sa tunay at lubos na paniniwala na magwawagi tayo at
aawit ng tagumpay ng kaguinhawahang nalalapit ng bayang
tinubuan.*

I want to call your attention to the triumphal hymn that the *Kalayaan* version hopes to sing in the future. It is reminiscent of the last stanza of Rizal's poem, "A mi."

*Y si el tiempo con el laurel corona
nuestros esfuerzos, y, mi patria unida,
surge cual reina de la ardiente zona,
blanca perla del fango redimida,
entonces vuelve y con vigor entona
el himno sacro de la nueva vida,
que nosotros el coro cantaremos
aun cuando en el sepulcro descansemos.*⁵³

Now, take note of the *Kalayaan* version's transformation of Bonifacio's "kagalingan" and "pag-asa" into "idea" and "creencia," "isip" and "paniniwala." An intellectualization of the fiery rhetoric of "Dapat mabatid"? In fact, this combination of idea and belief with a triumphal hymn may be found in the central stanza of Rizal's "Mi retiro." Could that beautiful poem be the source? "Mi retiro" is dated October 1895, while "Dapat mabatid" is dated March 1896. Just a few months separate the two. However, "Mi retiro" was written for Rizal's mother: would she have shared it so soon with people outside the immediate family? And yet note what this stanza says:

*Y la tengo, y espero que ha de brillar un día
en que venza la Idea a la fuerza brutal,
que después de la lucha y la lenta agonía,
otra voz más sonora, más feliz que la mía
sabr  cantar entonces el c ntico triunfal.*⁵⁴

When the first line says “la tengo,” the antecedent of “la” is “faith,” “fe,” exactly what we find in the *Kalayaan* version. Perhaps a sister of Rizal’s could not contain her excitement over her brother’s masterpiece and smuggled a copy to other patriots, the copy eventually finding its way to Bonifacio and Jacinto and finally to “Dapat mabatid.”

Although the *Kalayaan* version adds a number of indirect references to the writings of Rizal, it would be wrong to think that Bonifacio’s original version did not bear Rizal’s influence. “Ang dapat mabatid” is a call to break the bond of vassalage to Spain, and the very idea of presenting this message at the end of a narrative of Philippine history is Rizalian. This is the reason why the revision of “manlulupig” to “magnanakaw” is more precisely a correction, not a revision, an attempt to make Bonifacio’s essay more consistent. For Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, Aguinaldo, and Bonifacio, the Philippine natives were never conquered. They were seduced into a relationship of vassalage, which eventually reduced them to the status of slaves. “Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog” is not a call to arms. It is also more than a call to end three centuries of vassalage. It is a call to forsake the feudalistic mindset that favored vassalage. That is the meaning of the following lessons from “katwiran” that appear at the end of the essay:⁵⁵

*Itinuturo ng katwiran na huwag nating sayangin ang
panahon sa pag-asa sa ipinangakong kaginhawahan na hindi
darating at hindi mangyayari.*⁵⁶

Itinuturo ng katwiran ang tayo'y umasa sa ating sarili at huwag antayin sa iba ang ating kabuhayan.

Itinuturo ng katwiran ang tayo'y magka-isang-loob, magka-isang-isip at akala, at nang tayo'y magkalakas na maihanap ang naghaharing kasamaan sa ating Bayan.⁵⁷

These three lessons are interrelated. All of them have something to do with renewing the mind, changing the mentality of people so that they become more self-reliant. The first lesson considers the treacherousness of the Spaniard who cannot be relied on for any good thing for the Philippine native. However, the *Kalayaan* text introduces a revision. Bonifacio's text describes the "ipinangakong kaguinhawahan" as "hindi darating at hindi mangyayari." The *Kalayaan* text says it will not come "porque es imposible," "because it is impossible." This correction is profound. The point being made is that *kaguinhawahan* in society has to be achieved by that society itself, and not by someone else on that society's behalf. This opposes the belief that *my* happiness will come only because someone will give it to *me*, someone rich and powerful, some savior, some patron. The second lesson is the nub of Bonifacio's message: "umasa sa ating sarili." He has put his finger on the problem: the mentality of dependency, *ang isip-alipin*. This is the strongest, simplest, and clearest statement and analysis of the feudal mindset to be found in the Philippines. There is nothing in Rizal as clear as this statement, nor in the *Cartilla* of Emilio Jacinto. For this alone "Ang dapat mabatid *at maunawaan* ng mga tagalog,"⁵⁸ (italics mine) as *Kalayaan* puts the title of the piece, deserves to count among the foundational documents of Philippine society. What the essay has to say is not mere *kabatiran* (information), but something demanding—*pag-unawa*. The third lesson: For a society to progress, it is necessary that its members have one heart and one mind. But for what reason? In Bonifacio's text, what follows is so easily misinterpreted by readers: "at nang tayo'y magkalakas na maihanap ang naghaharing kasamaan sa

ating Bayan.” The typical (and wrong) interpretation is that this refers to the treacherousness of the Spaniard. But the word “maihanap” means that the “naghaharing kasamaan sa ating Bayan” is not seen, and is there anyone who will claim that the failure of the Spaniards to fulfill their promises was not plain? The “naghaharing kasamaan” is, in fact, the feudalistic mindset, and the reason everyone is enjoined to have one heart and mind is because this kasamaan, found everywhere in the Philippine society, among both rich and poor, is difficult to recognize as evil and cannot be overcome except with everyone’s cooperation.

At the end of “Dapat mabatid,” when he lists the consequences of the lessons of *katwiran*, Bonifacio describes the new Filipino, the Filipino freed from the feudalistic mindset: “May sariling pagdaramdam,” meaning a Filipino who is not impervious to insults; “may puri,” meaning a Filipino who is zealous in his good reputation; “may hiya,” meaning a Filipino who is not going to do anything immoral, unethical, or demeaning; “may pagdadamayan,” this is key and in my opinion superior to the *Kalayaan* version’s “tapang.” Filipinos do not need patrons to supply their needs because they help one another. In Bonifacio’s last paragraph, he says, “Ating idilat ang bulag na kaisipan at kusang igugol sa kagalingan ang ating lakas.” “Kagalingan” in Bonifacio is synonymous to the common good and, once again, superior to the *Kalayaan* version’s “buena idea.” “Ang dapat mabatid ng mga tagalog” is not a museum piece; it is—unfortunately—as relevant today as it was almost a hundred twenty years ago. What should we tell thousands upon thousands of our countrymen who vote for *trapo* candidates every three years, if not “Itinuturo ng katwiran ang tayo’y umasa sa ating sarili at huwag antayin sa iba ang ating kabuhayan”?

APPENDIX

[BONIFACIO TEXT NUMBERED ACCORDING TO PARAGRAPHS AND SENTENCES]⁵⁹

ANG DAPAT MABATID NG MGA TAGALOG

attributed to Andres Bonifacio

- [1] [1]Ytong Katagalugan na pinamamahalaan ng unang panahon ng ating tunay na mga kababayan niyaong hindi pa tumutungtong sa mga lupaing ito ang mga kastila ay nabubuhay sa lubos na kasaganaan, at kaguinhawahan. [2]Kasundo niya ang mga kapit bayan at lalung lalo na ang mga taga Japon. [3]Sila'y kabilihan at kapalitan ng mga kalakal. [4]Malabis ang pagyabong ng lahat ng pinagkakakitaan, kaya't dahil dito'y mayaman. [5]Mahal ang kaasalan ng lahat. [6]Bata't matanda at sampung mga babae ay marunong bumasa at sumulat ng talagang pagsulat nating mga tagalog. [7]Dumating ang mga kastila at dumulog na nakipagkaibigan. [8]Sa mabuti nilang hikayat na di umano, tayo'y aakain sa lalung kagalingan at lalung imumulat ang ating kaisipan, ang nasabing nagsisipamahala ay nangyaring nalamuyot sa tamis ng kanilang dila sa paghibo. [9]Gayon man sila'y ipinailalim sa talagang kaugalian ng mga tagalog na sinaksihan at pinapagtibay ang kanilang pinagkayarian sa pamamagitan ng isang panunumpa na kumuha ng kaunting dugo sa kanikanilang mga ugat, at yao'y inihalu't ininom nila kapua tanda ng tunay at lubos na pagtatapat na di magtataksil sa pinagkayarian. [10] Yto'y siang tinatawag na "Pacto de Sangre" ng haring Sikatuna at ni Legaspi na pinakakatawan ng hari sa España.
- [2] [1]Buhat ng ito'y mangyari ay bumibilang na ngayon sa tatlong daang taon mahiguit na ang lahi ni Legaspi ay ating binubuhay sa lubos na kasaganaan, ating pinagtatamasa at binubusog, kahit

abutin natin ang kasalatan at kadayukdukan; iguinugugol natin ang yaman, dugo at sampu ng buhay sa pagtatangol sa kanila; kinakahamok natin sampu ng tunay na mga kababayan na aayaw pumayag na sa kanila'y pasakop, at gayon din naman nakipagbaka tayo sa mga Ynsik at taga Holanda na nagbalang umagaw sa kanila nitong Katagalugan.

- [3] [1]Ngayon sa lahat ng ito'y ano ang sa mga guinawa nating paggugugol nakikitang kaguinhawahang ibinibigay sa ating Bayan? [2]Ano ang nakikita nating pagtupad sa kanilang kapangakuan na siang naging dahil ng ating paggugugol! [3]Wala kung di pawang kataksilan ang ganti sa ating mga pagpapala at mga pagtupad sa kanilang ipinangakung tayo'y lalung guiguisingin sa kagalingan. [4]Ay! Bagkus tayong binulag, inihawa tayo sa kanilang hamak na asal, pinilit na sinira ang mahal at magandang ugali ng ating Bayan; Yminulat tayo sa isang maling pagsampalataya at isinadlak sa lubak ng kasamaan ang kapurihan ng ating Bayan; at kung tayo'y mangahas humingi ng kahit gabahid na lingap, ang naguiguing kasagutan ay ang tayo'y itapon at ilayo sa piling ng ating minamahal na anak, asawa at matandang magulang. [5]Ang bawat isang himutok na pumulas sa ating dibdib ay itinuturing na isang malaking pagkakasala at karakarakang nilalapatan ng sa hayop na kabangisan.
- [4] [1]Ngayon wala ng maituturing na kapanatagan sa ating pamamayan; ngayon lagui ng guinagambala ang ating katahimikan ng umaalingawngaw na daing at pananambitan, bunton hininga at hinaggis ng makapal na ulila, bao't mga magulang ng mga kababayang ipinanganyaya ng mga manlulupig na kastila; ngayon tayo'y malunod na sa nagbabahang luha ng Ina na nakitil na buhay ng anak, sa pananangis ng sanggol na pinangulila ng kalupitan na ang bawat patak ay katulad ng isang kumukulong tinga, na sumasalang sa mahapding sugat ng ating pusong nagdaramdam; ngayon lalut lalu tayong nabibiliran ng tanikala ng pagkaalipin, tanikalang nakalalait sa bawat lalaking

may iniingatang kapurihan. [2]Ano ang nararapat nating gawin? [3]Ang araw ng katuiran na sumisikat sa Silanganan, ay malinaw na itinuturo sa ating mga matang malaong nabulagan ang landas na dapat nating tunguhin, ang liwanag niya'y tanaw sa ating mga mata, ang kukong nag-akma ng kamatayan alay sa ating ng mga ganid na asal. [4]Ytinuturo ng katuiran, na wala tayong iba pang maaantay kundi lalut lalung kahirapan, lalut lalung kataksilan, lalut lalung kaalipustaan at lalut lalung kaalipinan. [5]Ytinuturo ng katuiran, na huag nating sayangin ang panahon sa pagasa sa ipinangakong kaguinhawahan na hindi darating at hindi mangyayari. [6]Ytinuturo ng katuiran ang tayo'y umasa sa ating sarili at huwag antain sa iba ang ating kabuhayan. [7]Itinuturo ng katuiran ang tayo'y magkaisang-loob, magkaisang-isip at akala at ng tayo'y magkalakas na maihanap ang naghaharing kasamaan sa ating Bayan.

- [5] [1]Panahun na ngayong dapat na lumitaw ang liwanag ng katotohanan; panahon ng dapat nating ipakilala na tayo'y may sariling pagdaramdam, may puri, may hiya at pagdadamayan. [2]Ngayon panahon ng dapat simulan ang pagsisiwalat ng mga mahal at dakilang aral na magwawasak sa masinsing tabing na bumubulag sa ating kaisipan; panahun na ngayong dapat makilala ng mga tagalog ang pinagbuhatan ng kanilang mga kahirapan. [3]Araw na itong dapat kilalanin na sa bawat isang hakbang natin ay tumutuntong tayo at nabibingit sa malalim na hukay ng kamatayan na sa ati'y inuumang ng mga kaaway.
- [6] [1]Kaya! Oh mga kababayan! Ating idilat ang bulag na kaisipan at kusang igugol sa kagalingan ang ating lakas sa tunay at lubos na pag-asa na magtagumpay sa nilalayong kaguinhawahan ng bayang tinubuan.

[KALAYAAN VERSION NUMBERED ACCORDING TO PARAGRAPHS
AND SENTENCES]

LO QUE DEBEN SABER Y ENTENDER LOS INDIOS
[Ang dapat mabatid at maunawaan ng mga tagalog]

attributed to Andres Bonifacio with revisions by Emilio Jacinto(?)
translated into Spanish by D. Juan Caro y Mora

- [1] [1] En estas islas, que antes fueron cuidadas por nuestros verdaderos vecinos de la Malasia, cuando aun no habían pisado esta tierra los españoles, vivían en una completa abundancia y bienestar. [2] Amigos nuestros los vecinos reinos, sobre todo el Japón, ellos llevaban el comercio, que era el mercado más abundante y donde se hallaba cuanto era necesario; por lo tanto, era el más rico y las costumbres de todos más sanas; todos, jóvenes y viejos, y hasta las mujeres, sabían leer y escribir, según nuestro modo y clase de escritura. [3] Pero llegaron los *castillas*, y se acercaron á los que mandaban y proveían á los indios y trabamos amistad con ellos. [4] Por su hábil sugestión, que decían que venían á conducirnos á mayor gloria y prosperidad, y que nos abrirían más los ojos de nuestra inteligencia, los dichos gobernantes que había se dejaron seducir por lo dulce de sus palabras y lenguaje para adular. [5] No obstante esto, les pusieron bajo la costumbre propia de los indios, en que atestiguaban y probaban y afirmaban su pacto por medio de un juramento de paz, en el que se tomaba un poco de sangre de sus respectivas venas, y mezcladas ambas, la bebían ambos en señal de verdadera y perfecta alianza, que no había de hacerse traición al pacto hecho, convenido.
- [2] [1] Esto era lo que llamaron el *Pacto de sangre* entre el rey indio Sicutuna y Legazpi, que representaba al rey de España.

- [3] [1] Desde entonces ya pueden contarse trescientos años largos en que la raza de Legazpi la estamos alimentando y sosteniendo con exceso y abundantemente; la regalamos y hartamos, aunque nosotros nos hallamos necesitados y escasos; gastamos las riquezas, la sangre, hasta la vida para defenderla; entregamos hasta los hijos de nuestros compatriotas, quienes no quieren acceder á ser dominados por ellos; asimismo tambien hemos guerreado o luchado con los chinos, con los olandeses, quienes pretenden arrebatarles estas islas.
- [4] [1] Ahora, después de todo esto, ¿qué es lo que hemos recibido de ella por tanto gasto que sea digno de mencionarse? [2] ¿Qué promesa nos han hecho que veamos cumplida y sea por la que hagamos estos desembolsos? [3] Ninguna, sino antes bien caprichos locos y malos tratamientos. [4] La correspondencia y retribución á nuestro engrandecimiento y al bien que les hacemos y al cumplir lo que han prometido, nosotros seremos mas avisados y nos despertarán para el bien, y lo contrario es lo que han hecho, pues nos han cegado, mas nos han pervertido con sus malas costumbres; nos han obligado á olvidar, haciendo desaparecer las nobles y hermosas costumbres de nuestro pueblo; nos han abierto los ojos á una fe errónea, arrojando al derrumbadero de la maldad el honor de nuestro pueblo, y si nos atrevemos á pedir no sea más que como un acto de compasión, nos contestan con echarnos, arrojándonos lejos del lado de nuestros queridos hijos, de nuestras esposas y queridos padres.
- [5] [1] Cada sollozo que exhala nuestro pecho le bautizan con el nombre de pecado, y acto seguido, le aplastan con una crueldad feroz.
- [6] [1] Ahora, ya no hay quien indique igualdad en nuestros habitantes; ahora constantemente se anda resolviendo nuestra paz y sosiego, y el silencio con el eco de la súplica, el ruego y quejo y el llanto y los suspiros, tristezas de la multitud de huérfanos,

viudas y ancianos, padres de los compatriotas y hermanos, causados por los *ladrones españoles*; ahora nos hundimos ya en el torrente de lagrimas de la madre que llora la muerte del hijo, en el llanto del niño que quedó huérfano por la maldad, que la viuda es gota como de plomo derretido que cae en la herida escociendo en nuestro corazón sensible; ahora más que nunca estamos rodeados de la cadena de la esclavitud, cadena que ofende y denigra á cualquier hombre que tiene honor... [2] ¿Qué es lo que debemos hacer? [3] El día de la justicia que sale por el Oriente está claro y nos enseña á nuestros ojos que hace tiempo se halla cerrado el camino que debemos emprender; nos hace ver á nuestros ojos de lejos su claridad, las uñas con que agarra la muerte y la sujeta, y nos lo ofrece con fieras costumbres. [4] Enseña la justicia que no tenemos otra cosa de esperar sino padecer siempre más y más, más y más ferocidades, más y más escarnios y más y más esclavitud. [5] Enseña la justicia que no despreciamos el tiempo esperando la felicidad prometida, que no llegará, porque es imposible. [6] Enseña la justicia el que nosotros fíemos en nosotros mismos y no esperemos en nadie más, en lo que respecta á nuestra vida. [7] Enseña la justicia el que estemos en paz y opinemos de un mismo modo, llevándonos bien y guardándonos nuestros respectivos derechos para que estemos fuertes y caiga el rey de la maldad en nuestro pueblo.

- [7] [1] Hora es ya en la que debe brillar la luz de la verdad; tiempo es ya en el que debemos dar á conocer que nosotros también tenemos sentimientos propios, tenemos honor, dignidad, vergüenza y valor... [2] Ahora ya es tiempo de empezar á propagar las nobles y grandes doctrinas que rompen el tupido velo que ofusca y ciega la vista de nuestra inteligencia; tiempo es ya en el que debe conocer el indio la procedencia de los trabajos que lo agobian; día es este en que debe conocer que á cada paso nuestro nos ponemos ya al borde profundo de la fosa ó sepultura de la muerte con que nos amenazan los enemigos. [3] Por lo tanto, ¡oh compatriotas, abramos los ojos de nuestro ciego

entendimiento, y voluntariamente gastemos en la buena idea nuestras fuerzas y energías, en la verdadera y perfecta creencia de que venceremos y cantaremos victoria de la felicidad que se acerca al pueblo donde nacimos.—

Agap-ito Bagum-bayan

NOTES

- ¹ The first digit of the figure in brackets indicates the paragraph in the Jose P. Santos edition. The second digit indicates the sentence within the paragraph. Thus, “[1.1]” means the first sentence of the first paragraph.
- ² “This Katagalugan that used to be governed in early times by our own true countrymen when the Spaniards had not yet set foot on this soil lived in complete abundance and well-being.” [All translations from Tagalog in this paper are mine.]
- ³ The first digit of the figure in brackets indicates the paragraph in the copy in Retana’s *Archivo*.
- ⁴ “In these islands which used to be governed by our true countrymen from Malaya, when the Spaniards had not yet set foot on this land, people used to live in complete abundance and well-being.” [All translations from the Spanish in this paper are mine.] A paper read at “Alay at Laya: Conference on Bonifacio and Mabini” on April 25, 2014, at the Rizal Library of the Ateneo de Manila University. An early version was presented at “Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Bayan,” a seminar and workshop for History and Social Studies Teachers, University of Asia and the Pacific, Pasig City, Philippines, November 8, 2013.

- 5 “Our friends the neighboring kingdoms, above all Japan, they traded [with us]. It was a very abundant market where one found everything needed; therefore, it was the richest.”
- 6 “It was at peace with neighboring countries and especially with the Japanese. We bought and exchanged merchandise with them. Everything that sold well increased greatly, because of which it was rich.”
- 7 “But the *kastilas* arrived and they approached those who ruled and provided for the needs of the natives and we established friendship with them.”
- 8 “The Spaniards arrived and approached seeking friendship.”
- 9 Such as the widow (“viuda”) that pops up in 6.1 of the Spanish translation: “en el llanto del niño que quedó huérfano por la maldad, que la viuda es gota como de plomo derretido.” The Bonifacio text gives what should be the general sense of the passage: “sa pananangis ng sanggol na pinangulila ng kalupitan na ang bawat patak ay katulad ng isang kumukulong tinga.” Where did “viuda” come from? I suspect that the *Kalayaan* version had something like “sa pananangis ng sanggol na pinangulila ng kalupitan na ang *nagbabalong na* bawat patak ay katulad ng isang kumukulong tinga” (italics mine). *Balong* (to well up) was confused by Caro with *balo* (widow).
- 10 [2.1] kinakahamok natin sampu ng tunay na mga kababayan → [3.1] entregamos hasta los hijos de nuestros compatriotas; [3.3] Wala kung di pawang kataksilan → [4.3] Ninguna, sino antes bien caprichos locos y malos tratamientos; [3.4] pinilit na sinira ang mahal at magandang ugali ng ating Bayan → [4.4] nos han obligado á olvidar, haciendo desaparecer las nobles y hermosas costumbres de nuestro pueblo; [3.4] matandang magulang → [4.4] queridos padres; [4.1] mga manlulupig na kastila → [6.1] los ladrones españoles; [4.4] kataksilan → ferocidades; [5.1] pagdadamayan → [7.1] valor; [6.1] sa kagalingan → [7.3] en la buena idea; [6.1] pag asa → [7.3] creencia; [6.1] sa nilalayong kaguinhawahan ng bayang tinubuan → [7.1] la felicidad que se acerca al pueblo donde nacimos.

- 11 Compare [3.1] “Ngayon sa lahat ng ito’y ano ang sa mga guinawa nating paggugugol nakikitang kaguinhawahang ibinibigay sa ating Bayan?” with [4.1] “Ahora, después de todo esto, ¿qué es lo que hemos recibido de ella por tanto gasto que sea digno de mencionarse?” The Spanish translation has no translation for either “kaguinhawahan” or “Bayan.”
- 12 Here are ten pairs, not including the three that follow in the main text: [1.8] dila → [1.4] palabras y lenguaje; [2.1] nakipagbaka → [3.1] guerreado o luchado; [3.3] ganti → [4.4] correspondencia y retribución; [3.3] tayo’y lalung guiguisingin sa kagalingan → [4.4] nosotros seremos mas avisados y nos despertarán para el bien; [4.1] nakalalait → [6.1] ofende y denigra; [4.1] kababayan → [6.1] compatriotas y hermanos; [5.2] bumubulag → [7.2] ofusca y ciega; [6.1] lakas → [7.3] fuerzas y energías; [6.1] magtagumpay → [7.3] venceremos y cantaremos victoria; [4.3] nag-akma → [6.3] agarra...y...sujeta.
- 13 “well-being”
- 14 “fame and prosperity”
- 15 “supporting”
- 16 “feeding and defending”
- 17 “to the good we do them”
- 18 “glorification and good we do them”
- 19 [1.9] sinaksihan at pinapagtibay → [1.5] atestiguaban y probaban y afirmaban
- 20 [5.1] may puri, may hiya at pagdadamayan → [7.1] honor, dignidad, verguenza y valor
- 21 [4.1] katahimikan → [6.1] paz y sosiego, y el silencio

- 22 Additions that do *not* come in strings of concepts are: [1.1] de la Malasia; [1.2] donde se hallaba cuanto era necesario; [1.3] á los que mandaban y proveían á los indios; [4.4] y lo contrario es lo que han hecho; [6.1] ancianos; [6.7] llevándonos bien y guardándonos nuestros respectivos derechos
- 23 The two omissions in [4.1]; the additions in 4.1 (“ancianos”) in 4.4 (“y lo contrario es lo que han hecho”); [4.1] katahimikan → [6.1] paz y sosiego, y el silencio; [5.1] may puri, may hiya at pagdadamayan → [7.1] honor, dignidad, verguenza y valor; [4.4] kataksilan → ferocidades
- 24 [4.1] kababayan → [6.1] compatriotas y hermanos; [1.2] donde se hallaba cuanto era necesario; [1.3] á los que mandaban y proveían á los indios
- 25 [6.1] magtagumpay → [7.3] venceremos y cantaremos victoria; [6] sa kagalingan → [7.3] en la buena idea; [6] pag-asa → [7.3] creencia; [6.1] sa nilalayong kaguinhawahan → [7.1] la felicidad que se acerca
- 26 [1.1] de la Malasia; [6.7] llevándonos bien y guardándonos nuestros respectivos derechos; [3.3] Wala kung di pawang kataksilan → [4.3] Ninguna, sino antes bien caprichos locos y malos tratamientos; [3.4] pinilit na sinira ang mahal at magandang ugali ng ating Bayan → [4.4] nos han obligado á olvidar, haciendo desaparecer las nobles y hermosas costumbres de nuestro pueblo; [4.1] mga manlulupig na kastila → [6.1] *los ladrones españoles*
- 27 “words and speech”
- 28 “tongue”
- 29 “feeding and defending [them] to excess and abundantly”
- 30 “supporting [them] in great abundance”
- 31 “...now our peace is constantly broken by the echoes of complaints and pleas, sighs and lamentations of the crowd of orphans, widows and the parents of our countrymen...”

- 32 "...now our peace and tranquillity and the silence is constantly being broken by the echoes of supplications, prayers and complaints and the wails and sighs, the sorrows of a crowd of orphans, widows, and old parents of our countrymen and brothers..."
- 33 "we have feelings; we have a good name; we have self-respect and mutual assistance"
- 34 "we also have feelings, we have honor, dignity, self-respect and bravery"
- 35 See his *Cartilla*: "Ang kamahalan ng tao'y wala sa pagkahari, wala sa tangus ng ilong at puti ng mukha, wala sa pagkaparing kahalili ng Dios, wala sa mataas na kalagayan sa balat ng lupa; wagas at tunay na mahal na tao, kahit laking gubat at walang nababatid kundi ang sariling wika, yaong may magandang asal, may isang pangungusap, may dangal at puri; yaong di napaaapi't di nakikiapi; yaong marunong magdamdam at marunong lumingap sa bayang tinubuan."
- 36 "we engage in hand-to-hand combat even our own countrymen who refuse to fall under them"
- 37 "we turn in even the children of our countrymen who do not want to consent to fall under them"
- 38 "Now in return for everything we have done spending ourselves for them what happiness has the nation received?"
- 39 "that is worthy of mention"
- 40 See his "A la patria":
Pero si la victoria favorece al hispano
y adversa te es la suerte en la actual ocasión,
no importa: seguiremos llamándonos "hermano,"
que habrá libertadores mientras haya tirano,
la fé vivirá mientras palpita el corazón.

- 41 “the people of Manila and its surroundings were not natives of the island, but had come to them, and settled it in times past, being native Malays, and from other islands and remote provinces”
- 42 “...el [Miguel Lopez de Legazpi] desembarcó en la Ysla de Bohol haciendo también el celebre pacto de sangre de amistad con su Rey Sikatuna para despues de tomar por fuerza á Cebú, porque el sucesor de Tupas no le consintió ocuparlo, venir á la Capital de Manila como así hizo, granjeando igualmente la amistad de sus Reyes Soliman y Lakandola y tomando despues posesión de ella por todo el Archipiélago para España...” (“Acta...”, facsimile reproduction).
- 43 “Reason teaches us to depend on ourselves and not expect to receive from others what we need to live.”
- 44 “nothing but treachery”
- 45 “nothing but rather wild caprice and ill treatment”
- 46 “Llegados a este estado el rebajamiento moral de los habitantes, el desaliento, el disgusto de sí mismo, se quiso dar entonces el ultimo golpe de gracia, para reducir a la nada tantas voluntades y tantos cerebros adormecidos, para hacer de los individuos una especie de brazos, de brutos, de bestias de carga, así como una humanidad sin cerebro y sin corazón. Entonces díjose, dióse por admitido lo que se pretendía, se insultó a la raza, se trató de negarle toda virtud, toda cualidad humana, y hasta hubo escritores y sacerdotes que, llevando el golpe más adelante, quisieron negar a los hijos del país no sólo la capacidad para la virtud, sino también hasta la disposición para el vicio” (Rizal, “Filipinas,” 137).
- 47 “to destroy”
- 48 “to forget”
- 49 “Comenzó entonces una nueva era para los Filipinos. Perdieron poco a poco sus antiguas tradiciones, sus recuerdos; olvidaron su escritura,

sus cantos, sus poesías, sus leyes, para aprenderse de memoria otras doctrinas, que no comprendían... (Rizal, *ibidem*).

- 50 The Proclamation of Independence of 1898 refers to Spanish assumption of rule over the Philippine Islands as “la adquisición visiosa de bienes de particulares,” that is, theft (“Acta...”, facsimile reproduction).
- 51 “And so, my countrymen, let us open the eyes of our blind minds and willingly spend our strength for the common good in the true and perfect hope of winning the so desired freedom from want of the native land.”
- 52 “Therefore, O countrymen, let us open the eyes of our blind intellect and willingly spend our strength and courage on the good thought in the true and perfect belief that we will win and sing the victory of the happiness that draws near to our native land.”
- 53 “And if time with the laurel crowns/ our efforts, and my country, united,/ rises like a queen from the ardent zone,/ white pearl redeemed from the mud,/ then return and vigorously intone/ the sacred hymn of the new life,/ that we the chorus will sing/ even when resting in our sepulchres.”
- 54 “And I have it, and I expect that the day will shine/ when the Idea will defeat brute force,/ when after the struggle and the slow agony,/ another voice more sonorous, happier than mine,/ will know how to sing at that moment the triumphal song.”
- 55 I have modernized the spelling of and added punctuation to the excerpts from Bonifacio’s text which follow.
- 56 “Reason teaches us not to waste time waiting for the promised freedom from want which will not come and will not happen.”
- 57 “Reason teaches us to be of one heart, one mind and belief, so that we may be encouraged to search for the evil ruling our nation.”
- 58 “What the native Filipinos should know and understand”

- 59 Text from the Jose P. Santos edition. I have occasionally introduced punctuation (full stops, commas, and apostrophes) and spelled as one word, words that were split into two (usually, words whose prefix was separated from the root word).

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