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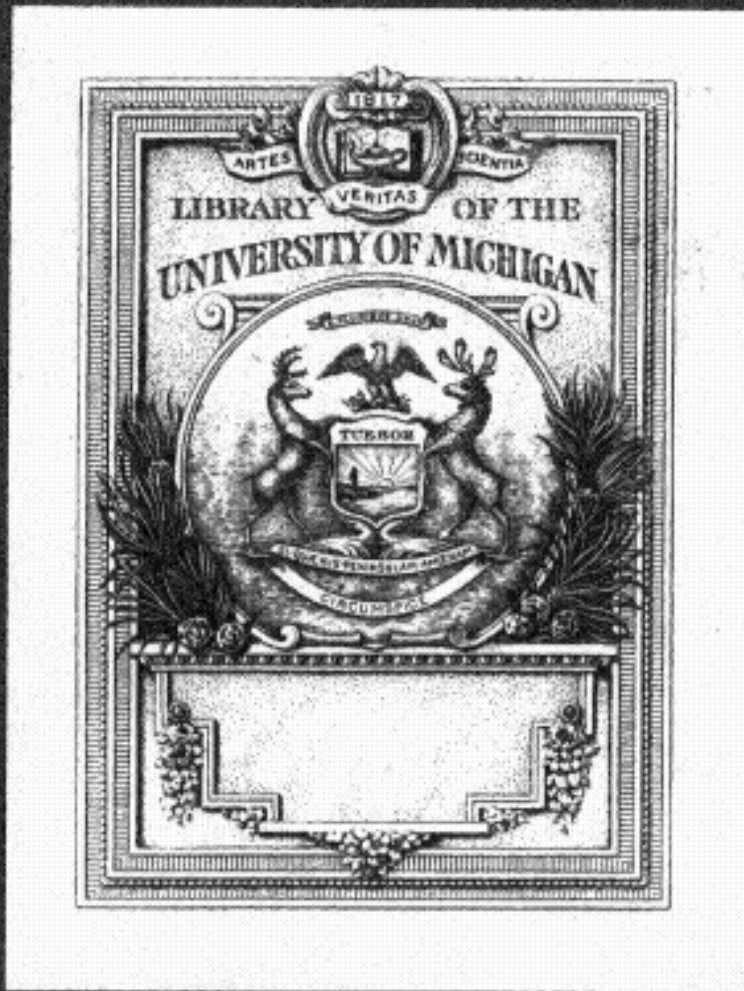


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A GUIDE BOOK
ON
The Philippine Question

PREPARED BY
MAXIMO M. KALAW
*Secretary of the Philippine Mission
to the United States*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

1919

NOTE.—After reading, kindly place this booklet in your files. It may come in handy for reference purposes when the Philippine question comes before Congress for final solution.

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THE PHILIPPINES TO AMERICA

The Filipino people would not be just to themselves if at this moment, when their political separation from the sovereign country is being proposed, they should fail to express in the clearest and most emphatic manner the sentiments and purposes that inspire their action. They therefore deem it their duty to affirm: That independence, instead of destroying or weakening, will strengthen the bonds of friendship and appreciation created by the gratitude of the Filipino people, not only for the final measure of complete justice and humanity that they confidently expect, but for all the previous disinterested work so splendidly performed for the benefit of the Philippines by so many faithful sons of America; that this gratitude will be the first fundamental factor in the future relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands; that in the present state of the international affairs the Filipino people merely aspire to become another conscious and direct instrument for the progress of liberty and civilization; that in the tranquil course of their years of constitutional development they will maintain, for all people inhabiting their hospitable land, the essence and benefit of democratic institutions; that they will continue to associate, in so far as this will be acceptable and their strength will permit, in the work of reconstruction, justice, and peace carried on by the United States in continuation of those other undertakings, the high purpose of which was the cause, according to President Wilson, "of the magnificent cooperation during the war between the American and Filipino peoples"; and, finally, that in thus preserving their best traditions and institutions in the new situation which will strengthen and perfect them, the Filipino people will continue to make this country, as heretofore, a safe place of law and order, justice and liberty, where Americans and foreigners, as well as Nationals, may live peacefully in the pursuit of happiness and prosperity, and safe in the enjoyment of their property as well as of their rights and their liberty.—Statement of the Commission of Independence of the Philippine Congress.



Cocoanut trees on the beach; a typical scene of the Philippines.

Geographical Location and Area of the Philippines

The Philippine Archipelago lies north of the Dutch and British Island of Borneo and the Dutch Island of Celebes, south of the Japanese Island of Formosa, and east of French Indo-China, the British colony of Hongkong, and the southern provinces of the Republic of China. It runs from five degrees north latitude to twenty-two degrees north latitude, and is entirely in the tropics. Authorities have stated that an isosceles triangle, approximately 500 miles on its base and 1,000 miles on the sides, would enclose all except the Sulu group of coral islands.

Within this figure there are 3,141 islands, in sizes from the tiny islet, inhabited only by strange tropical birds, to Luzon, with its millions of people. Luzon has an area greater than the entire state of Pennsylvania. The total land area of the Philippine Archipelago is 120,000 square miles. This is in excess of the combined areas of the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. It is 7,000 square miles larger than Great Britain. Luzon, in the north, has 46,969 square miles. Mindanao has approximately 36,292 square miles. Ten islands, Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Negros, Cabu, Pansy, Leyte, Bohol, Mindoro, and Masbate, contain more than 10,000 square miles each, or 6,400,000 acres. Twenty of the islands have between 100 and 1,000 square miles each. Seventy-three of the islands contain between 10 and 100 square miles each, 262 islands between 1 and 10 square miles, and 2,775 islands, seven-eighths of all, contain less than one square mile each.

The Philippine Islands have a mildly tropical climate. The nights are cool and sunstrokes are unknown. The temperature record for the past thirty years shows an average of 80°. The recorded death rate per 1,000 whites in Manila for 1917 was 8.8 as compared with 16.5 for New York, 15 for San Francisco, 14 for Chicago, 18 for Glasgow, and 22 for Belfast.



The Luneta, Manila. One of the delightful features of Manila life is the band concert given by the Constabulary band every evening on the Luneta.

Population

A census was taken early this year (1919), and while the complete reports have not yet been finished, the official estimate cabled to the War Department by the Director of the Census is as follows:

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Christian population | 10,000,000 |
| Non-Christian population | 500,000 |
| Total | 10,500,000 |

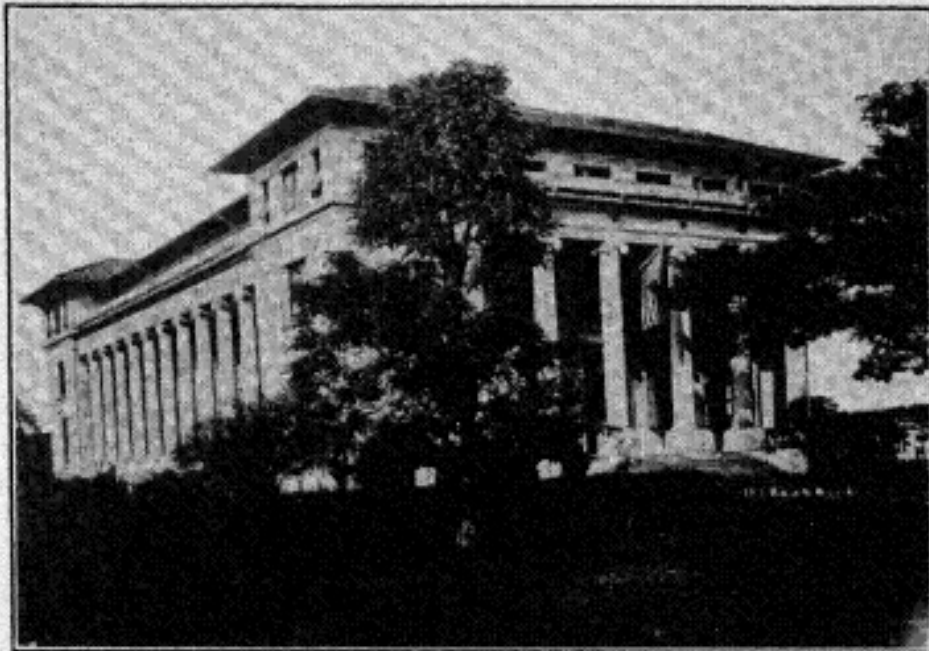
Of this population over 1,750,000 males are qualified voters.

Native Civilization Prior to Spanish Occupation

The Philippines were discovered by Magellan in 1521. In 1565 the Spaniards made the first permanent settlement at Cebu. In 1570 they occupied Manila and were in control of the islands until 1898, the year of American occupation.

"The inhabitants of the Philippines possessed a culture of their own prior to the coming of the Spaniards to the islands. Those along the coasts were the most advanced in civilization. Their material wealth was considerable. The chief occupations were agriculture, fishing, weaving, some manufacturing, and trade both inter-island and with the mainland, generally in the form of barter. They were expert navigators. They used standard weights and measures. The year was divided into twelve lunar months. They had a peculiar phonetic alphabet, wrote upon leaves, and had a primitive literature. The majority of the people are said to have been able to read and write." (Justice George A. Malcolm, "The Government of the Philippine Islands," pp. 27 and 28.)

"The inhabitants of these islands were by no means savages,



University Hall, of the University of the Philippines.

entirely unreclaimed from barbarism before the Spanish advent in the sixteenth century. They had a culture of their own." (John Foreman, an English scholar.)

"They had already reached a considerable degree of civilization at the time of the Spanish conquest." (Ferdinand Blumentritt, an Austrian professor.)

"Upon the arrival of the Spaniards, they found the ancestors of the present-day Filipinos in possession of considerable culture, which is somewhat comparable to that of some of the mountain peoples of today." (Dr. James A. Robertson, an American scholar.)

"The Filipino people, even in pre-historic times, had already shown high intelligence and moral virtues and intelligence clearly manifested in their legislation, which, taking into consideration the circumstances and the epoch in which it was framed, was certainly as wise, as prudent, and as humane as those of the nations then at the head of civilization." (Judge Romualdez, a Filipino scholar.)

Schools During the Spanish Regime

As early as 1866, out of a population of 4,000,000 people, there were 841 schools for boys and 833 for girls. In 1892, eight years before the coming of the Americans, there were 2,137 schools. There were also, during the Spanish regime, colleges and universities where professional training was given. The colleges were: University of Santo Tomas, Manila, established in 1611 (twenty-five years older than Harvard); San Juan de Letran, Municipal Antaeum, Normal School, College of San Jose, the Nautical School, the School of Commercial Accounting, the Academy of Painting and Drawing, and many other private schools, fourteen of which were in Manila, while others in the provinces must also be reckoned. There were seminaries in Manila, Nueva-Segovia, Cebu, Jaro and Nueve-Caceres, where all branches of secondary instruction were



Typical Scene on the Pangasinan Road.

taught in addition to those which constituted the studies for the priesthood. (Data from the American Census of 1903.)

Progress of the Filipinos During the Spanish Regime

The famous French explorer of the Pacific, La Perouse, who was in Manila in 1787, wrote: "Three million people inhabit these different islands, and that of Luzon contains nearly a third of them. These people seemed to me no way inferior to those of Europe; they cultivate the soil with intelligence, they are carpenters, cabinet-makers, smiths, jewelers, weavers, masons, etc. I have gone through their villages and I have found them kind, hospitable, and affable." (*"Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde,"* Paris, 1797, II, p. 347.)

Coming down nearly a generation later, the Englishman Crawford, the historian of the Indian Archipelago, who lived at the court of the Sultan of Java as British Resident, said: "It is remarkable that the Indian administration of one of the worst governments of Europe, and that in which the general principles of legislation and good government are least understood,—one, too, which has never been skillfully executed, should, upon the whole, have proved the least injurious to the happiness and prosperity of the native inhabitants of the country. This, undoubtedly, has been the character of the Spanish connection with the Philippines, with all its vices, follies, and illiberalities; and the present condition of these islands affords an unquestionable proof of the fact. Almost every other country of the (Malay or Indian) Archipelago is, at this day, in point of wealth, power, and civilization, in a worse state than when Europeans connected themselves with them three centuries back. The Philippines alone have improved in civilization, wealth, and

populousness." ("History of the Indian Archipelago," etc., by John Crawford, F. R. S. Edinburgh, 1820, Vol. ii, pp. 447, 448.)

The German naturalist Jagor, who visited the Islands in 1859-1860, wrote: "Assuming the truth of the above sketch of pre-Christian culture, which has been put together only with the help of defective linguistic sources, and comparing it with the present, we find, as a result, a considerable progress, for which the Philippines are indebted to the Spaniards." ("Travels in the Philippines," Eng. Ed., p. 151.)

The Austrian professor, Ferdinand Blumentritt, wrote in *La Solidaridad* of October 15, 1899, to this effect: "If the general condition of the civilization of the Tagalos, Pampangos, Bicoles, Bisayans, Ilocanos, Cagayanes, and Sambales is compared to the European constitutional countries of Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Greece, the Spanish-Filipino civilization of the said Indian districts is greater and of larger extent than of those countries."

Finally, writing from historical perspective, the foremost American scholar on the Philippines gives the following résumé of the results of the Spanish administration: "The Spaniards did influence the Filipinos profoundly, and on the whole for the better. There are ways, indeed, in which their record as a colonizing power in the Philippines stands today unique in all the world for its benevolent achievement and its substantial accomplishment of net progress. We do not need to gloss over the defects of Spain; we do not need to condone the backward and halting policy which at last turned the Filipinos against Spanish rule, nor to regret the final outcome of events, in order to do Spain justice. But we must do full justice to her actual achievements, if not as ruler, at any rate as teacher and missionary, in order to put the Filipinos of today in their proper category." (Le Roy: "Philippine Life in Town and Country," 1905, p. 6, 7.)

The Philippine Republic of 1898 as Viewed by Some American Officials

John Barrett, now director of the Pan-American Union, saw the Philippine Republic in operation, and described it as follows:

"It is a government which has practically been administering the affairs of that great island, 'Luzon,' since the American possession of Manila, which is certainly better than the former administration. It had a properly formed Cabinet and Congress, the members of which, in appearance and manners, would compare favorably with the Japanese statesmen."

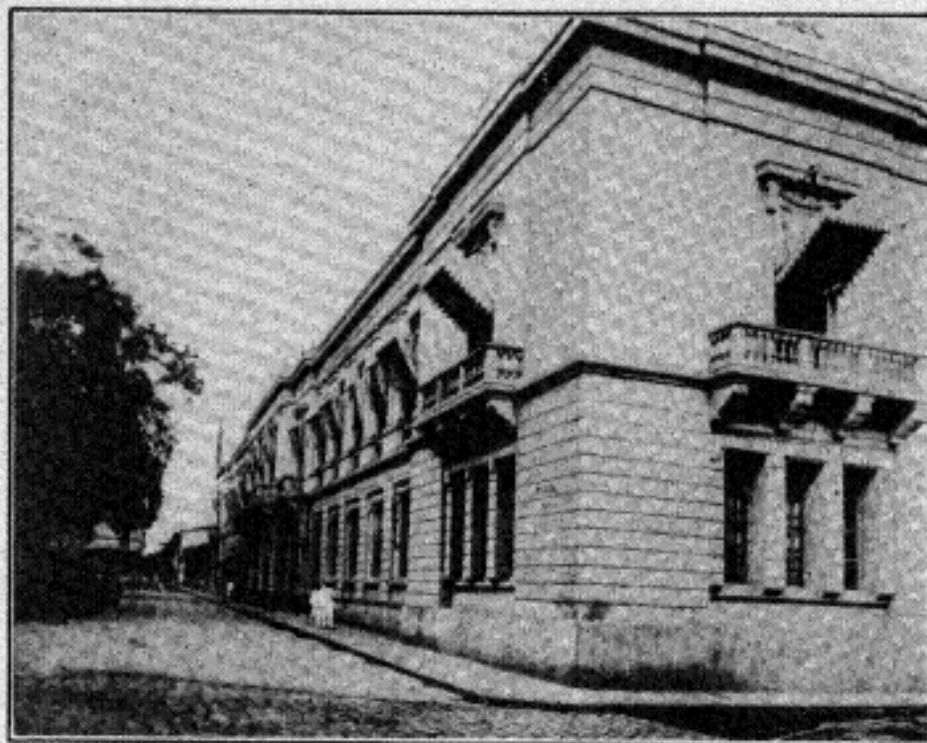
Admiral Dewey, after studying Philippine conditions during the Spanish-American War, spoke of the Filipinos as follows:

"In my opinion, these people are far more superior in intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba. I am familiar with both races."

General Merritt, on his arrival in Paris in October, 1898, was reported as saying:

"The Filipinos impressed me very favorably. I think great injustice has been done to the native population. . . . They are more capable of self-government than, I think, the Cubans are. They are considered to be good Catholics. They have lawyers, doctors, the men of kindred professions, who stand well in the community, and bear favorable comparison to those of other countries. They are dignified, courteous and reserved."

General Merritt states in his report (Vol. I, Part 2, War Depart-



Ayuntamiento Building, Manila, where the offices of the Central Government of the Philippines are located.

ment report for 1898) that Aguinaldo had "proclaimed an independent government, republican in form, with himself as President, and at the time of my arrival in the Islands the entire edifice of executive and legislative departments had been accomplished, at least on paper."

General Anderson says: "We held Manila and Cavite. The rest of the island was held not by the Spaniards, but by the Filipinos. On the other islands, the Spaniards were confined to two or three fortified towns." ("Our Rule in the Philippines," 170, *No. Am. Rev.*, Feb., 1900, p. 281.)

"His (Aguinaldo's) success was not in the least astonishing, as after the various islands had driven out the few remaining and discouraged soldiers of their openly declared enemy, they naturally turned to Luzon for some form of central government, the islands of the south being well aware of their inability to maintain successful separate and distinct political establishments. The crude one in process of formation in central Luzon offered itself through its visiting agents and was accepted in part (notwithstanding race animosities and divergent business interests), and very probably because no other alternative was offered. The eight months of opportunity given the ambitious Tagalo by the hold on Spain which the United States maintained was sufficient also for him to send his troops and designing men into the distant provinces and hold the unarmed natives in subjection while he imposed military authority, and thus in December, 1898, we find in Northern and Southeastern Luzon, in Mindoro, Samar, Leyte, Panay, and even on the coast of Mindanao and in some of the smaller islands, the aggressive Tagalo present in person, and, whether civilian or soldier, supreme in authority."

(Report of General Otis, August 21, 1899, quoted in Harper's "History of the War in the Philippines," pp. 99, 100.)

"It is little short of marvellous how rapidly the insurrection has gained ground in this short time, and how extensive and successful the operations of the army have been. The insurgents managed in a very few weeks to besiege and capture numerous small Spanish positions in the provinces, and they completely overran the whole Island of Luzon, together with seven adjacent islands." (F. D. Millet: "The Filipino Republic," September 16, 1898, printed in Harper's "History of the War in the Philippines," pp. 65, 66.)

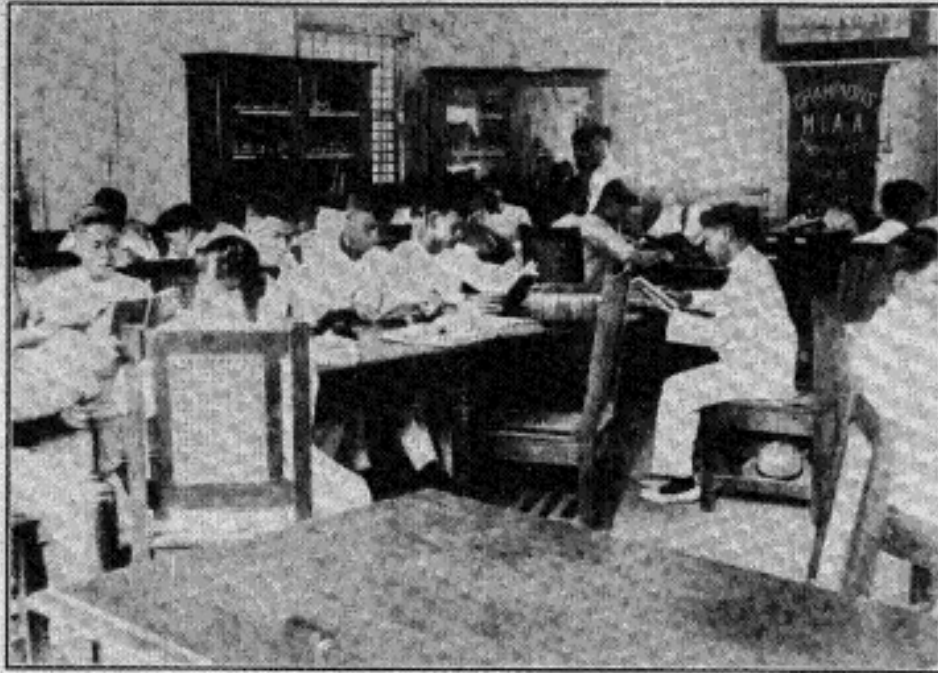
"By December, 1898, the revolutionary government was in control of almost the entire archipelago." (McKinley: "Island Possessions of the United States," p. 234.)

"The revolutionary government was universally recognized throughout the islands, except in Manila and seaports still held by the Spanish." (Edwin Wildman: "Aguinaldo—A Narrative of Filipino Ambitions," p. 142.)

Albert G. Robinson, the Philippines correspondent for the *New York Evening Post*, during portions of 1899 and 1900, expresses the opinion that "the Philippine Islands, with the exception of the besieged city of Manila, were virtually in the hands of the Filipinos."

And again to the same effect that "it is now known that at the time of the arrival of the American army in Manila in June, 1898, almost the entire area of the Philippines, practically all with the exception of one or two of the larger coast cities, was in the hands of the insurgents. Not only were they in control of the country; they were administering its political affairs as well. This they continued to do for the greater part of the island throughout the following year, practically until the autumn of 1899. Up to that time the territory occupied by the forces of the United States in the Island of Luzon was confined to a very limited area in the vicinity of Manila, with a filamentary extension northward for some fifty or sixty miles along the Manila-Dagupan railway. Very much the same condition obtained on the other islands. One thing is certain: although greatly disturbed by the conditions of war, this territory was under some form of governmental administration."

Finally quoting a letter of his, dated September 27, 1899, to the *New York Evening Post*, he states: "There is one point which I think is not generally known to the American people, but which is a very strong factor in the question of Filipino self-government, both now and in any future position. In the West Indies the greater number of offices and official positions were filled by Spaniards, either native-born or from the Peninsula. In the Philippines the percentage of available Spaniards for minor positions was vastly less than that shown in the West Indian colonies. The result was that while the more prominent and more profitable offices in the Philippines were filled by Spaniards, many of the minor offices in the larger cities and most of those in the country were held by Filipinos. Therefore, when the Filipino party assumed the government for those districts which the Spaniards evacuated, the Filipinos had a system of government in which Filipinos held most of the positions, already established for their purposes. It was but necessary to change its head and its name. Instead of being dominated by the agents of Alfonso XIII, *por la gracia de Dios y de la Constitucion Rey catolico de Espana*, the same machinery was set in motion and controlled first by the dictatorial government and then by the Philippine revolutionary government, under the constitution proclaimed on June 23, 1898.



Library, Philippine School of Arts and Trades, Manila. The Philippine public schools own 1,200 school libraries, all of which are open to the public.

This fact simplified matters for the Filipinos and gave them the ground upon which they make their assertion of maintaining a successful administration in those provinces which they occupied." (Robinson: "The Philippines: The War and the People," pp. 48, 282, 403, 303.)

Leonard Sargent, a naval cadet, and W. B. Wilcox, paymaster of the Navy, after traveling over the Island of Luzon, at that time wrote a report of their trip, which was referred by Admiral Dewey to the Navy Department with the indorsement that it was "the most complete information obtainable." Mr. Sargent remarked:

"Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet, it cannot be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months, it stood alone between anarchy and order.

"As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security, and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new regime."

President Taft on Filipino Character and Capacity

Speaking of the Filipinos, Mr. Taft said, in his special report to the President of the United States, in 1908:

"The friars left the people a Christian people—that is, a people with western ideals. They looked toward Rome, and Europe, and America . . . It is the only Malay or oriental race that is Chris-

tian. They were not like the Mohammedan or Buddhist, who despise western civilization as inferior . . . They learn easily and the most striking fact in our whole experience in the Philippines is the eagerness with which the common Filipino agricultural laborer sends his children to school to learn English. There is no real difference between the educated and ignorant Filipino that cannot be overcome by the education of one generation. They are a capable people in the sense that they can be given a normal intellectual development by the same kind of education that is given in our common school system."

During the Philippines Committee hearings conducted by the American Senate (1914) Mr. Taft said:

"The word 'tribe' gives an erroneous impression. There is no tribal relation among them. There is a racial solidarity among the Filipino people, undoubtedly. They are homogeneous. I cannot tell the difference between an Ilocano and a Tagalog, or a Visayan. The Ilocanos, it would seem to me, have something of an admixture of the Japanese blood; the Tagalogs have rather more of the Chinese; and it seems to me that the Visayans had still more. But to me all the Filipinos were alike."

Mr. Taft is of the opinion that the Filipinos are better prepared for self-government than the Cubans.

"In the Philippines the ultimate prospect for self-government is better than in Cuba for the reason that the economic conditions are better adapted to building up an intelligent middle class because there is a much greater division of land among the people." (Phil. Committee Hearings, 1914, p. 383.)

The American Colonies in 1776 and the Philippines of Today

"Let him who scoffs at the impossibility of Philippine progress without even awaiting events make a comparison between the United States, when she adopted her Constitution, and the Philippines if she be permitted to ratify hers. In 1790 the number of inhabitants in the United States was under four million. The Philippines have double this. Of the American inhabitants, nearly one-fifth were negroes. The Philippines have nowhere near this proportion of non-Christians. Of the American inhabitants, the ancestors of eight-tenths were probably English and a homogeneous part of the community. Of the Filipinos, at least as large a percentage are of one race. Of the Americans, the intellect of the people was little developed. The graduating classes of all the colleges in 1789 counted up to about 170. The graduating classes of one university in the Philippines exceed this number. In economic conditions the United States were little advanced, although the country abounded in natural resources. The same statement can be written for the Philippines." (Justice Geo. A. Malcolm: "Government of the Philippine Islands," pp. 250.)

In ante-Revolutionary days, members of the British House of Lords and House of Commons held no very flattering views of American ambitions and capacity. They were termed "egregious cowards." Their manners and ways of living were ridiculed. It was prophesied that if Great Britain abandoned the colonies, they must soon sue for succor or be overrun by every small state. A philippic by an Englishman in 1820 reads:

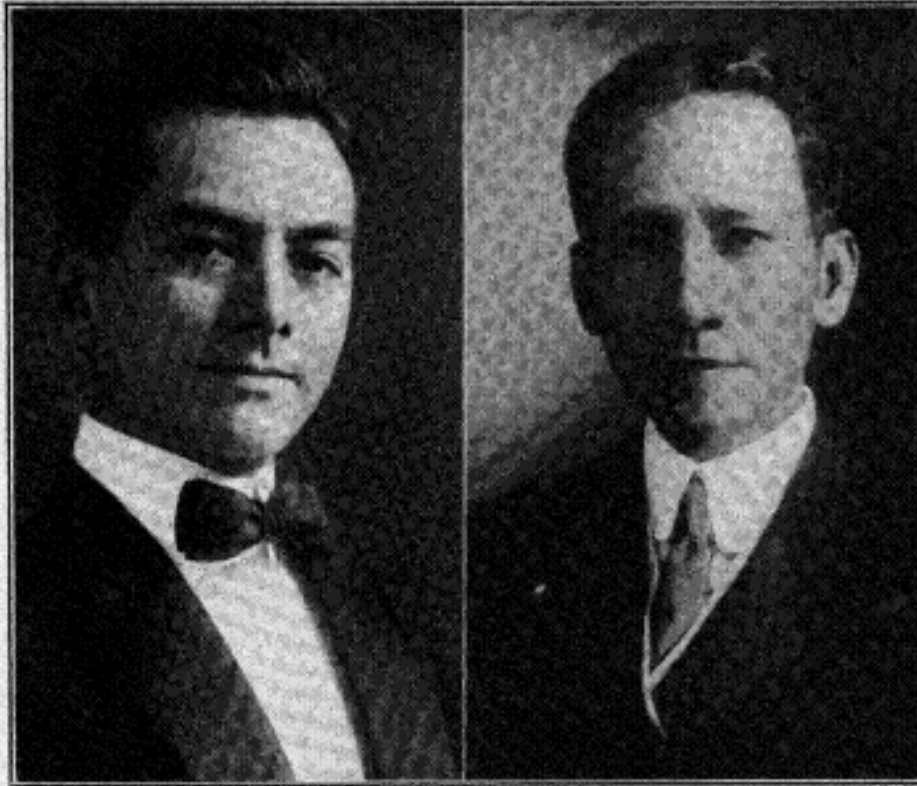
"Since the period of their separation, a far greater proportion of their statesmen and artists and political writers have been for-

eigners, than ever occurred before in the history of any civilized and educated people. During the thirty or forty years of their independence, they have done absolutely nothing for the Sciences, for the Arts, for Literature, or even for statesman-like studies of Politics or Political Economy. Confining ourselves to our own country, and to the period that has elapsed since they had an independent existence, we would ask: Where are their Foxes, their Burkes, their Sheridans, their Windhams, their Horners, their Wilberforces?—where their Arkwrights, their Watts, their Davys?—their Robertsons, Blairs, Smiths, Stewarts, Paleys and Malthuses?—their Porsons, Parrs, Burneys, or Bloomfields?—their Scotts, Campbells, Byrons, Moores, or Crabbes?—their Siddonses, Kembles, Keans, or O'Neils?—their Wilkies, Laurences, Chantryes?—or their parallels to the hundred other names that have spread themselves over the world from our little island in the course of the last thirty years, and blest or delighted mankind by their works, inventions, or examples? In so far as we know, there is no such parallel to be produced from the whole annals of this self-adulating race. In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans?—what have they done in the mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets? Finally, under which of the old tyrannical governments of Europe is every sixth man a slave, whom his fellow-creatures may buy and sell and torture?" (Rev. Sydney Smith: "Who Reads an American Book," Vol. xxxiii, *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1820, pp. 78-80, printed in Hart: "American History Told by Contemporaries," Vol. iii, pp. 512-514. See also Mrs. Frances Milton Trollope, "Domestic Manners of the Americans," sec. ed., 1832, Vol. i, pp. 48-188.)

"No true American would concur with these biased assertions. But remembering—ponder the present greatness of the Republic—and ponder the black pictures which the misanthropic have drawn of these isles. No false hopes should be aroused by Filipinos from the foregoing parallel. At least it is interesting as preaching charity and as showing possibilities." (Justice George A. Malcolm, "Government of the Philippine Islands." pp. 250, 251, 252.)

The Philippine Independence Movement

After the armed opposition to the United States was put down the Filipino people began a peaceful campaign for independence. At first this movement was not an organized one, because in the early years of American occupation a law had been passed by the Philippine Commission prohibiting all agitation for independence. The only political party which could very well exist under these conditions was the Federal party, which advocated statehood and permanent annexation to the United States. This party, however, soon saw the unpopularity of its stand, for it could not find supporters either in the Philippines or in the United States, and so as soon as conditions permitted the advocacy of separation, it left out the statehood plan and advocated independence after a period of preparation. In the meanwhile a strong independence party had been formed called



The two most prominent Filipino leaders, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, and Sergio Osmena, Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives.

the Nationalist party, and at the first national election to the Philippine Assembly in 1907 this party obtained popular favor, for out of the eighty representatives elected there were only fifteen members of the old Federal party—this notwithstanding the fact that the Federal party had changed its platform and advocated independence.

If there were any doubt as to the attitude of the Filipino people on independence, this was dispelled by the attitude of the Philippine Assembly, the first national representative body to be convoked following American occupation. At the end of the first session this representative body unanimously ratified the closing address of Speaker Osmena on the question of independence. The Speaker, in part, had said:

"Permit me, gentlemen of the Chamber, to declare solemnly before God and before the world, upon my conscience as a deputy and representative of my compatriots, and under my responsibility as President of this Chamber, that we believe the people desire independence, and that we believe ourselves capable of leading an orderly existence, efficient both in internal and external affairs, as a member of the free and civilized nations."

By virtue of the Organic Act of the Philippines passed by Congress in 1902, the Philippine Assembly was allowed to send a representative to Washington to voice the aspirations of the Filipino people. In 1907 the Hon. Pablo Ocampo was sent to Washington as Resident Commissioner, who, in pursuance of the mandate of the Assembly, advocated the independence of the Philippines. His successor, the

Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, who was Resident Commissioner from 1909 to 1916, continued with great vim and vigor the campaign for independence in the United States. In 1911 the Democratic party, which had advocated independence, secured control of the House, and the following year the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs reported a bill providing for a qualified independence for eight years and for complete independence in 1921. In 1914 a bill was passed by the House of Representatives providing for independence as soon as a stable government could be established in the islands. The bill, however, was crowded out of the calendar in the Senate and failed to be passed. The independence movement was constantly gaining ground, and two years afterwards, in February, 1916, when Congress again took up the Philippine question, the Senate passed the so-called Clarke Amendment, which would grant the Philippines independence within four years, although the time might be extended upon the advice of the President to Congress. The Clarke Amendment had the support of the Filipino people. It was contended in the House of Representatives, however, that it would be unwise to set a definite date for independence, for nobody knew what the contingency would be at the time. What the House did was simply to re-pass the bill it had passed in 1914, promising in its preamble that the Philippines should be granted their independence "as soon as a stable government could be established therein." The Senate receded from its position and passed the House bill, which thus became the formal pledge of the American nation to the Filipino people.

In the meanwhile the independence movement in the Philippines was constantly growing. A group separated itself from the Nationalist party, believing that the party did not work hard enough for independence, and this group called itself the Third party. The old Federal party had been converted into the Progressive party, and was now advocating early independence. The two opposing parties were soon merged into one party called the Democratic party, charging the Nationalist party of being unfaithful to the people and not doing all it could for the independence of the Philippines. It advocated a more radical measure for the Philippines, and was reluctant in accepting the Jones law, which simply promised independence as soon as a stable government could be established in the islands. President Wilson had given the Filipino people a larger amount of autonomy through the appointment in 1913 of a majority of Filipinos in the Upper House, or Philippine Commission, and this step gave the Filipinos virtual autonomous powers in their domestic affairs. The Jones law, which promised independence, ratified this presidential step and gave the Filipinos a completely elective legislature composed of a Senate and House of Representatives, and practically gave them control of the Executive Departments. Today there are only two Americans in the political departments of the Philippine Government.

From the passage of the Jones law in 1916 to the ending of hostilities in Europe, the Filipino people refrained from all agitation in favor of independence. Their reason was America's entry in the war. (See "Filipino Loyalty During the War," page 29.)

The "Declaration of Purposes" of the Philippine Legislature

Now that the war is ended and the task of international reconstruction has begun, the Filipino people believe that the time has



The Philippine Mission to the United States. Photograph taken on steps of State, War and Navy Bldg., Washington, D. C., April 4, 1919, following presentation of the independence resolutions of the Philippine legislature to Secretary of War Baker. Front row, left to right: Dionisio Jakosalem, Secretary of Commerce and Communications; Rafael Palma, Secretary of the Interior and Vice-Chairman of the Mission; Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War of the United States; Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate and Chairman of the Philippine Mission; General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff of the United States Army; Tomas Earrshaw, prominent Manila business man; General Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and Francis Burton Harrison, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands.

come for the final solution of the Philippine independence problem. They claim that the condition which the United States required precedent to the recognition of their independence—the establishment of a stable government—is already fulfilled. On November 1, 1918, the Philippine Legislature passed a concurrent resolution creating a “Commission of Independence” to be composed of the presiding officers of both houses of the Legislature and other members of the Legislature, for the purpose of considering and reporting to the Legislature:

“(a) Ways and means of negotiation now for the granting and recognition of the independence of the Philippines.

“(b) External guarantees of the stability and permanence of said independence as well as of territorial integrity.

“(c) Ways and means of organizing in a speedy, effectual and orderly manner a constitutional and democratic internal government.”

One of the first actions of the Commission of Independence was to recommend the sending of a special Philippine Mission to the United States. This recommendation was approved by the Philippine Legislature in Joint Resolution No. 11, and forty prominent Filipinos representing both houses of the Legislature, commercial, industrial, agricultural and labor interests, presided over by Senate President Manuel L. Quezon as chairman, and Secretary of the Interior Palma as vice-chairman, were sent to the United States. The opposition party was represented by its president, Hon. Emiliano T. Tirona.

On March 7, 1918, the Philippine Legislature passed a Declaration of Purposes which would serve as instructions or guides to the Commission of Independence and the Philippine Mission to the United States. The Declaration of Purposes, in part, reads thus:

Declaration of Purposes

“The Philippine question has reached such a stage that a full and final exchange of views between the United States of America and the Philippine Islands has become necessary. We need not repeat the declarations respecting the national aspirations of the Filipino people. Such declarations have been made from time to time in the most frank and solemn manner by the constitutional representatives of the Philippine nation and are a matter of permanent record in public documents covering more than a decade of persistent efforts, particularly during the last three years. America, on her part, has been sufficiently explicit in her purposes from the beginning of her occupation of the Philippines.

“In submitting the Philippine question to the Government and people of the United States, the Commission of Independence will find it unnecessary to refer to the natural acerbity of the situation, or to the anxiety of our people which two decades of occupation have only served to accentuate. The steadfastness of our position is not due to mere sentiment, but to the justice of our cause, sanctified by the laws of God and nature not only, but admitted in the promises solemnly made by the United States and accepted by the Philippines. Although attention should respectfully be invited to the fact that the Filipino people have never renounced their independence, not even in the moments of the greatest adversity brought about by the enforced or voluntary submission of their own leaders, yet the Commission of Independence in dwelling upon



One of the 4,000 school gardens cultivated by pupils enrolled in the public schools of the Philippine Islands.

the promises made, will unreservedly, and with the deepest gratitude, recognize that they were made freely and generously to a small and powerless people after they had suffered defeat in the field of battle. The deliberate attitude of our country, in reposing confidence in those promises and laboring peacefully in pursuance thereof, must also be asserted. Thus, after the rupture of relations occasioned by three years of war, during which the right of the Filipinos to their independence was disputed, unsuccessfully so far as they were concerned, violence gave way to harmony, and hostility to cooperation; and thanks to the growing influence of the new conditions of peace, Americans and Filipinos, who a short time ago fought each other and stained the Philippine soil with blood, undertook jointly together, on the basis of a friendly undertaking, a magnificent labor which has been carried on with the orderly progress of liberty and self-government.

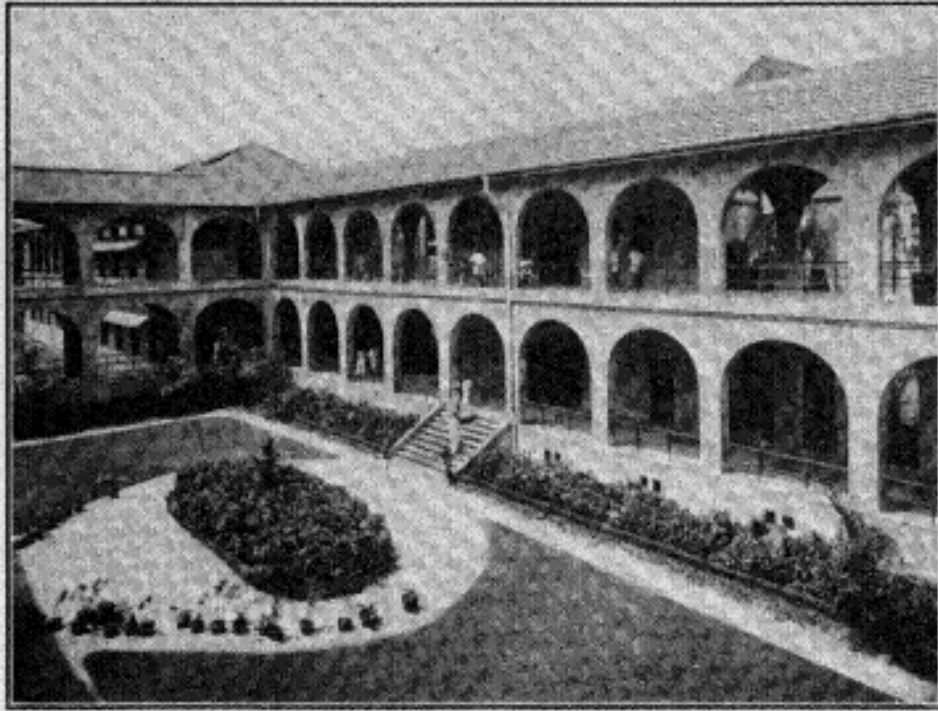
"Now, in applying the principles enunciated in documents and utterances on the Philippines to the conditions now existing in the islands, the Commission of Independence will find the following facts:

"That there exist at present in the Philippine Islands the conditions of order and government which America has for nearly a century and a half required in all cases in which she has recognized the independence of a country or the establishment of a new government.

"That there exist likewise in the Philippines all the conditions of stability and guarantees for law and order that Cuba had to establish to the satisfaction of America in order to obtain her independence, or to preserve it, during the military occupation of 1898-1902 and during the intervention of 1906-1909, respectively.

"That the 'preparation for independence' and the 'stable government' required by President Wilson and the Congress of the United States, respectively, contain no new requisite not included in any of the cases above cited.

"That these prerequisites for Philippine independence are the



A glimpse of the court of the General Hospital, Manila.

same as those virtually or expressly established by the Republican administrations that preceded President Wilson's administration.

"That during the entire time that the Filipino people have been with America, they have been living in the confidence that the American occupation was only temporary and that its final aim was not aggrandizement or conquest, but the peace, welfare, and liberty of the Filipino people.

"That this faith in the promises of America was a cardinal factor not only in the cooperation between Americans and Filipinos during the years of peace, but also in the cooperation between Americans and Filipinos during the late war.

"That the condition of thorough development of the internal affairs of the country and the present international atmosphere of justice, liberty, and security for all peoples are the most propitious for the fulfillment by America of her promises and for her redemption of the pledges she has made before the world.

"In the light of these facts and considerations, the Filipino people are confident that it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory final decision, as we deal no longer with a disputed question, but are merely endeavoring to agree upon the final adjustment of a matter with regard to which, according to President Wilson's words, there exists, so far as fundamentals are concerned, 'a perfect harmony of ideals and feelings' between the governments of the United States and of the Philippine Islands, which harmony has brought about 'that real friendship and mutual support which is the foundation of all sound political policy' (November 29, 1918).

"Therefore, so far as it is humanly possible to judge and say, we can see only one aim for the Commission of Independence—*independence*; and we can give only one instruction—to get it. Thus America, in adding another glory to her banner by establishing the first

really democratic republic in the East, will apply a second time, generously and freely, the same measure of humanity and justice that she applied in the case of Cuba, which is but a logical and natural sequence of the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence. This Declaration, which belongs to all humanity, has now as much force as it had in the days when America proclaimed it. America will thus vindicate the memory of President McKinley, to whom 'the forcible annexation' of peoples meant 'criminal aggression' and who, upon taking over the Philippines 'for high duty in the interest of their inhabitants and for humanity and civilization,' solemnly said: 'Our sacrifices were with this high motive. We want to improve the condition of the inhabitants, securing them peace, liberty, and the pursuit of their highest good.'

"Thus, finally, America will carry out the efforts and assurances of President Wilson when, upon the signing of the armistice, he said to the Filipinos: 'I hope and believe that the future holds brighter hope for the states which have heretofore been the prey of great powers and will realize for all the world the offers of justice and peace which have prompted the magnificent cooperation of the present war' (November 29, 1918).

"The Filipinos will thus have a better opportunity to demonstrate how deeply rooted is their gratitude for America when, after her voluntary withdrawal from these Islands, we preserve here the immortal spirit of her democratic institutions and associate with her in her future enterprises of justice and peace in carrying to the darkest corners of the earth, the quickening flame of justice, democracy, and liberty."

In addition to the instructions of the Philippine Legislature the Commission of Independence cabled the Philippine Mission in the United States further instructions, which read in part as follows:

"The Philippine Mission will please convey to the Government of the United States the frankest assurances of the good-will, friendship, and gratitude of the Filipino people, and submit with as much respect as confidence the question of Philippine Independence with a view to its final settlement.

"Now that the war is over and the world is engaged in applying in the concrete the principles that have come out triumphant from it; now that the Filipino people have passed the tests to which their capacity has been submitted, can it be deemed inopportune or ill-advised for them to submit the pending question to the United States, or even to any other competent tribunal of the world for its final adjustment? The problem being so varied in its aspects, the Filipino people will welcome an opportunity to discuss the terms of the concession of independence and the scope of the covenants necessary for the guaranty, safety and stability of the new state and for the establishment and maintenance of such external relations, especially with America, as may be equitable and beneficial and as the circumstances may demand."

President Wilson on Self-Determination for Small Nations

"We are glad . . . to fight . . . for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience . . . for democracy,

for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations.”
—(President Wilson, April 3, 1917.)

“said . . . small and weak states had as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and strong states.”—(President Wilson, May 30, 1916.)

“This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations.”—(President Wilson, February 11, 1918.)

“Every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.”—(President Wilson, January 22, 1915.)

“Peace should rest upon the rights of people, not the rights of the government—the rights of people great and small, weak or powerful, their equal rights to freedom and security and self-government and to participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world.”—(President Wilson, August 27, 1917.)

“. . . What we demand . . . is that the world be made safe . . . for every peace-loving nation which like our own wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.”—(President Wilson, January 8, 1918.)

“Let us stand by the little nations that need to be stood by.”
(President Wilson, October 19, 1916.)

President Wilson Says Independence “Almost in Sight”

The Philippine Mission had intended to see President Wilson, but on account of his hurried trip to Europe he delegated Secretary of War Baker, who had supervision of Philippine affairs, to meet the Philippine Mission. On April 4, 1919, the Secretary of War read to the Mission a letter to him from President Wilson in which the President said, in part:

“Though unable to meet the commission, the Filipino people shall not be absent from my thoughts. Not the least important labor of the conference which now requires my attention is that of making the pathway of the weaker people of the world less perilous—a labor which should be, and doubtless is, of deep and abiding interest to the Filipino people.

“I am sorry that I cannot look into the faces of the gentlemen of this Mission from the Philippine Islands and tell them all that I have in mind and heart as I think of the patient labor, *with the end almost in sight*, undertaken by the American and Filipino people for their permanent benefit. I know, however, that your sentiments are mine in this regard and that you will translate truly to them my own feelings.”

After reading the above Secretary Baker gave his sentiments on the Philippine question, which are also the President’s own sentiments, according to the above letter. Mr. Baker, in part, said:

“I know that I express the feeling of the President—I certainly express my own feeling; I think I express the prevailing feeling in the United States—when I say that we believe the time has substantially come, if not quite come, when the Philippine Islands can be allowed to sever the mere formal political tie remaining and become an independent people.”

America's Philippine Policy as Declared by the Presidents of the United States

In President McKinley's instructions to the first Philippine Commission, on the 20th of January, 1899, he expressed the hope that these commissioners would be received as bearers of "the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation." In his message to Congress in the same year, among other things concerning the Philippines, he said: "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us."

President Taft, while civil governor of the Philippine Islands, on the 17th of December, 1903, said: "From the beginning to the end of the state papers which were circulated in these Islands as authoritative expressions of the Executive, the motto that 'the Philippines are for the Filipinos' and that the Government of the United States is here for the purpose of preserving the 'Philippines for the Filipinos,' for their benefit, for their elevation, for their civilization, again and again and again appear . . . Whether an autonomy or independence or quasi independence shall ultimately follow in these Islands ought to depend solely on the question: Is it best for the Filipino people and their welfare?"

In 1908, after the Philippine Assembly had been opened, President Roosevelt, in his message, said: "I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Filipinos can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power, able to guarantee to the Islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion."

When Mr. Taft was Secretary of War, in April, 1904, in the course of a speech upon the Philippines, he said: "When they have learned the principles of successful popular self-government from a gradually enlarged experience therein, we can discuss the question whether independence is what they desire and grant it, or whether they prefer the retention of a closer association with the country which, by its guidance, has unselfishly led them on to better conditions."

In opening the Philippine Assembly on the 16th of October, 1907, Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, said: "The policy looks to the improvement of the people, both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As this policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the Islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and the Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantages to the Islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed."

President Wilson, in a message to the Filipino people delivered by Governor Harrison in Manila, October 6, 1913, said: "We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence."

And in his message to Congress, December 2, 1913, he said: "By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision."

America's Philippine Policy as Declared by the Congress of the United States

"An Act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those Islands.

"Whereas, it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

"Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

"Whereas, for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence: Therefore . . ."
(From the Jones law passed by the American Congress on August 29, 1916.)

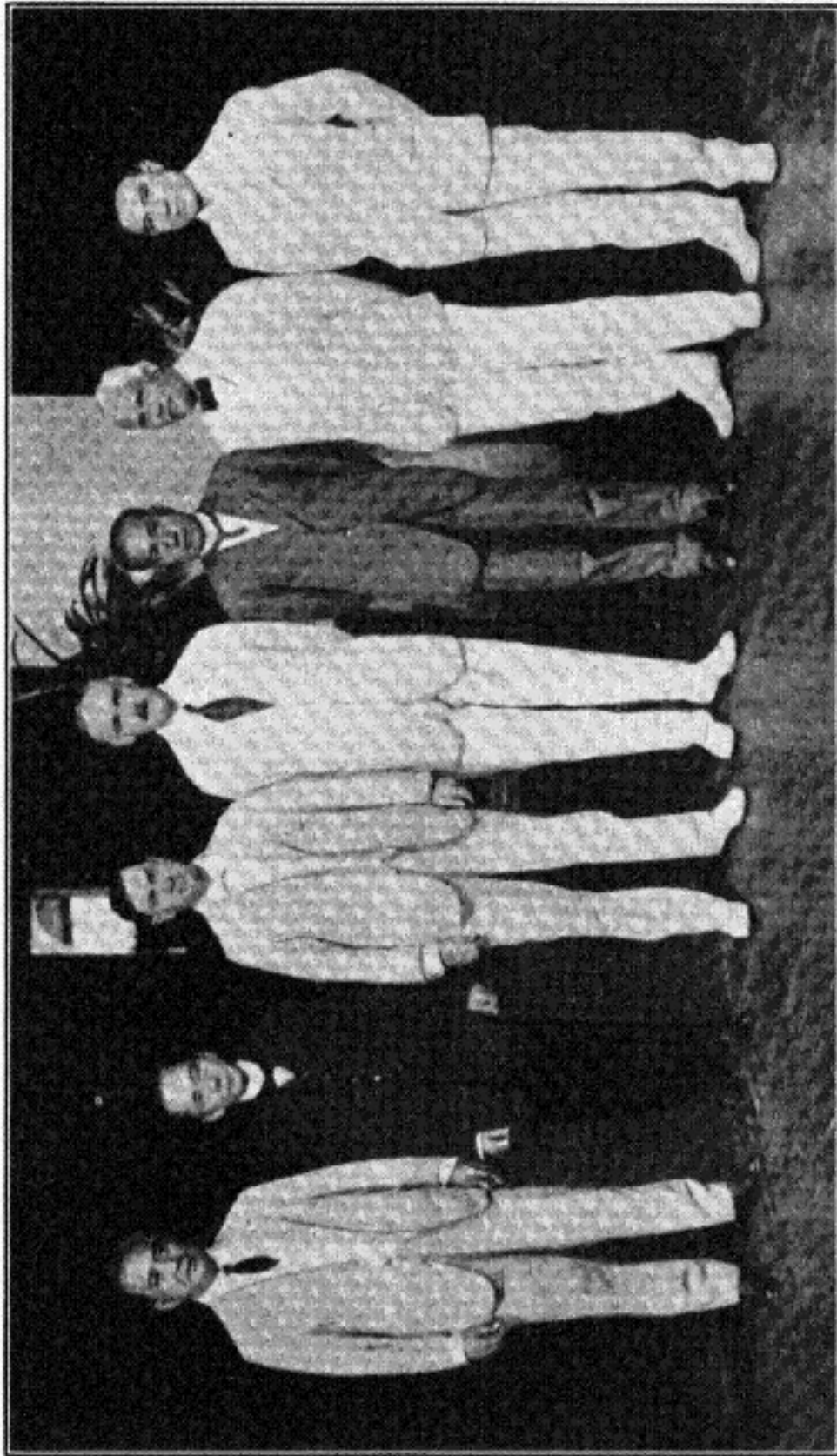
The Jones law is, in the words of its author, the late Representative Jones, "the everlasting covenant of a great and generous people, speaking through their accredited representatives, that they (the Filipinos) shall in due time enjoy the incomparable blessings of liberty and freedom." "Henceforward," said the foremost spokesman of the Filipino people, Speaker Sergio Osmena, in accepting the Jones law on their behalf, "we can look upon the American flag not as the symbol of an imposed government but as the emblem of a nation whose temporary guidance over the Filipino people will serve as an instrumentality for the most speedy assumption of the responsibility of an independent life."

Ex-President Roosevelt on Keeping Promises to the Filipino People

In an article published in *Everybody's Magazine* for January, 1915, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"The first and most important thing for us as a people to do in order to prepare ourselves for self-defense is to get clearly in our minds just what our policy is to be, and to insist that our public servants shall make their words and their deeds correspond. For example, the present administration was elected on the explicit promise that the Philippines should be given their independence, and it has taken action in the Philippines which can only be justified on the theory that their independence is to come in the immediate future. I believe that we have rendered incalculable service to the Philippines, and that what we have there done has shown in the most striking manner the extreme mischief that would have followed if in 1898 and in subsequent years we had failed to do our duty in consequence of following the advice of Mr. Bryan and the pacifists or anti-imperialists of that day.

"But this good has been to the Philippines themselves. The



The Philippine Cabinet. From left to right: Hon. Galicano Apacible, Hon. Victorino Mapa, Hon. Charles E. Yeater, Hon. Francis Burton Harrison, Hon. Rafael Palma, Hon. Alberto Barretto, Hon. Dionisio Jakosalem.

only good that has come to us as a nation has been the good that springs from knowledge that a great deed has been worthily performed. Personally, I think it is a fine and high thing for a nation to have done such a deed with such a purpose. But we cannot taint it with bad faith. If we act so that the natives understand us to have made a definite promise, then we should live up to that promise. The Philippines, from a military standpoint, are a source of weakness to us. The present administration has promised explicitly to let them go, and by its actions has rendered it difficult to hold them against any serious foreign foe. These being the circumstances, the Islands should at an early moment be given their independence without any guarantee whatever by us and without our retaining any foothold in them."

In his Autobiography, pp. 543-545, Mr. Roosevelt writes: "As regards the Philippines my belief was that we should train them for self-government as rapidly as possible, and then leave them free to decide their own fate. I did not believe in setting the time-limit within which we would give them independence, because I did not believe it wise to try to forecast how soon they would be fit for self-government; and once having made the promise I would have felt that it was imperative to keep it . . . The time will come when it will be wise to take their own judgment as to whether they (the Filipinos) wish to continue their association with America or not. . . . If after due time the Filipinos decide that they do not wish to be thus governed, then I trust that we will leave."

The Present Government of the Philippines

There is now a stable government in the Philippines. This is the verdict of the representatives of the American Government in the Islands. The assertion is supported by facts. Our present government, to quote Mr. Root's admonition to the Cuban people when they were establishing a stable government, is "a government based upon the peaceful suffrage of the people, representing the entire people and holding their power from the people, and subject to the limitations and safeguards which the experience of a constitutional government has shown to be necessary to the preservation of individual rights."

Our central, provincial and municipal governments rest upon the peaceful suffrages of the Filipino people. The Insular Government contains a complete governmental machinery, recognized and supported by the people. The active and governing part of that machinery is already in the hands of the Filipinos. There is a Council of State selected from the representatives of the people, which advises the Governor-General on all public matters, prepares the budget, determines the policy of the different departments of the government, and recommends measures to the Legislature. While the Governor presides over the Council, the next highest position is the Vice-President of the Council, occupied by a Filipino. There is an elective Legislature, composed of the House of Representatives and a Senate, chosen by the qualified voters of the Islands. It has general legislative powers within the limitations of the Jones law. In that Legislature the non-Christian people are also represented by nine appointed members.

We have a judicial system based on the sound American principle of an independent judiciary. Our laws and our courts are more modern and up to date than any in the Far East. Our codes are based



A snapshot of the woman's section of a Manila Liberty Loan Parade.

on Spanish and American laws, taking in the conciseness, symmetry, and philosophic beauty of Spanish substantive law, together with the justice, practicability, and efficiency of American procedure.

Our present government is "subject to the limitations and safeguards which the experience of a constitutional government has shown to be necessary to the preservation of individual rights." The Philippine Government has been subject to such limitations and safeguards since 1900, when President McKinley, in his instructions to the second Philippine Commission, set down as inviolable rules the fundamental provisions of the American Bill of Rights. Those provisions, with little modification, were later included in the Organic Act of 1902, and again restated in the Jones law of 1916. For nearly twenty years, therefore, the Philippine Government has been subject to constitutional limitations and safeguards. They have become imbedded in the political life of the people, and no matter what political change may occur in the Philippines, they will hardly find any material alteration.

It is a "stable government," as America has used that phrase in

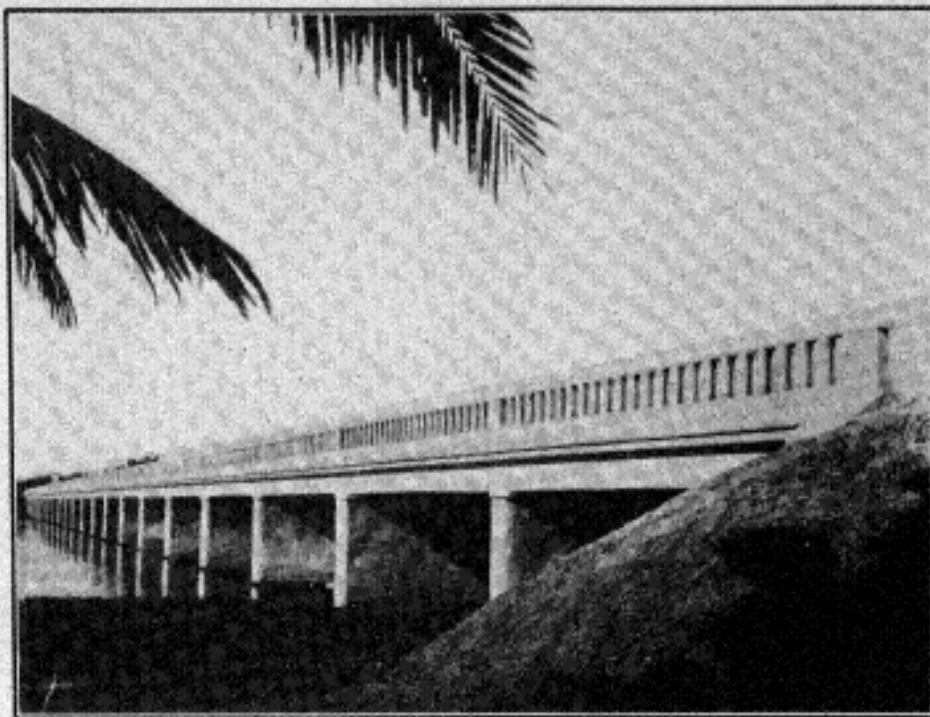
recognizing the new governments of South America, and more especially in withdrawing her military occupation from Cuba. A stable government has meant, in American international law, especially in her relations with Cuba, a government elected and supported by the people themselves. We have such a government today in the Philippine Islands.

In the words of Secretary of War Baker, who has departmental supervision of the Philippines, "the functions of government have been taken over by the people of the Islands themselves, leaving only the tenuous connection of the Governor-General." The Governor-General may leave tomorrow, and no institutional change will be necessary to continue the work of government. There is a stable governmental machinery set up and supported by the entire people and representing the entire people to which the governmental powers can be transferred.

(For further discussion of the government established in the Philippines and its accomplishments see Kalaw, "Self-Government in the Philippines," Century Company, 1919.)

Filipino Loyalty During the War

During the Great War America took away from the Islands practically every white soldier, and the keeping of peace and order was left in the hands of Filipinos. These have been kept as never before. The American flag became more firmly planted on Philippine soil because it has rested on the confidence and affection of the people. The Filipinos responded to this confidence shown them by the Government of the United States by offering the service of 25,000 men themselves. Their division was ready to go to France when the armistice was signed. The Filipino people contributed a submarine and destroyer to the fleet of the United States, and six thousand of their men are now serving in the United States Navy as volunteers. Four thousand Filipinos in Hawaii, who could have claimed exemption from the draft under the citizenship clause of the draft law, insisted on being enrolled under the Stars and Stripes. Not a word was heard from Filipino lips during the war on their claim to independence, believing that such an attitude might embarrass the United States. "With fine self-restraint," says Secretary of War, Baker, "the Filipino people refrained from active discussion of this question, deeming it inopportune at the time, and threw all of their resources into the common scale with the people of the United States." With the limited resources of the Philippines, poor as the Filipino people are compared with the United States, they have voluntarily given half a million dollars to Red Cross funds and subscribed nearly \$20,000,000 to Liberty Bonds. Their allotment to the Third Liberty Loan was only \$3,000,000, but they subscribed \$4,625,000. Their allotment to the Fourth Liberty Loan was \$6,000,000, but they subscribed \$12,123,000. "No other American territory," says Governor-General Harrison, "has been more loyal to the United States than the Philippines." President Wilson has also acknowledged this loyalty of the Filipinos during the war and publicly declared that the association of the Philippine Islands with the United States was a perfect harmony of ideals and feeling and a real friendship and mutual support. "The people of the United States," he said, "have taken the greatest pride in the loyalty and support of the Filipino people."



Harrison Bridge, a beautiful structure spanning the Barruro River in La Union Province.

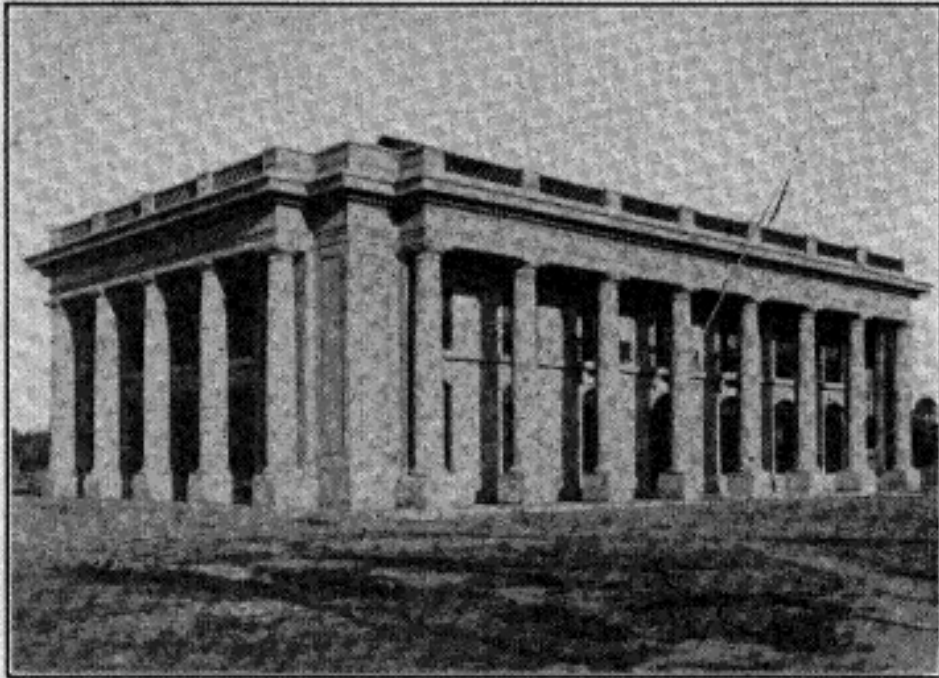
Governor General Harrison on Filipino Capacity

"The Filipinos today are enjoying the right of self-determination. I have always been in complete accord with most of the American citizens on this question of liberty, but it was only after a good many years that I became convinced of the entire practicability of giving them complete independence.

"Gentlemen, they have acted with the greatest moderation and the greatest self restraint, and with the greatest respect for the American flag. During the war, the talk of independence which has been the subject of discourse by every schoolboy who arose on every occasion when he was given a chance for many years past, was stilled. It was not because the people had lost interest in independence, but it was because the Filipino people thought it was not respectful to the United States to raise the question of independence at a time when the United States was engaged in the greatest struggle in the course of history." (From the speech of Governor General Francis Burton Harrison, before the Merchant's Association of New York, April 17, 1919.)

At the dinner given the Philippine Mission by the Merchant's Association of New York, Governor Harrison said:

"There are about 1,000 municipalities in the Philippines, all of whom are governed by elective Filipino officials. There are about forty-two Provinces in the Islands, likewise governed by Filipinos. There are two elective Houses of the Legislature composed entirely of Filipinos. The Bench is composed almost entirely of Filipinos. Out of seven members in the Cabinet, six are Filipinos, and most of the heads of the Executive Departments of the Govern-



Capitol building of the province of La Laguna, a type of the beautiful and serviceable provincial capitol buildings that are appearing in the Philippines.

ment are Filipinos today. It is true that there are still some 700 Americans in the Philippines, but for the most part they are teachers, professors and scientists, and to my mind a class of men who would be desired by the Filipinos even if they had complete independence.

"That presents a picture of practical autonomy. It has been going on for the last two and a half years, or ever since the recent charter has been given us by Congress, and in my opinion, during those two and a half years the Filipinos, having been given an opportunity, have satisfactorily demonstrated the fact that they have already established and are maintaining the stable form of government which is prescribed in the preamble to the Jones bill as a prerequisite to their independence."

Speaking at the Knickerbocker Club in New York, he said:

"By temperament, by experience, by financial ability, in every way the ten millions of Filipinos are entitled to be free from every government except of their own choice. They are intelligent enough to decide for themselves.

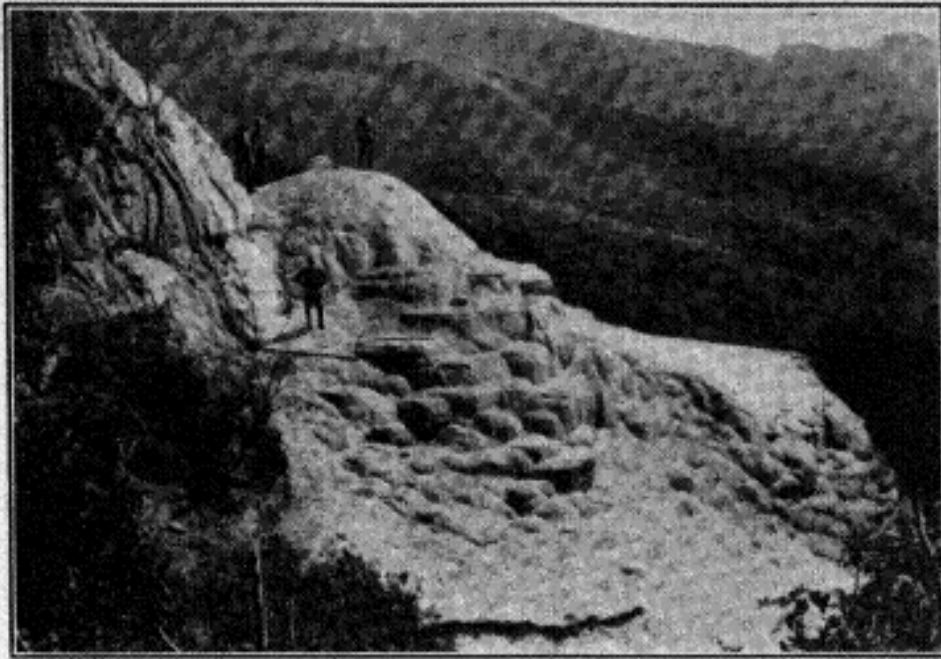
"I have found the native Filipino official to be honest, efficient and as capable of administering executive positions as any men I have met anywhere in the world.

"They have leaders like Speaker Osmena, of the House of Representatives, and President Quezon, of the Senate, who would adorn any office.

"The Philippines are way ahead of the United States in successful government ownership and operation of public utilities.

"The government took hold of the steam railways and made them pay a profit of 1,000,000 pesos a year more than under private ownership.

"It took hold of the highways, and we have 7,000 miles of the best macadamized roads in the world. The Manila city government is



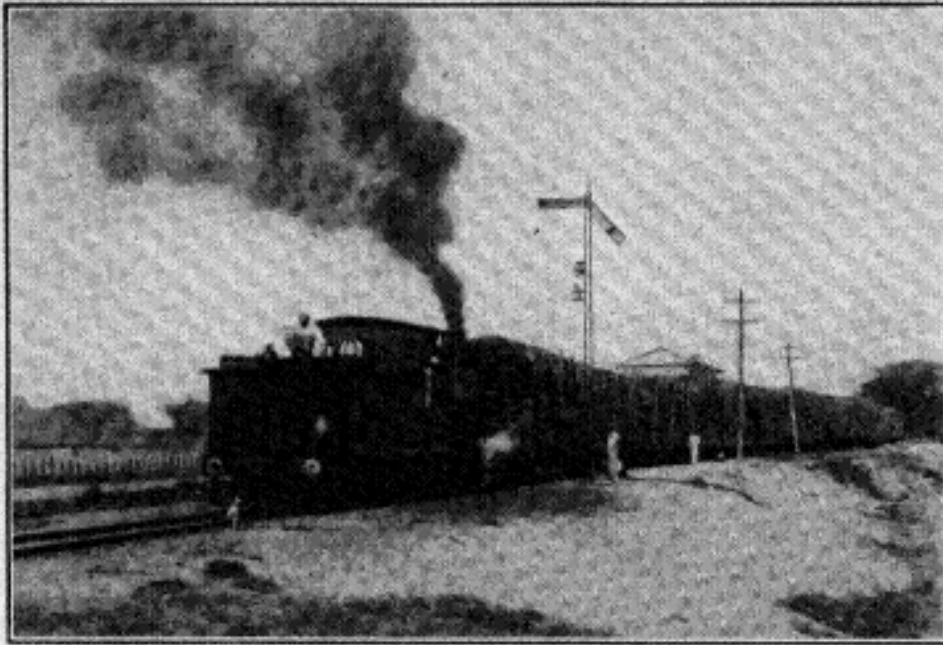
A mountain of salt at the salt springs of Salinas, province of Nuevo Vizcaya.

about to take over the street railways and the gas and electric plants, while the territorial government is arranging for ownership and control of the coal supply."

Acting Governor Yeater on the Philippine Congress

"The capacity for initiative and the constructive spirit evidenced by the Legislature, the first organized under the Jones law, is worthy of great commendation. Its capacity to investigate government problems and to act expeditiously, but with due caution, is certainly unprecedented in history, considering that for three centuries this people had practically no political rights and were debarred from the benefits of education. American legislative practice and procedure has always been examined, and, with few exceptions, followed. As indicative, however, of their independent frame of mind, it may be noted that a single legislative committee has had charge of both appropriations and ways and means since 1907, and under the provisions of the Jones law has adopted substantially the basic principles of the English budget system, instead of maintaining a rigorous application of the theory of the separation of governmental powers as far as the legislative and executive departments are concerned, the latter directed by an American. This Legislature has given to the secretaries of the various departments the right to appear before either house to defend publicly the measures proposed by the executive, or to oppose measures originated in such houses.

"Finally, as one of the representatives in these Islands of the United States, I wish to attest the patriotism of the Filipinos and their loyal attachment to the United States Government. This Legislature, which has just terminated its sessions, has acted with judgment and prudence, and in what it has done and left undone during its term now drawing to a close, and should be credited for the wisdom with which it has guided and directed the Filipino people

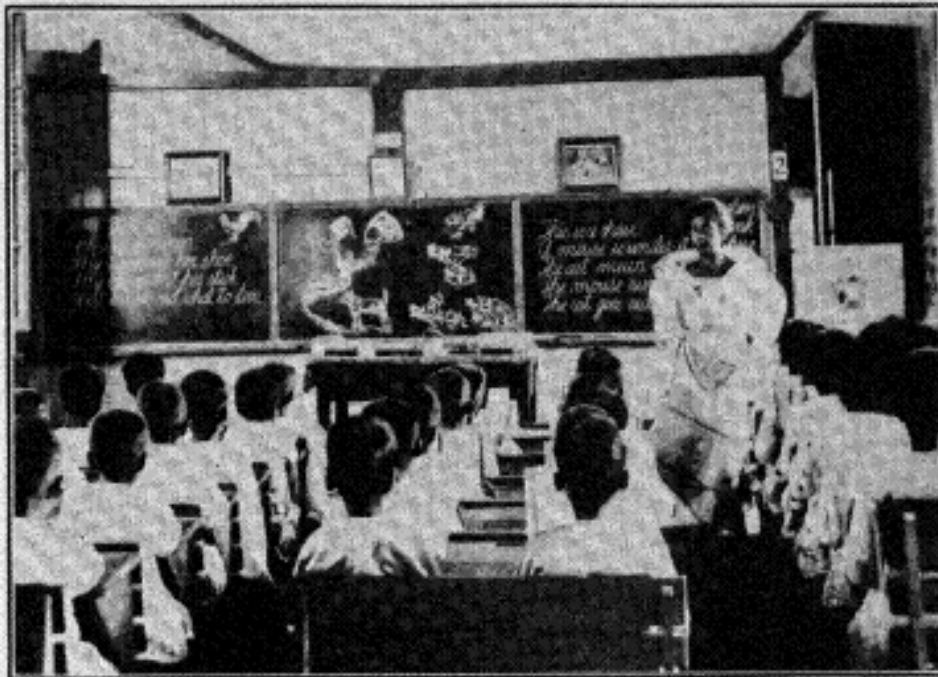


A modern method of transporting sugar cane in the Philippines.

in the paths of order and tranquillity during these recent years of almost universal turmoil and unrest. Perfect peace has prevailed here, and all provincial and municipal governments' instrumentalities of force have had no function to perform. (Acting Governor Yeater to the War Department, February 10, 1919.)

Some Outstanding Accomplishments of the Filipino-Conducted Government

The internal improvements so happily begun by the Americans have been given greater impetus. At the end of 1914, when the Executive and the Upper House of the Legislature were controlled by Americans, there were only 2,317 kilometers of first-class macadamized roads, but at the end of 1918, after four years of Philippine autonomy, this was more than doubled. In 1913, at the time of Governor-General Forbes, whose main achievement was the improvement of public works, the government did not spend over 3,000,000 pesos, or \$1,500,000, a year for public improvements. The appropriation for 1919 for public works alone is 17,000,000 pesos, or \$8,500,000. A system of government has been evolved whereby an efficient cooperation between the Executive and Legislature is effected and responsible leadership assured. A Council of State has been established composed of members of the cabinet and legislative leaders, with a Filipino Vice-President, which formulates the administrative policy of the government and recommends measures to the legislature. The Philippine Legislature also established a budget system which has been considered by all a success. There are now 875,000 pupils attending 4,700 public schools, as against 440,000 pupils and 3,000 schools in 1912. The Philippine Legislature has recently voted \$15,000,000 for free public school education, which will give the rudiments of education to every school child of the Philippines. The same Legislature established the largest bank west



A class in a public school in the Philippine Islands. The government supports 4,700 schools, with a teaching force of 12,303 teachers, providing instruction for 675,000 pupils.

of Chicago, whose resources have jumped in three years from \$10,000,000 to \$125,000,000.

Seventy Per Cent Are Literate

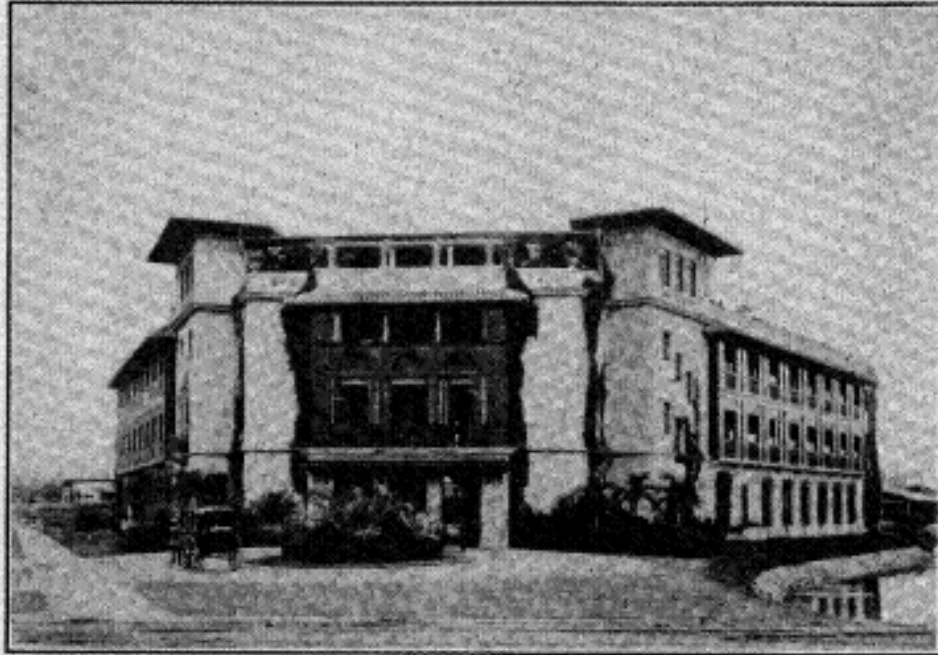
Seventy per cent of the Filipino people above ten years of age can read and write. This percentage of literacy is almost as high as some of the States of the Union and is higher than in any country of South America, higher than the literacy of the Spanish people, unquestionably above that of any of the new countries recognized in Europe, and over that of Greece, Italy, Portugal, Romania and Servia. (From the census estimate cabled by Director of the Philippine Census to the War Department.)

Division of Property

There are a million and a half farms in the Philippines, and 96 per cent of these farms are owned by Filipinos. In other words, out of the ten million Christian Filipinos, eight million of them at least live on their own farms, with houses of their own, independent of any absentee landlord or foreign master. Ninety-one per cent of the urban property, consisting of houses and lands, is owned by the natives of the Philippines, and only 9 per cent is in the hands of foreigners. (Facts cabled by Acting Governor-General Charles Emmett Yeater to the War Department from the recent census estimates.)

Recent Economic Progress

The Philippines import cotton, iron, steel, rice, milk, flour, paper, leather, dairy products, automobiles, coal, fibers, vegetables, textiles, oils, chemicals, drugs, dyes, medicines, meat products, instru-



Girls' Dormitory, Philippine Normal School, Manila.

mental apparatus, tobacco, soap, manufactures of wood, books, printed matter, glass, cocoa, etc. It exports ham, sugar, cocoanut oil, tobacco, foreign merchandise, fats, lumber, pearl buttons, cocoanuts, etc.

The total foreign commerce in 1913 was \$107,685,742 with a balance against her of \$5,500,000, while last year, 1918, her foreign commerce reached \$234,281,747 with a balance of trade in her favor of \$37,083,324, or an increase of \$133,196,005 of the 1918 trade over that of 1913, an increase of 131 per cent from 1913 to 1918.

With respect to our monetary circulation, we had in 1913, or a year before the war, \$25,348,626, or \$2.76 per capita, while at present we have in circulation \$66,301,484, or \$6.74 per capita. Our total bonded indebtedness amounts only to \$26,000,000, of which more than \$4,000,000 has already been set aside to pay it.

Taxation in the Philippines was \$2.14 per capita in 1913 as compared with \$2.68 per capita in 1917.

The Philippine National Bank is an incontrovertible evidence of the great financial progress of the country. It was organized with resources amounting to \$5,900,000 on May 25, 1916, and gradually rose to \$14,650,000 on July 15, 1916; \$25,350,000 on December 31, 1916; \$49,017,500 on June 30, 1917; \$69,138,000 on December 31, 1917; \$105,471,000 on June 30, 1918; and \$124,399,039.04 on December 31, 1918.

As a true sign of the notable development which up to this time has been shown in the commerce of our country are the 3,065 domestic corporations and partnerships organized in the Islands during the last few years with a capital aggregating 452,192,197.43 pesos, not to mention ninety-five large American and a considerable number of world-famed foreign concerns with enormous additional capital also having agencies and branches in the Islands.

"The imports of the Philippines in 1918 amounted to 197,198,423 pesos, of which 59.7 per cent, consisting principally of cotton, iron,



Boys attending the 16 provincial trade schools of the Philippines receive practical vocational training.

steel and oil, came from the United States. The exports for the same year amounted to 271,365,671 pesos, of which 66.1 per cent, consisting principally of copra, hemp, and sugar, came to the United States.

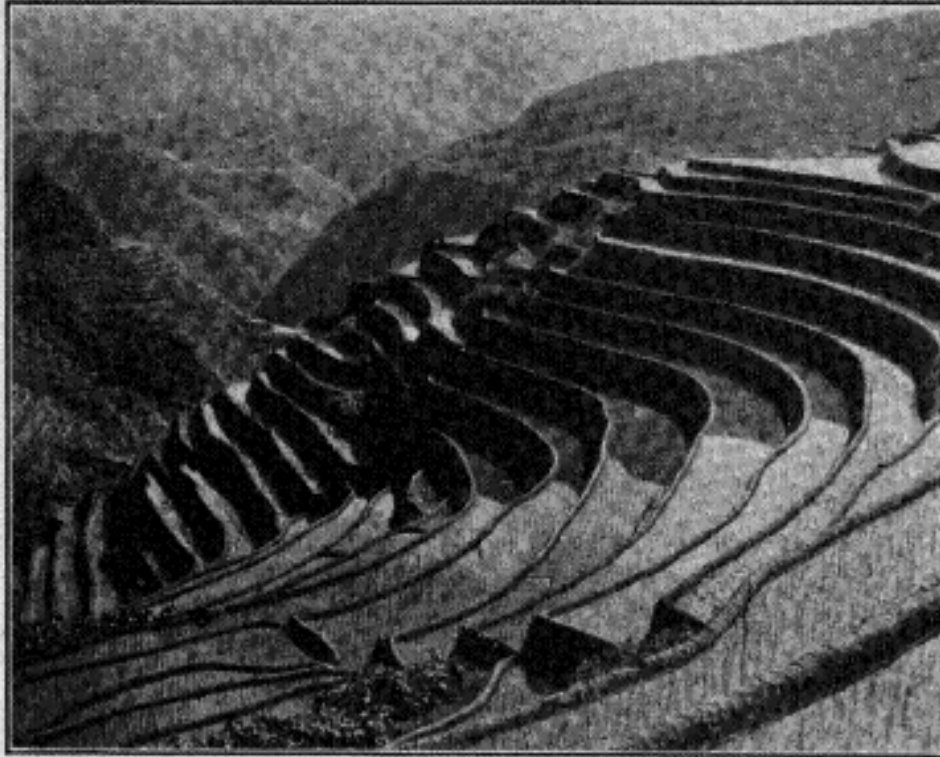
"Only from hemp, copra and sugar, exported from the Philippines in 1917, the United States received 82,338,515 pesos.

"None of the other nations in the world has taken of the foreign trade of the Philippines more than 10 per cent, but the United States alone took 63 per cent." (Data supplied by the Hon. Dionisio Jakosalem, Secretary of Commerce and Communications of the Philippine Government.)

Growth of Schools During the Six Years of Philippine Autonomy

The Philippine public school system is one of the largest under the American flag, and it is growing. Between 1912 and 1918 the total number of children in school increased from 440,000 to 675,000, a gain of 54 per cent in six years. The larger number of pupils attended 4,700 schools, the smaller 3,000, which means that, in 1918, 1,700 more communities enjoyed educational privileges than in 1912. During the same period the number of intermediate pupils grew to 67,000, a gain of 160 per cent; and the number of high school students reached 16,000, a gain of 220 per cent. And the Philippines have no compulsory attendance law!

"The Filipino educational system has attracted the attention of thinking men in the Orient and has merited the condemnation and commendation of men, scholarly men, from the West. Just to cite one authority, Dr. Paul Monroe, of Columbia University, probably the greatest living authority on the history of education today, after a sojourn of several weeks in the Philippine Islands and after a thorough investigation of educational conditions in the Philippines,



Ifugao igorrot rice terraces, which are among the most remarkable of their kind in the world. It is estimated there are 12,121 miles of 8-foot stone walls in the Ifugao terraces, which is approximately half the distance around the world. These terraces are skillfully irrigated by water brought in troughs along the precipitous mountain sides over long distances.

left the Islands, leaving, for the benefit of educational authorities, a report replete with constructive suggestions. He closed that report in the following words, which I quote:

“It seems probable to an observer that greater educational progress has been made in the Philippine Islands in ten or twelve years than in any similar period or in any place in the history of education.” (From the speech of the Assistant Director of Education before the Merchants’ Association of New York, April 17, 1919.)

Establishment of Universal Free Education

“The most important measure (passed by the all-Philippine Legislature) in my judgment, is that by which over 30,000,000 pesos were appropriated for the extension of universal free education to all the children of the islands. This act is of prime importance, not only because it provides funds for a term of years sufficient to extend a primary education of seven grades to all the children of school age, but also because it enables the Bureau of Education to prepare and carry into execution a complete and systematic development of the existing excellent educational plan, which lacked only extension over the entire field. Further more, it is a means of incalculable value for the welfare of the Filipino people, since it will banish illiteracy, establish permanently English as the common language of the land, afford a firm foundation for democratic institutions, and insure order and stability to the insular government.

“The adoption of this thoroughly American educational measure



Types of Filipino women.

will tend greatly to lift the moral responsibility incumbent on the United States to secure a firm and orderly government, and aside from the differences of opinion which may have existed among American statesmen in the past, it has been advocated by all Americans from the beginning of the occupation that universal free education of the masses should be an essential characteristic of our national policy in the Philippines. Inasmuch as when Congress considered paragraph 2, the acts of July 1 and 19, and of August 29, 1916, much discussion was had about the political capacity of the Philippines, I feel that I discharge a duty of conscience to call your attention to the fact that this enlightened measure was passed by the legislative department of the government, which, as you know, is composed entirely of Filipinos. By this law of universal free education the all-Philippine Legislature in the last two years has provided for doubling the quantity of the educational work effected in almost two decades of previous American occupation. Under the financial support previously given, it was necessary to turn away from the doors of the schoolhouse one-half of all the children of the Islands. In five years all the children of the land will receive educational advantages. Besides this, the salaries of all municipal teachers will be increased 30 per cent. (From a cable report of Acting Governor Yeater to the War Department, dated February 10, 1919.)

The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippines

According to the census estimate of 1918, out of the population of 10,500,000 Filipinos, there are 500,000 inhabitants who belong to the so-called non-Christian tribes. The most numerous of these non-Christian people are the Moros, who inhabit the Sulu Archipelago and certain parts of Mindanao. The Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya, in Luzon, contain also non-Christian people.

Unlike the backward peoples in other parts of the globe, the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines, have always received humanitarian treatment from the American Government as well as from their Christian brothers. From 1913 to 1916 the non-Christian peoples were under the exclusive control and jurisdiction of the Philippine Commission composed of a majority of Filipinos. Since the passage of the Jones law in 1916, the Philippine Legislature, composed entirely of Filipinos, assumed legislative control of the non-Christian tribes. Since 1913, therefore, the representatives of the Christian Filipinos have dictated the policy pursued toward their non-Christian brothers.

Upon the establishment of the Bureau of non-Christian tribes by section 22 of the Jones law, the Philippine Legislature on February 20, 1917, enacted Act No. 2674 providing for the operation of said bureau. That law defines in a clear and unequivocal term the policy of the Government towards the non-Christian people as follows:

“ . . . to foster by all adequate means and in a systematic, rapid and complete manner the moral, material, economic, social and political development of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos, always having in view the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between and complete fusion of all the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the provinces of the Archipelago.”

Our policy towards the non-Christian peoples is pronounced by all unbiased observers a decided success. It is an unprecedented treatment of the non-Christian peoples by their more civilized fel-

low-men, who, by sheer number, strength and civilization, could, under recognized practices, claim to be the sole owners of the country. Millions of pesos are taken every year from the pockets of the Christian Filipinos and sent to the non-Christian tribes for the establishment of schools, hospitals, and for the development of their agriculture. As a result, the standard of the Moro people is today much nearer that of their Christian brothers. Teachers, doctors and nurses from all over the islands have carried a message of friendship and love, and have established more firmly the national solidarity of Christians and non-Christians than the severest policy of blood and iron would have done. Order has been kept as never before, and now people can travel from one end of the Moro region to the other in safety. "Contrary to the prediction of the calamity howlers," says the constabulary commander of Mindanao and Sulu (Col. Ole Waloe) in his memorandum addressed to the Department Secretary on November 23, 1918, "the Christian Filipino officers of the constabulary have succeeded completely in winning the respect and confidence of the Moro people." The participation that the non-Christian peoples were given in national law-making has bound them closer and closer still to the Christian Filipinos. "We are one in spirit and one in blood," said the foremost citizen of the Moro people, Senator Hadji Butu.

The Filipino Woman

The position of the Filipino woman in the Orient is unique. "Midway geographically between the kimono maiden of Japan and the veiled lady of India," says an American writer (Emma Sarepta Yule, in *The Philippines Monthly*, 1915), "and alongside of the 'lily-footed' dame of China is the woman of the Philippines, a woman unique in the Orient, a woman in whose development there has been neither seclusion, nor oppression, nor servitude." Even before the coming of the Spaniards four centuries ago, the Filipino woman held a relatively high position. The Spanish discoverers found the Filipino woman sharing equally with her husband the rights and duties of the home, and in case of his death inheriting half of their joint gains. Sometimes the position of the chief official of a town, upon his death, fell to the widow when there was no male heir. Christian ideals strengthened the position of the Filipino woman and gave her even greater freedom and power. Today she is the mistress of the home and the safe keeper of the family funds. Through her hold in the home she wields a strong influence in the outside world. In business she is the equal, if not the superior, of her mate; and politically, though she does not enjoy popular suffrage, she has proven, to quote the American writer again, "in more than one case, indeed in very many, that she is an active campaigner of no mean order."

The education of the Filipino woman has broadened her scope in life and is making her more interested in the civic activities of the Philippines. In 1917 there were enrolled in the primary and intermediate grades of the public schools 234,905 girls. Filipino women are now occupying positions in the Bureau of Education and the University of the Philippines. While there is no strong agitation for suffrage, it is doubtful whether, when they demand it, their brothers will deny it to them. There have been established over fifty women's clubs in the Philippines, engaged in social settlement work, the improvement of health conditions, and the prevention of infant mortality. Writers on the Philippines and observers of Philippine

conditions have time and again testified to the superiority of women in the Philippines, and to the tremendous influence that they are bearing, and will continue to bear, upon the country and the people. "Possibly . . . on these lovely isles where the lotos blooms and the cocoanut lifts high its green-crowned head there may evolve the alturia of the vision of the suffragette, a land of perfect sex equality with chivalry tipping the scale in favor of lovely woman." That was the promise pictured by the American writer who has paid such a pleasing tribute to the Filipino women.

Japan in the Philippines

Responsible Japanese officials have said that they do not want the Philippines. Dr. Iyenaga, one of Japan's most active publicity agents in the United States, once said that Japan would not accept the Philippines even as a gift. "Unless that gift should be accompanied not by \$20,000,000, the sum you gave to Spain, but by a round billion of dollars to be expended for the education and development of the Filipinos, Japan would surely decline your offer. Japan has no use for the Philippines for colonization purposes because its climate is as unfitted to us for that purpose as it is for you. Our experience in Formosa has convinced us of that." Another Japanese writer equally well known in the United States, Mr. K. Kawakami, while not going as far as Dr. Iyenaga, emphatically says that Japan has no desire to acquire the Philippines.

Japan has had the Island for over twenty years, and yet there are now barely 150,000 Japanese in it—this in spite of the fact that the Japanese Government gives financial help to Japanese subjects emigrating to Formosa. It is said that in 1912 alone the Japanese Government spent over \$200,000 to help 1,760 emigrants to the Island. (Abbott, "Japanese Expansion.") Today there are only about 7,000 Japanese in the Philippines.



Syracuse, N. Y.
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