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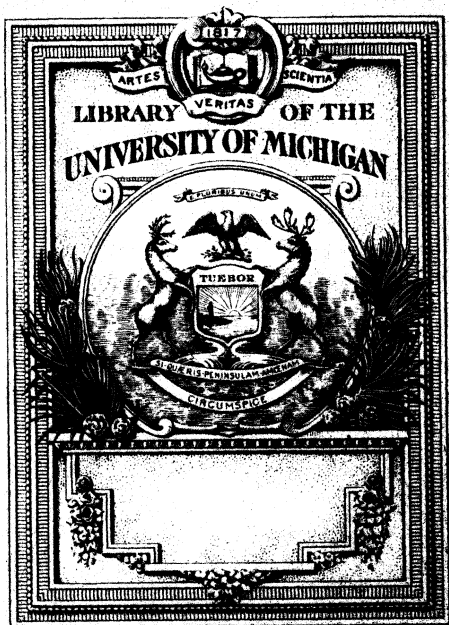
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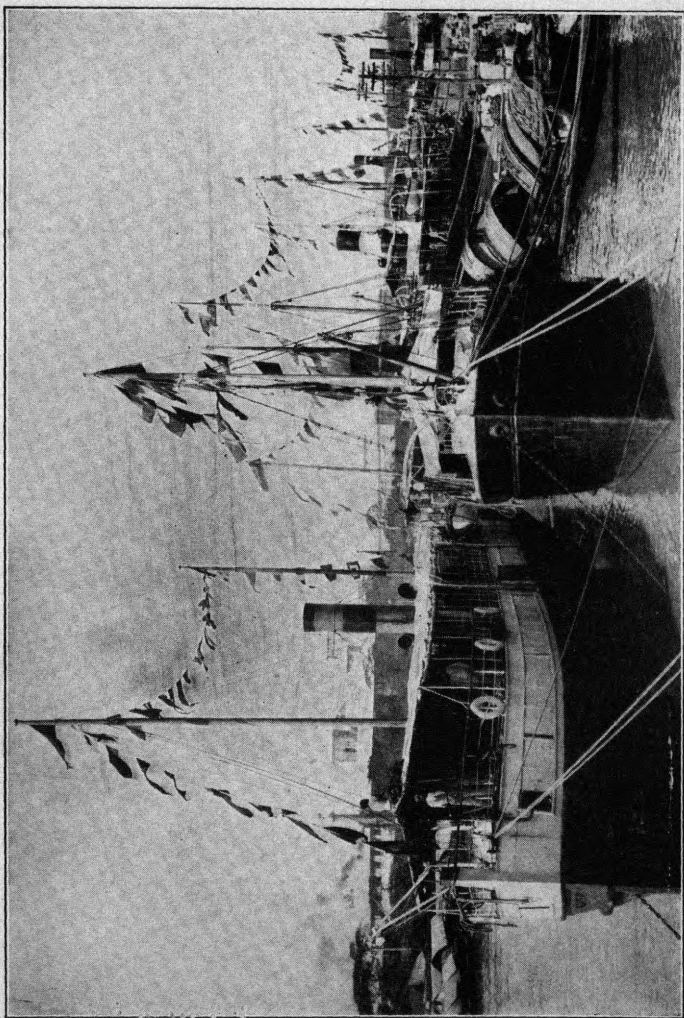


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AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

1001



The small, thatched boat fairly indicates the comparative stage of progress of native Philippine commerce

AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

BY
CARL CROW



Illustrated from Photographs

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
1914

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TO MY MOTHER

281932

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AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES

CHAPTER I

THE ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE

SOME of the primitive Philippine tribes preserve an interesting legend which explains to their satisfaction the formation of the group of islands they occupy. According to their belief, the earth was for centuries carried about on the shoulders of a giant. One day, in a fit of anger, the tired giant threw his load into the ocean, where it broke into many bits and formed what is now known as the Philippine Archipelago.

Geologists have ignored this legend for more scientific explanations, but have yet to give us anything so descriptive, for the islands lie scattered about off the south coast of China in just such haphazard position as they might have assumed if thrown there by an angry giant. A few are larger than states of America or countries of Europe; hundreds (so small that they are mere specks on the surface of the ocean) are

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inhabited only by sea birds; some are so near together that they are connected by a strip of sandy beach at low tide; and others are so far from their nearest neighbours that communication between them with native boats is a rather adventurous undertaking.

In view of these conditions, it is not remarkable that until very recently geographers have contented themselves with enumerating the islands as "about twelve hundred," an estimate made several centuries ago. This was the estimate generally accepted when the Treaty of Paris was signed between Spain and the United States, for no one had ever taken the trouble to count them. Soon thereafter accurate surveys were undertaken, with the result that the number of known islands and islets was brought up to 3,141, and it is believed that there are others not on any chart. Of this number only half are of enough importance to be named, and of those bearing names less than one fourth are populated. More than 90 per cent. of the total land area is contained in the eleven largest islands.

The area over which these islands are scattered is about eleven hundred miles north to south, and six hundred miles east to west. The northernmost point is of about the same latitude as that of the historic town of Hidalgo, Mexico, while the southernmost

point corresponds in latitude with that of Bogota. If the area occupied by the islands were superimposed upon that of North America, it would extend from Winnipeg to Fort Worth and from Kansas City to Denver. In Europe, the area would roughly correspond to a quadrilateral defined by the points Copenhagen, Paris, Naples, and Berlin. Of this vast area, almost equal to that of the Louisiana Purchase, about five sixths is water. The land area of 115,000 square miles is slightly larger than that of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the New England States and New York. Luzon, the largest and most important island, is slightly larger than Pennsylvania.

In 1521 the white man, on his mad race to carry Christianity to the uttermost parts of the earth and trade it for the lands of the heathen, reached the Philippines in the person of Ferdinand Magellan, and since that date the destinies of the islands have been worked out "under foreign supervision," to use a pet phrase of the European money lenders in China. It was a caprice of fate that this rule should have been Spanish, for Magellan was not a Spaniard, but a disgruntled Portuguese, who, feeling that it was better to serve an alien than an ungrateful king, had transferred his allegiance to Spain. Equally capricious

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was the discovery, for Magellan was in search of the famous Spice Islands and touched the Philippine Archipelago only by accident. The great adventurer found fate as ungrateful as the monarch he had forsaken, for he died in the Philippines, and to the survivors who returned to Spain was given the credit of being the first to circumnavigate the globe. This event was contemporary with the beginning of the dramatic conquest of Mexico, and it was not until that task had been completed and it was possible to send Spanish expeditions to the Philippines from the west coast of America that Spain, fifty years after their discovery, took possession of the islands in the name of King Philip, after whom they were called.

Long before the coming of the Spaniards, other conquests by successive waves of immigration from the nearby Malay peninsula had considerably altered the original population. Native tradition has not preserved a record of the many conflicts which must have been fought out between the tribes for the possession of portions of the islands, but the valueless right of first occupancy is generally conceded to the Negritos, a tribe of dwarfs, who live now (as they have always lived) in a state of savagery so low that Spanish friars and American teachers have alike

failed to make any impress upon them. Many centuries ago their sole possession of the islands was disputed by the arrival of the Igorotes, a people much superior to the diminutive Negritos in warfare and in the rough culture of jungle and forest. The Igorotes drove the Negritos to the forest-covered mountains and themselves occupied the more easily cultivated lowlands. After them came the Malays, who repeated the programme of conquest by driving the Igorotes to the mountains and occupying the plains. Whether these conquering Malays came to the islands at different periods, or whether the differences in tribal customs and languages developed after their arrival, is not known, but at the time the Spaniards arrived there were a great many tribes: the Tagalogs, Visayans, Ilocanos, Pampangans, and scores of others all speaking different languages, professing different religions, and observing different customs.

At the time of Magellan's discovery the latest arrivals on the islands were the Moros (or Moors), so-called by the Spaniards because of their Mohammedan belief. The Mohammedan Malays settled in the southern islands of the group and soon extended their conquests northward, in partial repetition of the earlier conquests. The Spaniards arrived in time to arrest this movement, when it had reached a point

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as far north as the present city of Manila, where Mohammedanism was firmly intrenched. The Moros were then, as they are now, a savage, piratical tribe, able through their ability as fighters and their fanatical devotion to their religion, to offer the most serious obstacles to any advance of civilization or Christianity. During the entire period of Spain's rule, they refused to recognize Spanish authority, and here in the tropical orient Spanish soldiers continued the feud between the Spaniard and the Moor, but with doubtful success.

The arrival of the Spaniards also interrupted a more peaceful invasion of the island by the Chinese, who had been trading with the Filipino tribes for centuries. The Spanish occupation followed closely after the Manchu conquest of China; and Chinese from the loyal city of Amoy, which had held out longest against the Manchu invaders, turned to the Philippines as a suitable place for colonization, where they could escape the tyranny of China's new and alien rulers. The coming of the Chinese was frowned upon by the Spanish officials. The business ability of the Chinese aroused the jealousy of the Spanish merchants, while the friars opposed their coming as soon as it was found that they would not easily become converts of Christianity. In spite of the

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prohibition by the Spanish authorities, heavy special taxation, and the hostility of merchants, priests, and natives, the Chinese continued to come to the islands and to prosper. Three times their numbers became so great and their business men so wealthy that they threatened to dominate the affairs of the islands, and each time nearly all who were then living there were killed off, by what can be given no kindlier term than massacres. In spite of this and the fact that the Spanish prohibitions have been perpetuated under American rule by the enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act, the Chinese to-day, though numbering less than 50,000 or less than 1 per cent. of the total population of the islands, control 90 per cent. of the retail trade and practically 75 per cent. of the entire commerce of the islands.

The geography of the Philippines is such as to accentuate tribal differences. Spain found the inhabitants scattered about over many islands, often separated by expanses of water wide enough to make navigation by their rude boats a dangerous voyage. This difficulty was increased by the recurrence of monsoons which made it impossible for boats travelling between certain islands to return for many months. In the interior, the mountains, as well as the jungle growth and rivers, divided each island into

many isolated districts. A waste of rough country, almost without inhabitants, separates the important island of Luzon into northern and southern parts. The northern part is again divided by three mountain ranges running north and south almost parallel to each other. The main valleys formed by these mountains are subdivided by forests, mountain spurs, jungles, rivers, and uninhabited tracts. The valley and coast lands are covered with a tropical vegetation through which even the narrowest trail is maintained with considerable difficulty. The numerous rivers are subject to frequent flood because of the heavy rainfall which, in recent years, has reached a maximum of 88 inches in four days. All of the larger islands are mountainous, many of the ranges being more than 4,000 feet high. The island of Negros is cut into two parts by a mountain range so forbidding that the two sections are almost without communication except by water. Even the climatic conditions of the islands vary considerably, not only between the mountains and the valleys, but also between sections distant only a few hundred miles. Partly because of these climatic conditions and partly because of the isolation of different sections, valleys in the same locality will be given over to the growth of entirely different crops. Probably in no other

part of the world is there a similarly populated area where there exist natural conditions so calculated to make communication difficult and strengthen tribal differences. Every circumstance of Philippine geography seems contrived to keep the inhabitants separated from each other and to prevent the development of racial unity. This is a fact too important to be overlooked in any consideration of the problems of the islands.

At the time of the Spanish conquest none of the tribes except the Moros possessed any political organizations such as existed among the North American Indians. The Filipinos had not advanced beyond the village stage of government, and were divided into small tribes who lived under the rulership of village chieftains. The Spanish conquest was tedious, but because of the mutual hostility of the village tribes, which allowed no possibility of their organizing for resistance, it encountered no serious difficulties.

The work of Christianizing the islands went on as fast as the work of conquest, and the native had as little to say about one as about the other. In accordance with the semi-religious policy of Spain, the acceptance of Christianity was one of the conditions of surrender to the Spanish soldier. However

insincere this profession of faith may have been at first, in a very short time the Filipinos were devoutly Catholic. Of the present population of about eight million, probably seven million are Catholic.

The Moros in the south remained faithful Mohammedans, for here as elsewhere Christianity has made scanty headway among the followers of the Prophet. The only others who remained non-Catholic were the barbarous head-hunting tribes of the interior with whom the missionary friars seldom came in contact. The spread of Catholicism through the tribes which have since been classed as "civilized" was so complete and the power of the church so great that during the three centuries of nominal rule by Spain the islands were actually ruled by the church. The friars always exercised a great deal more power than the Spanish officials, and the revenues of the church were far in excess of those of the government. The domination of the friars may be easily explained without attributing it to the fact that they often misused their priestly powers. Each Governor-General came to the islands for only a short time, and with each new appointment there was a complete change in the personnel of officials, who rarely remained in the islands long enough to gain more than a casual working knowledge of conditions. On the

other hand the friars came to spend their lives in the Philippines, and were the only class of foreigners thoroughly familiar with local conditions.

The years passed and more liberal ideas spread over other parts of the world, but Spain made no material changes in the policy under which she had taken possession of the islands. Her task was to Christianize them, and that having been accomplished, nothing more was due. The church was mediæval, and the few of the long line of Governors-General who desired to introduce new ideas found it impossible to combat the power of the church. An illuminating example of this power has recently come to light. One of the Connecticut Yankees, who were the pioneers of American trade in the Orient, was G. W. Hubbell, son of Captain Ezekiel Hubbell of Bridgeport. He served as United States Consul to Manila, where he died May 3, 1831. In the course of time news of his death reached Bridgeport, and money was sent out to Manila, with which to erect a monument. The stone was purchased and the inscription cut on it, but before it was erected over the grave, it transpired that Hubbell had been a Free **M**A. Mason. Immediately the powers of the church were invoked, the monument was hidden away, and the location of the unmarked grave forgotten. Not until

after the American occupation, nearly seventy years later, was it possible to bring the simple stone from its hiding place and set it up in honour of the pioneer American.

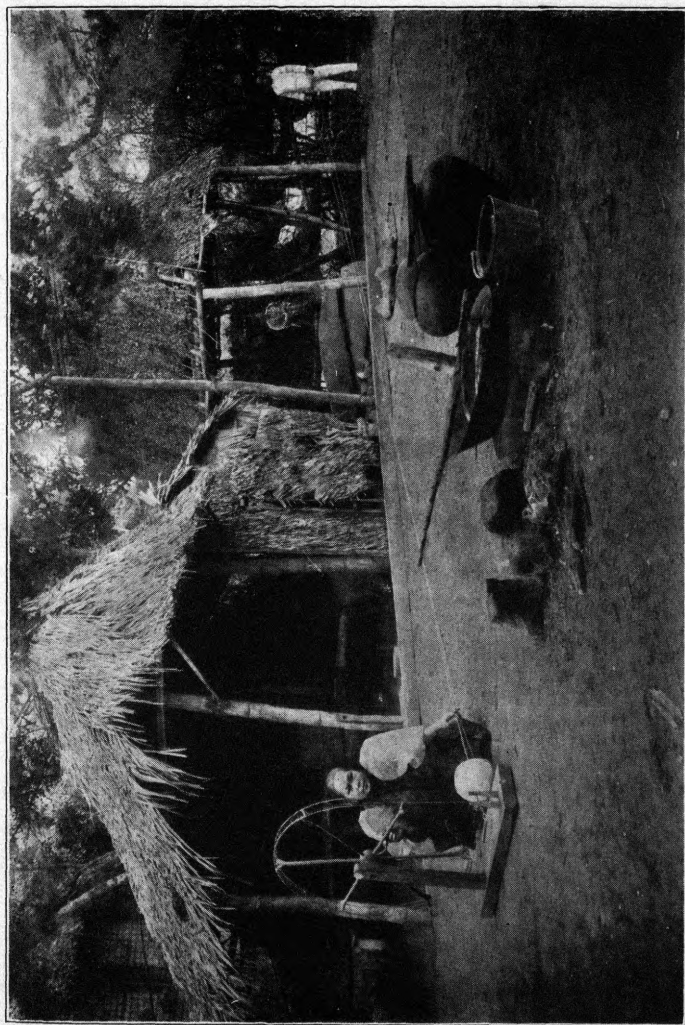
However, the important result, or the important failure, of Spanish rule in the Philippines, so far as present-day problems are concerned, was not necessarily the result of Spanish religious ideas. The Christianization of the Philippines was a remarkable missionary achievement. Spain's failure is found in the fact that she did not unify the Filipinos. She found a people without any unity, divided into many tribes with different languages, customs and religions, and so hostile to each other that even the exigencies of foreign invasion did not cause them to combine against their common foe. Ethnologists, I believe, agree that with the exception of a few unimportant tribes, all the Filipinos are from the same stock. Indeed it is not necessary to go beyond a study of the physical conditions of the islands to account for the tribal differences which existed, divided as the people were among the various islands and on them separated by mountains, rivers and jungles. In the same manner can be found the specific cause for most of the tribal characteristics. The Ilocanos, known as "The Yankees of the Philippines," have gained that name be-

cause they occupied a narrow strip of territory on the northwest coast of Luzon, hemmed in by hostile neighbours, and only by developing sharp wits were they able to exist. Likewise, the Igorotes were compelled to become an industrious tribe because, driven from the plains to the mountains, they would have starved to death if they had not, at great labour, built up the most wonderful system of irrigated terraces in the world. Tribes occupying the fertile coast and valley lands developed laziness and shiftlessness, since all their wants were supplied by the work of a few days each year.

If any one doubts the strong influence these conditions have in developing differences in the same kinds of men, let him consider the Arkansas "cracker" and the Kentucky mountaineer, separated by only a few hundred miles in residence, and by only a few generations from a common stock, yet displaying such differences that they might well belong to different races. To see the same principle working in a different way, go to the great Chengtu plain, in Western China, where in less than three hundred years the immigrants from all parts of China who filled up the plain have developed the same characteristics as those of the older Szechuaneze, who were practically exterminated by the Manchus.

Every advance in civilization has contributed to the breaking down of these natural barriers which separate people and make them different. In the United States we built our railways east and west, and so fought, north against south. Probably the American Revolution would never have been fought, and we would now be the richest British Dominion, if New York and London had been connected in 1770 by cable and steamship lines as at present. A good telephone system would have averted the Peloponnesian Wars. The fight of Texas for independence and the war with Mexico which came later would never have been fought if the muddy Rio Grande and its accompanying desert were north instead of south of Texas. Both these wars were fought to make an arbitrary political boundary conform to natural geographic lines.

It is interesting to note how these principles operate in determining the destiny of the Filipinos. They explain why the Spaniards found so many different and hostile tribes in the islands; and why, because the Spanish work of civilization stopped half way, there was not developed, nor is there to-day, a Filipino people. There are many tribes, physically very much the same, but without that equipment of common language, traditions, customs, and ideals



Typical village scene among the Christian Filipinos





A near view of the rice terraces, showing the great height to which the walls were built in order to secure a level plot of land

necessary to make of them one people or one nation. Spanish rule did little or nothing to break down the tribal differences, and it is probably not unjust to say that these differences were encouraged, for with the tribes mutually hostile the maintenance of Spain's sovereignty was much easier. Few roads were built to bring the people into communication with each other, and the tribes remained isolated, ignorant, and suspicious of aliens. The teaching of the Spanish language was discouraged, and at the end of the Spanish rule the great mass of the people were as unable as in the old days of barbarism to communicate with people outside their own tribe. All teaching was in the hands of the friars, who owed their dominant position largely to the fact that they alone understood both Spanish and the tribal languages and were therefore invaluable as intermediaries. Naturally they did not jeopardize their own position by adding to the native knowledge of Spanish. An interesting fact in connection with the teaching of the friars was revealed in the census of the islands, taken in 1903. It was found that, although the proportion of Filipinos who could read was about the same as of Cubans or Porto Ricans, only half of those who could read were able to write. Obviously the friars' ideas of education were directly opposed to any sys-

tem which would enable the pupil to do more than absorb those carefully selected pieces of literature approved by himself.

After three centuries of contact with Spain, the common Christian religion was the strongest, if not the only positive link which connected the people. They professed one faith, but they continued to worship in many different tongues. By a strange paradox, though bound together by their common Christianity, it was their hatred of the friars which most frequently roused the Filipinos to organized opposition to church or government, and furnished the reason for the organization of reform associations.

It might be said that instead of unifying the diverse elements of native population, the residence of Spaniards added an entirely new and important factor. As in all other parts of the Far East, the residence of foreigners in the Philippines has been followed by the growth of a comparatively large population of half castes, known there by the Spanish name of "mestizos." But there they occupy an unique position. The proportionate number of mestizos in the Philippines is probably no greater than the number of half castes, or Eurasians, in the Chinese treaty ports. However, the Eurasians are of an inferior class, have no social standing, rarely possess any marked

business or professional ability, and are generally considered a negligible factor in all affairs of the community. In Shanghai and other Chinese treaty ports, special schools are maintained for the Eurasian. In all places he is given greater opportunities for advancement than are afforded the full blood native child, if for no other reason than the aid given by the father who is not infrequently a man of some prominence. Yet the Eurasians, as a class, are certainly not superior, if equal, to the native Chinese. After a few generations of further admixture with the Chinese, all trace of the foreign blood is lost and the grandson or great-grandson of the European or American is as strictly Chinese as his pure-blood cousin. In the Portuguese colony of Macao, there remains but little trace of the original Portuguese families. At Kaifeng, where a Jewish colony was established, it is now impossible to distinguish between the descendants of the Jews and the pure Chinese.

In the Philippines, the situation is entirely different. Every admixture of foreign blood with the Malay has tended to elevate the race, and make the half caste superior to the native.* The mestizo has

*In this superiority of the mixed over the pure blood Filipino there is a striking similarity to the case of the American negro. Of the American negroes who have achieved even a moderate amount of success, practically

been the dominant class in native affairs for two centuries. An extraordinarily large number of the prominent men of the islands are admittedly of mixed blood, while there exists a reasonable doubt whether any of them are of pure blood. Rizal, the most famous man produced by the Philippines, was the descendant of a Chinese trader who fled from the

all are of mixed blood. To carry the comparison farther one might say that in three centuries of contact with Western civilization the Filipinos have made less progress than the American negro has made in two thirds of that time. In a measure of individual accomplishment, that is, in the number of successful men, the Filipino record does not equal that of the American negro. This comparison is, of course, unfair to the Filipino. The American negro has been entirely surrounded by whites and has been dominated by them. The Filipino, in comparison, has been but remotely influenced by transplanted Western civilization. The Filipino, until recently, knew only the archaic thought of Spain. The American negro has received his training in progressive America. Quite aside from all this is the fact that there is a very much greater admixture of foreign blood with the negroes than with the Filipinos.

Mr. James A. LeRoy, an authority on Philippine affairs, who is inclined to be optimistic about the Filipino, has the following to say about the superiority of the mestizo over the Eurasian: "It may be suggested, as a point which possibly some of the dogmatists on the Orient have never considered, that there would very likely be a great deal of difference between the Eurasian born of a union of Portuguese sailors, British soldiers, and other rovers and outcasts with native women of the most abandoned and lowest type, as was usually the case in the seaports, and the Eurasians born of the union of respectable Spaniards of the middle class, an even better social position and cultivation, with the very pick of the native women of the Philippines, for both physical beauty and intelligence; the children of these Philippine alliances, moreover, were quite commonly reared in the best homes of the locality in which they lived, had the best educational advantages offered in the provinces and in Manila, and frequently were sent to Spain, often also to Paris, for further education." — "Philippine Life in Town and Country," p. 38.

vicinity of Amoy when that city was finally compelled to surrender to the Manchus and give up its allegiance to the Mings. In addition to this Chinese blood in his father's family, Doctor Rizal's mother was of Ilocano-Tagalog-Chinese-Spanish descent, with a little Japanese blood. Were Doctor Rizal the only famous Filipino whose mixed blood is a matter of common knowledge, we might ignore the fact, but he occupies no unique position. It would be offensive to single out the many examples which might be given, but of the many Filipinos whose names have become familiar to Americans, from Aguinaldo onward, all are mestizos. In the widespread discussion of the destinies of the Philippines, the man most affected, the full-blood Filipino, has yet to contribute his share.

Just how large a proportion of the total population can be placed in the mestizo classification, it would be most difficult to determine, but certainly the number is very large, for this class of population began to grow from the first occupation of the islands by the Spaniards, and had probably begun even before that as a result of the visits of Chinese traders. More than a hundred years ago, a writer noted that: "The population of the capital (Manila) in consequence of its continual communication with the Chinese and other Asiatics, with the sailors of different nations,

with the soldiers and with the Mexico convicts, who are generally mulattos and who arrive in some numbers every year, has come to be a mixture of all the bloods and features." Long before that time, Chinese colonists came in large numbers; and, though jealousy has always existed between them and the natives this has not prevented intermarriage.

The morality of the Philippines is the morality of the banana belt, and every visit of the foreigner, from the early Chinese to the present American army, has left an increased number of half caste children. The census taken by the insular government places the mixed population of Manila at one fiftieth of the total, but most observers will contend that this figure is too low and probably represents only those who admit their mixed blood.* But whether the number is one fiftieth or one tenth, this class is more prosperous, more advanced, and more powerful than any other. While there are many eminent men among them, the class also includes the caciques, those political and industrial bosses of the Philippines who prey on their native fellow resi-

*Many of the mestizos of the Philippines are the offspring of legitimate marriages between native women and Spaniards or native women and Chinese. One of the most prominent Filipino politicians is the son of an English merchant. On the other hand, a large proportion of the mestizos are illegitimate, and for this reason, if no other, seek to deny or conceal their parentage.

dent. They represent the privileged class, whose coöperation with the friars and officials added to the injustice of the Spanish rule, but it is this class alone which has been heard in a discussion of Philippine problems.

CHAPTER II

AMERICA'S DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST

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IT IS not necessary to recount again the thrilling details of the Battle of Manila Bay, which has cost more money in printer's ink than in powder. Nor is it necessary to add to the already voluminous literature on various controversies which followed. It is not the purpose of these articles to inquire into disputes which are interesting now only as history, but instead to present a study of American administration, good and bad, such as will aid in an understanding of what many are pleased to term "The Philippine Problem." It is sufficient to say that Admiral Dewey sank the Spanish fleet in the bay on the morning of May 1, 1898, and by that act discovered the Philippines for America, as Magellan discovered them for Spain, nearly four hundred years before. An advanced geography in use in the public schools of the United States at that time confined its information about the Philippine Islands to the following paragraph:

✓ "The Philippine Islands are Spain's richest pos-

session. Manila, the capital, is noted for exports of hemp, rape, and tobacco. The Negritos, a diminutive black race, live in the interior.”

Even these scanty statements were not wholly true, for rape is not numbered among the exports for which Manila is famous, but the facts, as stated, were unknown to the great majority of Americans, of whom probably not one in ten thousand would have been able to tell, off hand, just where the islands were located.

Soon after the sinking of the Spanish fleet an army was recruited which landed on Philippine soil during July and August, 1898. On August 13th, Col. H. B. McCoy hauled down the Spanish flag from Fort San Antonio Abad. On the following day the remaining Spanish flags in and about Manila were replaced by the Stars and Stripes, and, according to all the precedents of warfare, the United States thereby became the possessor of Spain's title to the islands.

Not satisfied with a title which rested on military conquest alone, the United States agreed, in the treaty with Spain, which was signed in Paris, December 10, 1898, to pay that country \$20,000,000, virtually as price for the islands, though there were other considerations not generally known.* The payment

*In the negotiations at Paris, Spain, backed up by the opinion of

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of this large sum of money was a fortunate circumstance for bankrupt Spain, and though the thrifty chancelleries of Europe laughed at Uncle Sam's prodigal waste of money, the transaction left no room for questions as to the ownership of the islands. They belonged to the United States by the ancient right of conquest and by purchase as well. This territory, which had been secured with such scrupulous care, was one the United States had never contemplated acquiring, which had never been mentioned in a President's message, and was more distant from the mainland of the United States than any country of western Europe or any part of South America.

In the early operations against the Spaniards the American forces had been greatly aided by a body of insurgent Filipinos under the leadership of Emilio Aguinaldo. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Paris and for several months thereafter, pending Europe, insisted on Cuba assuming what Spain termed the "Cuban Colonial debt," amounting to about \$20,000,000. As this debt had been contracted by Spain in order to put down Cuban insurrections, the American ministers insisted that the debt should be assumed by Spain. However, Cuban resources had been pledged in payment, and the security holders, represented by a number of European chancelleries, backed up Spain's demands. The negotiations were nearing a deadlock over this issue when the United States offered a new proposal. This provided for the payment of \$20,000,000 to Spain and provided for the release of Cuba from all responsibility for payment of the so-called Cuban debt. Though possession of the Philippine Islands was one of the conditions of the contract, the payment of the \$20,000,000 was not for that alone.

its ratification by both countries, the native troops held a very large part of the islands, the Americans being in possession of only a small section around Manila and the neighbouring town of Cavite. In practically all other parts of the islands the native troops were in control, though all were not under the command of Aguinaldo. Spanish forces scattered about the islands were defeated by these independent bands of insurgents, and friars who had remained in the interior were imprisoned. The natives under Aguinaldo organized a provisional government, which, though never a very efficient or coherent organization, collected taxes and made an attempt at the administration of laws. Other parts of the island were comparatively undisturbed, but in a far greater area there was no semblance of law and order, and the people were subject to frequent raids by bands of thieves operating under a pretext of insurrection. The country under Spain had never been entirely free of brigandage, which increased greatly because of the disturbed condition.

The natives had been led by Aguinaldo to believe that the defeat of the Spanish by Americans would be followed by the withdrawal of the victors, leaving the Filipinos to set up a government of their own. Whether in spreading this idea Aguinaldo was more

the deceived than deceiver is one of those interesting but profitless questions we will not attempt to discuss. There were many Spaniards and others who urged an opposite view and kept alive the prejudice against Americans and the doubts as to America's objects which had been created before the arrival of Dewey's fleet. As an example of the campaign carried on by Spanish officials and church dignitaries at this time, with a view to arousing the natives against the Americans, the following paragraphs are selected from a proclamation widely circulated by the Governor-General to announce the approach of the American fleet:

“A squadron manned by foreigners, possessing neither instruction nor discipline, is preparing to come to this Archipelago with the blackguardly intention of robbing us of all that means life, honour, and liberty. Pretending to be inspired by a courage of which they are incapable, the North American seamen undertake as an example capable of realization the substitution of Protestantism for the Catholic religion you profess, to treat you as tribes refractory to civilization, to take possession of your riches as if they were unacquainted with the rights of property, and to kidnap those persons whom they consider useful to man their ships or to be serviceable in agricultural or industrial labour.

“Vain designs! Ridiculous boasting!

“Your indomitable bravery will suffice to frustrate the attempts to carry out their plans. You will not allow the faith you possess to be made a mockery of with impious hands placed on the temple of the true God, the images you adore to be thrown down by unbelief. The aggressors shall not profane the tombs of your fathers, they shall not gratify their lustful passions at the cost of your wives' and daughters' honour, or appropriate the property that your industry has accumulated as a provision for your old age.”

Considering the number of fanciful stories about the Philippines which intelligent Americans have accepted, it is not surprising that the less enlightened Filipinos should have placed a great deal of credence in such proclamations. As a matter of fact, the average native Filipino was led to believe that the Americans were much like the murderous and piratical Moros, whom they knew and feared, while in many places the belief was prevalent that Americans were cannibals.

This potential distrust of America, so skilfully spread by the Spaniards, found tangible support in the Treaty of Paris; the stipulation for the payment of \$20,000,000 to Spain confirmed the belief that they were being sold like cattle. In considering the causes for discontent of the Filipinos at this time,

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the fact must not be overlooked that their opposition to the friars was quite as intense as their opposition to Spanish rule. An insurrection led by Aguinaldo in 1896 had been ended by the promise of Spain to solve the Friar question, the Filipinos consenting to support Spanish sovereignty if Spain would limit the powers of the friars. The success of the Americans had ended Spanish rule, but there was no indication that the friars would not resume, under American rule, the same status they had previously held. A great many reports to this effect were spread among the Filipinos, and gained strength by the demands of Americans that the lives of the friars and priests be respected. It should be remarked here that though the Filipinos have hated and feared the friars for generations, and hoped for their expulsion from the islands, they are intensely and loyally Catholic. One of the strongest evidences of their good sense is that they were able to understand the oppressions of the friars as being due to faults of representatives of the church, rather than to the church itself, and to work for the downfall of the ministers of their religion, while retaining their simple faith in the religion itself. The Filipinos believed all Americans to be Protestants and also believed them to be on friendly terms with the friars. It was not inconsistent that

they found in each of these beliefs equal cause for distrust and dislike.

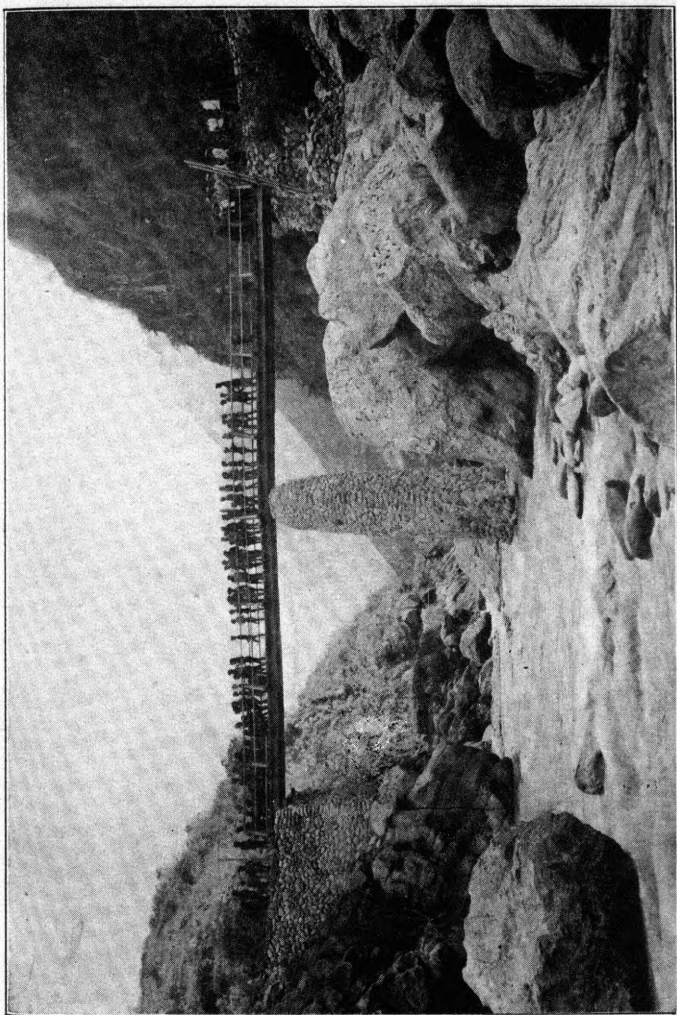
The strained relations between Americans and Filipinos developed no outward show of violence for several weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. The document had not yet been ratified by the United States Senate, and every one will recall the discussion in America at the time as to the retention of the islands. The question might have been decided by the Senate in a manner agreeable to the Aguinaldo party — that is, by rejection of the treaty and withdrawal from the islands. But early in February, 1899, just before the vote on ratification was taken, there was an outbreak by the Filipino troops, who, for a long time, had been attempting to compel the Americans to begin hostilities. The insurrection was on in dead earnest at the time the treaty was ratified in the United States Senate by a margin of a few votes.

Most of the controversial literature on the Philippines is devoted to the incidents of that unfortunate and bloody insurrection, and it is difficult even in this peaceful period to discuss the Philippines without going back to the days of the water cure, the supposed promises of independence, the exaggerated charges of cruelty and immorality against the Ameri-

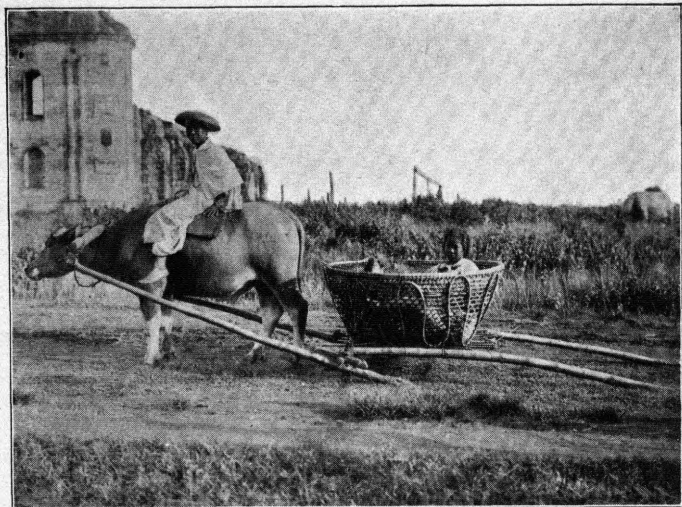
can soldier, Smith's devastation of Samar, and Senator Bacon's word pictures of a desolate Philippines, where "at nightfall clouds of vampire bats softly swirl out on their orgies over the dead." These things add zest to the discussion, but contribute little toward an understanding of present conditions. As a matter of fact, the vampire bats which swarmed out to their orgies were fruit bats, with a taste for bananas rather than carrion, but politicians cannot be expected to be too precise about such matters.

A recent book, "The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912," by Judge James H. Blount, is a masterful exposition of the arguments of the anti-imperialists based mainly on the incidents of that period. In this publication Judge Blount, like the good lawyer that he is, has made out what is probably the best possible indictment against his own country, but his arguments and his citations belong to the period of insurrection, and he tells nothing of the constructive work which has marked the last half of the fifteen years of American occupation, and has done so much to heal the wounds that were incident to the first.

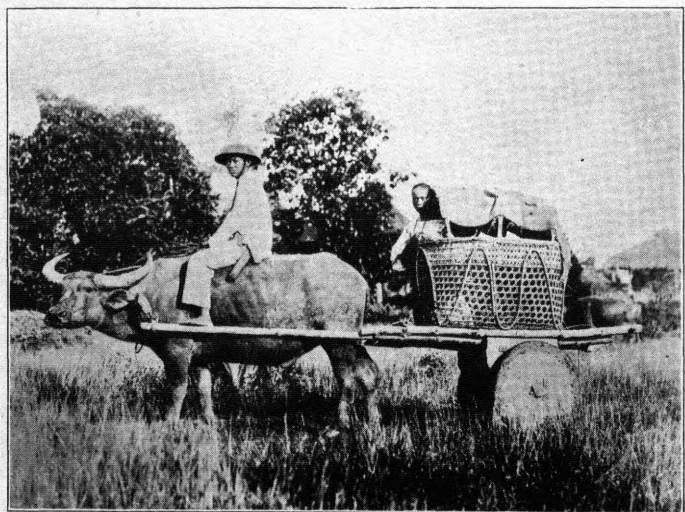
The insurrection grows of less importance each year as a phase of the Philippine Question. Both



This American bridge has connected two sections of Luzon, which, under Spain, were isolated and hostile



A native conveyance will travel about three miles an hour



These carts are equipped with knife-edged wheels which cut deep into the surface of the roads

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Filipinos and Americans in the islands have been too busy since its close to pay much attention to it, and it is a subject of discussion only in America, where it serves a certain political purpose. However, statistics of soldiers killed in battle are always more interesting than statistics of lives saved by modern surgery; the story of how Americans slew their little brown brethren is more thrilling than the story of how the same Americans are now teaching him to read and write, earn a living, and keep his precious body free from disease. The insurrection will continue to be dragged into discussion for many years to come, so it may be best to dispose of it by a few statements worthy of respect, not because they represent conclusions of the author, but because they are held by a great many of the best students of Philippine affairs.

Disaffected Filipinos who were anxious to be rid of Spanish rule would have taken advantage of the destruction of the Spanish fleet and the blockade of Manila harbour to attack the Spanish forces, whether or not incited to do so by Aguinaldo. Indeed, his arrival on the islands as a protégé of America did not in any essential degree affect the activity of the Filipinos which followed. They were not induced by false promises to aid the Americans in fight-

ing the Spaniards, but were ready and anxious to do so as soon as Admiral Dewey made it impossible for Spanish reinforcements to arrive.

The insurrection of the Filipinos was inevitable after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, and having once broken out against American authority, the only thing America could consistently do was to put it down. To have withdrawn the army while under attack by the Filipinos, as suggested by many long-distance students of the situation, would have been utter folly and productive of more harm to both Americans and Filipinos than the insurrection itself. In fights between Americans and Filipinos there were a few incidents Americans would like to forget, but no war fought between races as different as the Malay and the Anglo-Saxon has been without its record of cruelty and blood lust. America suffers nothing by comparison with other countries engaged in similar conflicts. Many mistakes were made, but the most serious error and one for which the least excuse can be found was that of making the Philippine occupation an issue of the Bryan-McKinley campaign. It was America's champion exhibition of demagoguery and served chiefly to fan the flames of the insurrection, which would have subsided much more quickly but for the belief, constantly encour-

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aged in America, that a change of administration would result in the withdrawal of the troops.*

The only way in which the insurrection could have been averted was for the United States to have severed all connection with the islands at the time the Treaty of Paris was signed. In that event the islands would either have reverted to Spain or assumed independence. Under a return of Spanish rule, a move which would have been entirely inconsistent with the United States policy in regard to Cuba, the insurrection would have been equally certain, would have been more bloody, and would have extended over a greater period of time.

In the event of independence of the islands, either by a provision of the Treaty of Paris or as a result of a successful insurrection against Spain, the islands would most probably have fallen under the control

*It would be very difficult to apportion the blame for this between the two political parties. Utterances of Democratic leaders and "anti-imperialists" encouraged the insurrecto leaders to believe that a Democratic victory would result in the immediate independence of the islands. As a result the insurrecto movement was greatly strengthened. On the other hand, the Republican administration, out of respect to political conditions at home, refused to admit the seriousness of the insurrection and refrained from dealing with it in a decisive manner. The net result of home politics was to unnecessarily prolong the insurrection and add many million dollars to the ultimate cost of repressing it. Unhindered by the exigencies of politics, the insurrection would probably have been ended in a year and at a cost of less than half of the \$300,000,000 expended by the United States.

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of some other foreign power by this time. Even admitting that foreign nations would have overlooked such a tempting and easily taken prize, that the Filipinos left to themselves would have been able to set up a government without further bloodshed, that the various tribes would have united with no common enemy in sight, that the Moros would have refrained from attacks on their neighbours, and that various other improbable things would have happened to confound the precedents of history and operate for the good of this fanciful Filipino Republic, the difficulties which the Filipinos would have faced in maintaining their own government without the equipment of a common language and with inadequate means of communication between various parts of the country, would have made the success of such a government impossible. To come to a similar conclusion by a different road — no one who goes to the Philippines to-day and spends even a very short time in a study of conditions can believe that the people would have acquired the same measure of prosperity, freedom, and happiness under their own as under American rule — nor that they would by this time or at any future time develop a capacity for self-government equal to that developing under American tutelage.

Unforeseen obstacles were encountered in putting

down the insurrection. It was the policy of the natives to avoid any decisive battle, but, by using guerilla tactics, to constantly annoy and harass the American troops, leading them on long trails through forest and jungle and fighting from ambush. The American troops were mostly volunteers, and tedious fighting in a tropical climate made them easily a prey to disease. The insurrectos suffered heavily at almost every engagement, but, fighting in small bands and making judicious retreats, they managed to drag out the campaign interminably. More troops followed those first sent out, and the American forces in the islands at one time numbered 70,000 men. At any time during this tedious insurrection it could have been brought speedily to an end by the simple expedient of cutting the cables between Manila and the United States. So bitter had become the political agitation at home over the solution of the Philippine problem, and so strong were the criticisms of the Administration, that the cable was constantly used by the Washington authorities to advise military officials in Manila to avoid engagements which would result in a heavy loss of life. It is no longer a military secret that many times during the campaign the Washington authorities halted the progress of plans to end the insurrection with one bloody engage-

ment. This decisive action would, of course, have greatly reduced the ultimate loss of life and property.

The insurrection had been under way but little more than a year when President McKinley appointed a commission, headed by William H. Taft, to establish civil government in the islands. The commissioners arrived in June, 1900, instructed to set up civil government in place of the military as fast as conditions of peace warranted that action. As a matter of fact, civil government was set up a good deal faster than conditions warranted, as is now generally admitted. The insurrection was still on when the Taft commission arrived in Manila, but the members began sending back reports to the effect that the end was in sight. These optimistic reports were corroborated by the military officials, but the sixty-day period which was set as a limit for the activities of the insurrectos was as fugitive as to-morrow, and it was not until several years later that peace was actually secured and civil government really established in all parts of the islands.

During this time the two authorities, civil and military, existed side by side, in more or less open conflict and jealousy. The first reports of the Taft commission refer to several of these differences, calling upon the Secretary of War to settle questions

of authority and responsibility. The co-existence of both civil and military authority in the islands not only led to some confusion of administration, but has ever since confused the minds of Americans at home. It will help to simplify matters if one bears in mind the fact that action of the United States in the Philippines falls naturally into two periods: one comprising that in which the military authorities were putting down the insurrection; the other the period in which the civil authorities have carried out the work, begun by the military, of fulfilling America's promise to give the islanders education, peace, prosperity, etc.

If the civil government had not been established until the islands were completely peaceful, there would be a clear line of division between the necessarily costly operations of the military and the inexpensive work of the civil administration. The latter has been self-supporting and has not cost the taxpayers of the United States a penny. As a matter of fact, the cost of suppressing the insurrection was about \$300,000,000, fifteen times the liberal amount paid to Spain by the Treaty of Paris. That is the figure so often quoted by those who evidently believe it is morally wrong to engage in warfare — if the war proves costly.

The insurrection was eventually put down, at an expense to the United States mentioned above. By 1905 there was no longer any open resistance to American authority. Many sections had been peaceful for several years, and those insurrectos who had not chosen to turn bandit had returned to their farms. The United States had secured its third title to the islands, which none could now dispute.

CHAPTER III

THE AMATEUR COLONISTS

MARK TWAIN'S Yankee at the Court of King Arthur was in an atmosphere but little more strange and mediæval than that in which the invading Yankees found themselves in Manila in the autumn of 1898.

Manila has always been the most important city of the Philippines, and conditions found there were typical of those existing throughout the provinces. Old stone walls surrounded an important part of the city which was also enclosed by a broad moat half filled with mud and stagnant water. There was no sewage system; slops were thrown into the streets and helped to make Manila, "the Pearl of the Orient," one of the foulest of the many foul smelling places in the Far East. Ten thousand people lived within the drainage basin from which the city's water supply was secured. The private wells were an abomination, reeking with odors and filled with disease-carrying germs. Large tracts of land within the city were below the sea level, forming marshy places which bred millions of mosquitoes to add to the

discomforts and dangers of life in the tropics. Disease was frequent, and the normally high death rate was occasionally swelled to alarming proportions by outbreaks of cholera. Leprosy was common and lepers were scattered about all over the islands, free to spread the disease without hindrance by the authorities. Modern medical knowledge was practically unknown and diseases worked their devastating course, hindered only by the prayers of the devout. The result of these conditions are manifest to-day in the poor physique of the Filipino people. There is scarcely a native family which has not lost one or more members through tuberculosis. Practically all adult Filipinos have animal parasites, or worms, "which cause anemia, low stature, poor physique, low mentality, and lack of ambition." So little was done in the way of modern sanitation that a sentence to Bilibid, now one of the model prisons of the world, was equivalent to a sentence of death, and the wife of a convict was at once considered a widow and was privileged to remarry without a tedious wait for the death of her husband. This custom became so firmly established that the courts to-day are frequently called upon to consider charges of bigamy against women whose husbands are serving prison terms.

The money which people in other countries would have expended on public improvements here went to the erection of churches and the maintenance of monasteries and convents. The church buildings in Manila occupy large blocks of land in the best locations, the value of the properties being placed at \$50,000,000. In contrast to the wealth of the church buildings was the fact that only a few of the most pretentious thoroughfares were paved with rough cobblestones, presenting a surface like the dry bed of a rocky creek. The other streets were surfaced by rubbish which had been thrown into them and tramped down by generations of bare feet. Bull carts, carriages, and pedestrians travelled through mud or dust, according to the season. The horse-car line in the city gave inadequate service. The only railway extended a distance of one hundred and twenty miles from Manila. The roads for bull carts leading out of the city had been built in haphazard fashion and maintained in the same way, with the result that the few in existence could be used only at the most favourable season of the year. Bridges once built had seldom been repaired, it being the custom of the Spanish officials to auction the ferry monopoly when a bridge fell into disuse, thereby making fortunes for the ferryman and themselves,

and saving drains on the public treasury. So little had been done by the Spaniards to build up a road system that a journey of a few miles into the interior was a very serious undertaking. A voyage from Manila to Jolo, a distance of about five hundred miles, occupied, with the return trip, from seven to eight months. Nothing had ever been done to improve the naturally fine harbour of Manila. That is, nothing had been done further than to discuss plans for its improvement, and vessels of sixteen-foot draft were compelled to anchor two miles from the shore.

The isolation of the natives had been changed but little by the three centuries of Spanish rule. Friars had established towns and induced some of the nomad tribes to live within hearing of the church bells, but the average native was completely isolated, knew nothing of his neighbours and usually distrusted them. Ninety per cent of the people of the islands lives in barrios,* or villages of less than 3,000, largely

*There is in the Philippines little rural life such as we know in America. The isolated farmhouse is unknown. Practically all who are not city dwellers live in the small villages known as barrios. Thus, the smallest governmental unit of administration is not the county, but the town or village. There live the small farmers, and the surrounding farm land is considered as tributary to the village. The Spanish governmental term, barrio, has come into general use and has been transplanted into the American scheme. The barrio consists not only of the village, but also of the farm lands owned by the villagers. It is much like the pueblo of Spanish-America.

because Spain had never been able to put down brigandage, and only by living in villages did the farmers find comparative safety. Partly because of this condition, less than one ninth of the land was under cultivation.

A system of primary education had been provided for by the Spanish Government, but all instruction was in the hands of the friars, whose textbook was the catechism. There is, in Manila, a university older than Harvard or Yale, but its educational standards in 1900 were little in advance of the period in which it was founded.* A strict press censorship, which exercised powers over all reading matter coming into the islands, had discouraged the growth of modern ideas and kept the Archipelago in intellectual isolation from the rest of the world. Many publications of Madrid were considered too advanced for circulation here, and were rigidly excluded.

*St. Thomas University is more than three hundred years old, the school now under the American flag. "In a report on the medical college (of St. Thomas) made to the American authorities a few years ago, a German physician of Manila stated that it had no library worth considering, that some text-books dated back to 1845, that no female cadaver had ever been dissected, that most graduates never had attended even one case of confinement or seen a case of laparotomy, and that bacteriology had been introduced only since American occupation and was still taught without microscopes."—"Philippine Life in Town and Country," p. 205.

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Of public improvements, there were practically none, unless one includes in that classification the numberless Catholic churches, convents, and monasteries. (There were fifty in Manila.) These comprised practically all of the fine buildings of the islands. They were built of stone and many of them were triumphs of architecture. One, built by friars from Mexico, has withstood three centuries of earthquakes, in a situation where earthquakes have frequently levelled all other stone buildings. With a few exceptions, the churches were the only buildings in the islands constructed of such permanent material as stone, all other buildings being of bamboo, with a few of hardwood. Almost every village presented the same scene: A fine stone church in the centre; near by the pretentious residence of the cacique (local aristocrat and political boss), and, grouped about these, hundreds of nipa and bamboo houses, all exhibiting the same aspect of poverty. The schoolhouse seldom appeared in this civic centre, for the padre usually taught the village children in the church or in his home. The few municipal buildings were mean and entirely overshadowed by the church, in conformity with the respective powers the two represented.

The Spanish system of government had been ad-

mirably suited to develop official extortion and bribery, for the presidentes and other municipal officials were required to serve without pay, but were allowed to recoup from the people. The post-office was a travesty on the name. All coastwise vessels were compelled to carry the mails free of charge, while all presidentes were required to serve as postmaster, without pay, and to forward all mail at their own expense.

As in other parts of the Far East, the Mexican peso was the principal circulating medium in which business was carried on. As nearly all the foreign trade of the islands was carried on with countries having a gold standard, and as the Mexican peso is worth no more than the silver it contains, this introduced a big element of speculation in all transactions. Hemp was sold to the United States at gold prices, but it was bought in Mexican dollars, which might be worth from 37 to 55 cents, depending on the price of silver. The same conditions operated to restrict the purchase of foreign goods, which were paid for in gold, but sold at prices expressed in terms of the gid-dily fluctuating peso. The only thing done by the Spanish Government to regulate this evil was to impose heavy import taxes on Mexican dollars, thereby creating a very profitable employment for certain gentlemen who smuggled the coins in from China for

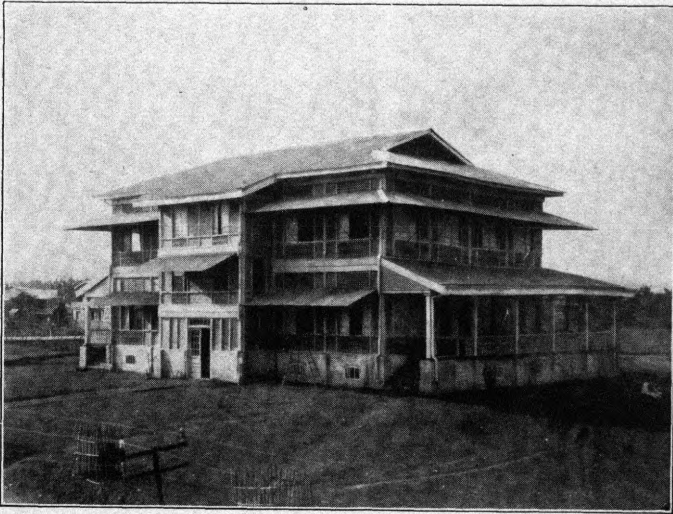
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the foreign banks, and shared the profits with high Spanish officials.

There were few other ports of the same size where less evidence of American activities could have been found. At one time American trade with the Philippines had been of some importance, and before the Civil War the American flag was a familiar sight in Manila Bay. The local hemp industry had received its first encouragement from Boston and Salem skip-pers, and the United States has always been a large purchaser of this important export. In 1858 more than fifty American vessels called at Manila with cargoes valued at \$463,000, and carried away goods valued at more than \$2,000,000. During the same period, the United States was buying about half of the cigars exported from Manila. Then came the decline of the American merchant marine and the failure of the great American firms of Russell & Sturgiss, Oliphant & Co., and Peele, Hubbell & Co. Though America continued to buy large quantities of hemp from Manila, the cargo was carried in British vessels and handled by British exporters. The American flag was a strange sight in Manila harbour. American knowledge of the Philippines was probably far behind that of any other civilized country. In the astonishingly voluminous bibliography of the

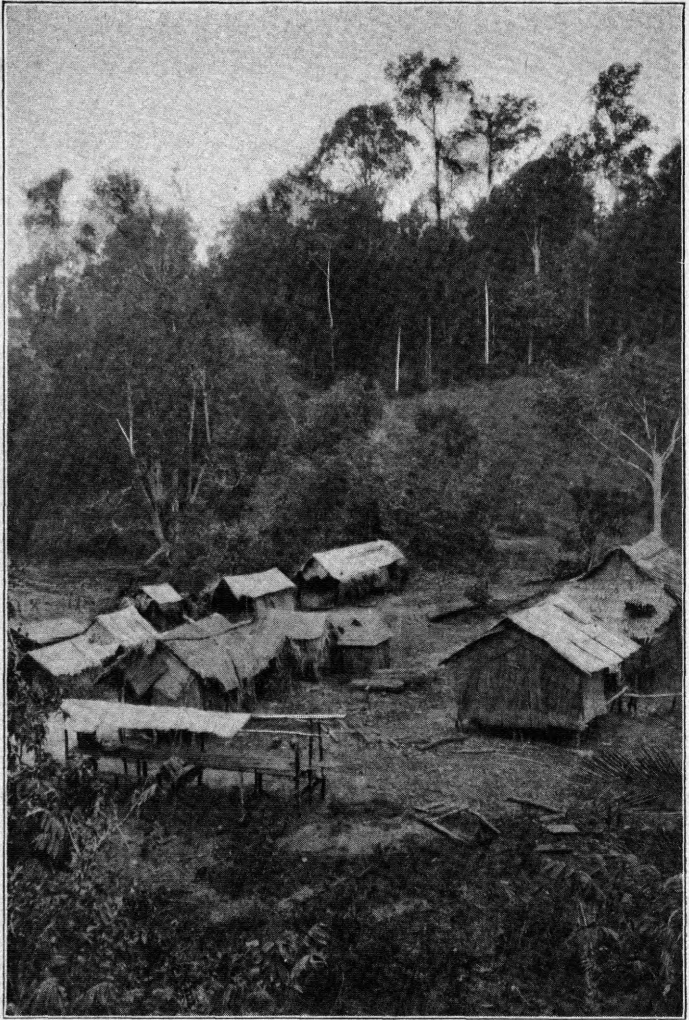


An old style Spanish schoolhouse outgrown through the popularity of American educational methods



Modern High School Building built under American Administration





A VILLAGE IN THE FOREST

Thousands live in a small village built in forest clearings practically without communication with their neighbours

Philippines contributed by English, German, and Spanish writers, I have been unable to learn of more than one book on the Philippines written by an American before 1898, or to learn of any visit to the islands by more than one American traveller of note before that date. When the Peace Commission met in Paris, the American commissioners, in the absence of qualified Americans, were compelled to rely for advice on a British journalist.

The task of building a nation out of the material at hand would have been a stupendous one, even if the United States had been allowed to approach it in the spirit originally intended, and with the expectation that as sponsors for a new era in the Philippines they would be gratefully received by the Filipino people. Instead, the insurrection came as a means of magnifying the differences between Americans and natives. The former had, by the force of circumstances, been compelled to follow the programme of the Spanish, who whipped the natives before Christianizing them. The Americans had expected a different reception, but the same process was repeated, and the Filipinos were smarting under their recent beating when the Americans began what may be described as the constructive period of their occupation of the Philippines.

In addition to the intangible opposition to Americans and American methods which was one of the results of the insurrection, the ravages of war also operated to hamper the constructive work. The country had been in a state of war for several years and thousands of farmers had followed the classic example of Cincinnatus, to the great injury of the plow and the fields. The large number who remained non-combatants would not sow when there was a strong probability that others would do the reaping. The insurrectos relied on the fields of their countrymen to make up the deficiencies of their commissary department, and fallow fields offered the safest guaranty from brigandage. Many of the carabaos* had been killed off by the war; and scarcely had peace come when the rinderpest broke out. The result of these two calamities was that nine tenths of the carabaos were exterminated. The effect on agriculture was as serious as would be the loss of a similar proportion of farm animals in the United States. A severe drought and a pest of locusts added to the devastation and poverty brought about by the war,

*The strong, ungainly carabao is the mainstay of Philippine agriculture. Though slow in movement the carabao is able to move heavy loads and outside of the larger towns is the only draught animal used. The small Philippine horses are few in number and of little value in agriculture. Owing to the present scarcity of carabaos, the price is practically prohibitive to the small farmer.

and agriculture was in a worse condition than it had ever been during Spanish rule. It has not yet recovered the normal condition, and although the Philippines was formerly a rice exporting country, rice has been one of its principal imports during the entire period of American occupation.

Examples of the many peculiar problems the American administrations have been called upon to face are found in the early records of attempts to better these agricultural conditions. The Americans, some of whom came from the grasshopper belt, were not unfamiliar with the locust pest and started to combat it by the time honoured method of driving the locusts into ditches and burning them. In addition, locusts afflicted with a fungous disease were introduced, to spread the disease among other locusts. The Americans naturally expected the unstinted and unanimous praise of the natives for their work, but much to their surprise they found that while the large planters were delighted to see the locusts disappear, the poorer people, to whom the insects were a staple article of food, bitterly resented their destruction. The problem was complicated by the fact that the people ate the diseased locusts, adding to the large number of diseases which the poor Filipino has always with him.

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In November, 1902, the supply of rice was so limited that a famine was threatened, and the commission learned of the formation of a syndicate of wealthy mestizos which had been formed to corner the small available supply and force the price still higher, a device which is common in all rice consuming countries. The commission appropriated \$1,000,000 for the purchase of rice, which was imported and sold at a reasonable price to relieve the immediate suffering, at an incidental loss of \$125,000. As a precautionary measure for the future, the government issued a proclamation calling on all farmers to plant their rice fields, and offering free seed to those who needed it. The duty of informing the people of the proclamation was assigned to the native municipal officials, who had recently taken over the city governments. Many of these either misunderstood their instructions, or interpreted them in the spirit of the Spanish rule, for they threw into jail all farmers who did not at once plant rice. The unfortunate farmers were released as soon as the commission heard of the matter. These trivial incidents illustrate not only the peculiar difficulties which the Americans have at all times been called upon to face, but also indicate how little fitted the Filipinos were to solve their problems by themselves.

In this early work, there were many failures, partly due to the ignorance of the Americans and partly to causes which could not be controlled. The American seed distributed by the Agricultural Bureau had been kept too long in the hot, moist climate of Manila, and did not germinate when planted, thereby giving the Filipino farmer, like his American brother, an opportunity to discourse authoritatively on the superiority of the good old hit-and-miss method of farming, as taught by his father, over the fanciful theories of the book farmer. An attempt was made to import carabaos from China, to replace those killed by the rinderpest and the war, but most of the animals died, and the venture cost the government a good deal of money without appreciably changing conditions in the islands.

While discussing these early handicaps and failures it is not out of place to tell of one early venture of the Americans which was a great success, but has hitherto been unpraised: that was the artificial manufacture of a hero for the Filipino people. Among other things the Filipino people lacked to make them a nation was a hero — a safe hero, the only safe ones, of course, being dead. Aguinaldo held the highest place in the eyes of his countrymen, as the leader of the recent insurrection, but he was not only a flimsy

hero on whom to centre the ideals of a nation, but one who might be of considerable danger to the American administration. It was expedient to establish a hero whose fame would overshadow that of Aguinaldo, and thereby lessen that leader's ability to make future trouble. It was also sound constructive statesmanship to encourage the Filipino people to idealize one of their martyred fellow countrymen, who had expressed the highest Filipino aspirations.

Common report in Manila credits the inspiration of this move to Governor Taft, who at once fixed on José Rizal, a Filipino leader who had been executed by the Spaniards less than two years before the battle of Manila Bay. Rizal was undoubtedly the greatest man ever produced by the Philippines, though in no way deserving the high esteem to which he has been forced by artificial American methods. His chief claim to fame is that he wrote "Noli Me Tangere," a brilliant novel, which has been translated into English under the title "The Social Cancer." This book, written in 1886, is a graphic picture of the conditions in his country under Spanish rule. It was one of many publications by him in which he sought to show the mistakes of the Spanish administration, and also to show the Filipinos how much of their dis-

tress was due to their own ignorance and indolence. Rizal was never an active insurrecto, though he was the leader of a small band of Free Masons and enlightened Filipinos who worked for the betterment of conditions in the islands, and he was a popular leader in whose name many contributions for insurrections were levied. He was executed by the Spanish on December 30, 1896, on trumped-up charges. Few equal Rizal as a brilliant writer, as a scholar, and as one who had a most sympathetic understanding of his people's miseries, but he was not a great man in the sense that he ever did anything or was capable of doing anything to relieve the suffering he was so able to point out; and the shortest excursion into his private life is decidedly unpleasant.

But Rizal is the hero of the Philippines. One of the first acts of the Taft Commission was to appropriate \$15,000 for a Rizal monument which now adorns the Lunetta. An important province was named after him, and many street names were changed in various cities of the country, the names of Spanish grandes being abandoned and that of Rizal substituted. His vignette adorns the two-centavo postage stamp and the two-peso banknote. The anniversary of his execution was made a holiday. An employee of the Bureau of Education has

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devoted a great part of his spare time to researches into Rizal's life, building up a rather voluminous Rizal literature. Rizal's collection of books occupies a position of honour in the Manila Public Library, where his portrait in oil is hung over a clumsy contrivance said to be his chair. As soon as this artificial fame had been created for him Filipino orators began conjuring with his name just as American orators use the names of Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and the minor state heroes. It would be impossible now to stop the Rizal cult. Lead pencils are named after him. Cigar boxes bear his picture, and in the heyday of his manufactured glory an exhilarating drink was known in Manila as the Rizal cocktail.

The idea of making a hero to order in this way may appear preposterous to the American mind. We are accustomed to think of our heroes as the natural product of our own country, which may yet make a hero out of any one of us. But what a poor thing our national pride would be if no American had ever risen above the dead level on which we and our neighbours, and the people in the next town, are halted! Suppose no American had ever gained enough fame to be heard of in Europe! That was about the situation with the Filipinos, and this artificial but highly successful creation of the hero Rizal

filled a place in the life of the Filipinos quite as necessary as the building of roads or the establishment of schools.

To return, after this Rizal diversion: Americans started in the Philippines on a task of construction which would have been stupendous even in America. They were handicapped by the tropical climate, which often makes the most energetic American indolent; by the dense ignorance of the people, always ready to resent any change from the established order of things, to misinterpret the most benevolent action and ascribe to it sinister motives; by the lack of money, for the money contributed by the people of the United States to the Philippines was all spent in putting down the insurrection, and the Filipinos are paying out of their own pockets for the constructive work the United States has been doing; and finally by the ignorance of the Americans themselves of conditions in the islands, and of the requirements of colonial government. Add to all this the maddening fact that Americans at home have consistently refused to be interested in the work of their country in the Philippines.

No measure of American accomplishment is complete or fair without taking these things into consideration, and without especially noting the fact

that a great deal of work had to be done before the islands could reach a condition as favourable as the normal condition before the war. Nor is it fair to advertise the blunders of the Americans without considering that, ill prepared as they were to do the work they had set out to do, they were immeasurably better prepared to do the work than the Filipinos themselves.

As the most serious American blunders belong to the earlier period of work, the story of the Benguet road should properly come in this chapter. It is not representative of American achievement in the islands, but it illustrates how easily their ignorance of conditions led them into serious blunders.

The intensely hot weather which prevails in Manila during the summer months proved especially trying to Americans, and soon after the arrival of the Taft Commission search was begun for some spot which would be available as a combined health and summer resort, a thing which is not a luxury, but a necessity, in the tropics. One can imagine that Governor Taft, not the physical type of man supposed to enjoy hot weather, was sweltering through a very hot day when he wrote the report of 1900 to the Secretary of War feelingly describing the heat of the capital city and arguing the necessity of finding "any accessible

region presenting suitable climatic and other conditions for the speedy recuperation of sufferers from wounds, tropical diseases, wasting illnesses of any sort, or from the injurious effects of long-continued residence in a hot climate.”

The same report announced the selection of Baguio, the capital of the province of Benguet, one hundred and thirty-two miles from Manila in a straight line, and about forty-five miles from the terminus of the Manila-Dagupin railway, the only Philippine line then in operation. Capt. Charles W. Meade, of the Volunteer Army, then serving as city engineer of Manila, was sent to survey a route from Dagupin to Baguio. He reported that a railway fifty-five miles long could be constructed for \$2,500,000, including equipment and rolling stock. He also reported that a highway along the proposed route of the railway would be necessary in order to make a final instrumental survey, and that the highway could be built for approximately \$75,000. The commission at once authorized work to be begun on the highway. In view of subsequent events, one can only be thankful that they did not undertake the building of the railway.

About a year later, the commission began the story of the disasters of the Benguet road as follows:

“The commission has been very much disappointed in the difficulties it has encountered in the construction of a wagon road from Pozorubio in the province of Pangasinan to Baguio in the province of Benguet, a road which is essential to the use of Benguet as a site for a sanitarium and for the recuperation of the health of civil employees. The engineer, Captain Meade, who made the first survey of the road and entered upon its construction, made an error in placing the road at such a level that it had to be constructed through friable rock at a great height above the bed of Bued River. On this grade it was most difficult to maintain a proper slope for the fills, and the rainy season with its accompanying landslides washed the road away along a distance of five miles of its course. A different course for this distance has now been adopted, carrying the road nearer to the river along a course where it is chiefly hard rock, and where there is no difficulty in maintaining a proper slope even against the hard rains of the wet season. The road has been constructed from Pozorubio on the one hand and Baguio on the other, so that the two ends are within twelve miles of each other, and it is hoped that during the coming winter a horse trail can be constructed to join the two parts, and that by next summer the whole wagon road will be completed. The original estimate for the cost was \$75,000, but the actual cost has already greatly exceeded that sum and it is doubtful whether it can be constructed for less than \$300,000.”

The following year the commission again found it necessary to revise its estimates as to the Benguet road which was "proving much more costly than was expected," but states "it is the settled purpose of the commission to see this improvement through, no matter what the cost."

By the time the report for 1903 was written, the original project for the road was abandoned, as it was found that the mountain, instead of being solid rock, as a self-respecting mountain should be, was made up of small fragments of rock. It was, in fact, little more than a huge gravel pile on which nothing substantial could be built. Another engineer, Mr. J. W. Beardsley, was employed, and made a new survey, planning an entirely different road through the Bued valley, which the neighbouring Igorotes believed to be inhabited by evil spirits. The estimate of the cost of the new road was \$1,000,000, this high cost being explained by the fact that much of the route would be through solid rock. One million dollars may appear to be a large sum to spend on a wagon road less than fifty miles long, but this amount had been reached by easy stages from \$75,000; and buildings had been erected in Baguio in anticipation of the opening of the road, which was more of a necessity than ever before. Work was ordered begun, and in

the fall of 1903 the commission expressed the belief that the road would be completed in twelve months.

For a long time it appeared that the Igorotes were right about the presence of evil spirits in the valley. Cholera, which was general throughout the islands, broke out with especial violence among the road workers, and many died. The contractors were continually having trouble with the workmen, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos appearing equally unsatisfactory. The "solid rock" lost its solidity after the heavy rains of the wet season, and huge landslides tore away the road for miles at a time, repeating the calamities of the earlier attempt.

At the time in 1904 which had been expected to mark the completion of the road, the commission had grown so reticent about the project that little was said about it. Indeed, only a very careful reading of the bulky reports for that year will reveal the existence of any project such as the Benguet road, though \$600,000 was spent on it that year. But the work continued, and by March 23, 1905, the total appropriations for the project had reached the enormous total of \$2,051,562, more than twenty times the amount originally estimated and almost equal to the amount originally estimated for the construction and complete equipment of a railway between the same

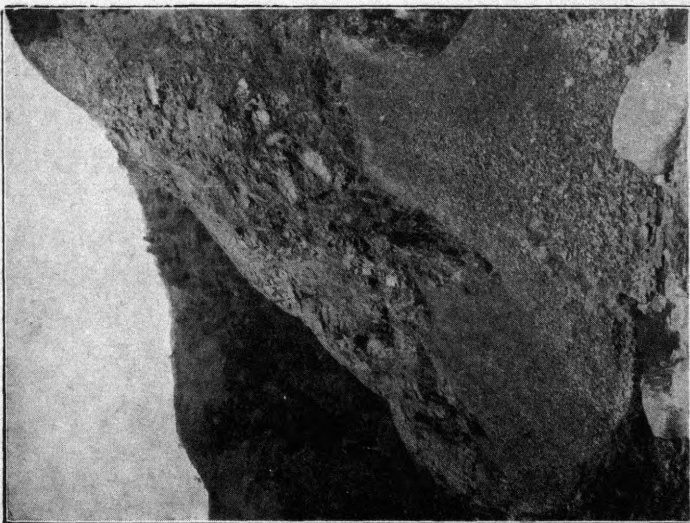
points. The report for 1906 was able to state "the Benguet road proper has been completed at a very large expense and was extensively used during the last heated season." It is still extensively used, and is one of the most picturesque highways in the world, as well as one of the finest examples of road-building.

There were many other events which contributed to the difficulties of the American administrators during this time of experiments and disappointments. In his first report, Governor Taft, remarking on the great difficulty in finding men suitable to fill the offices in the civil government, said: ". . . and in the outset it is not too severe to say that the percentage of Filipinos who can be trusted to handle money in public office or to exercise any direct official control over their fellow residents without peculation or the imposition of illegal charges is comparatively small. They must be taught by better salaries and by the example of Americans a different standard of integrity."

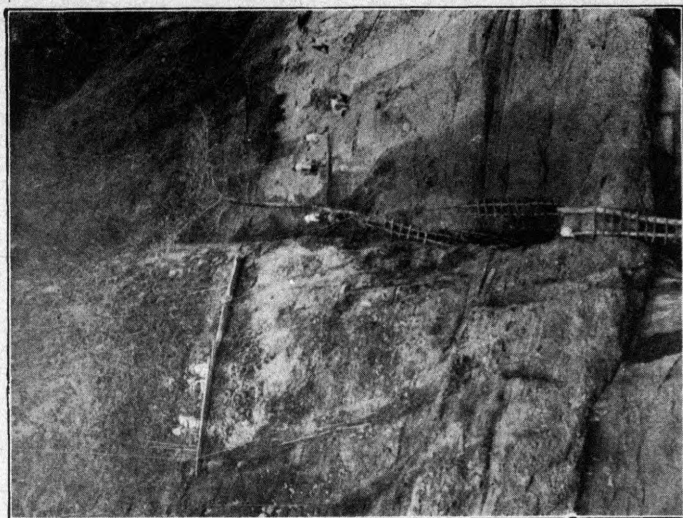
In carrying out this policy, Americans were appointed as provincial treasurers and in other capacities where they could keep control of the finances. But in the selection of these men, there was almost as much difficulty as in finding suitable Filipinos. Practically the only Americans on the islands were

members of the Volunteer Army, and a horde of adventurers who had followed the army. The latter were obviously unfitted for any positions of responsibility, while few of the volunteers had ever had any experience in handling large sums of money. However, they made up the only available class, and with them the vacancies were filled. Three years later the commission, in an official report, had occasion to remark: "Americans responsible for the government of these islands have suffered a most humiliating experience during the past year in the numerous defalcations of Americans charged with the official duty of collecting and disbursing money." Seventeen of the American provincial treasurers and others holding similar positions, where it was fondly hoped they would serve as an example of probity to Filipinos, had been found short in their accounts to an aggregate amount of more than \$75,000. It was a most humiliating experience for Americans, but the defaulters were promptly arrested and sentenced to terms in Bilibid prison, and their punishment offered an excellent example to the Filipinos, if their official conduct did not.

It is needless to remark that all of these mistakes and failures, of which only a few have been related here, proved vastly amusing to our English cousins,

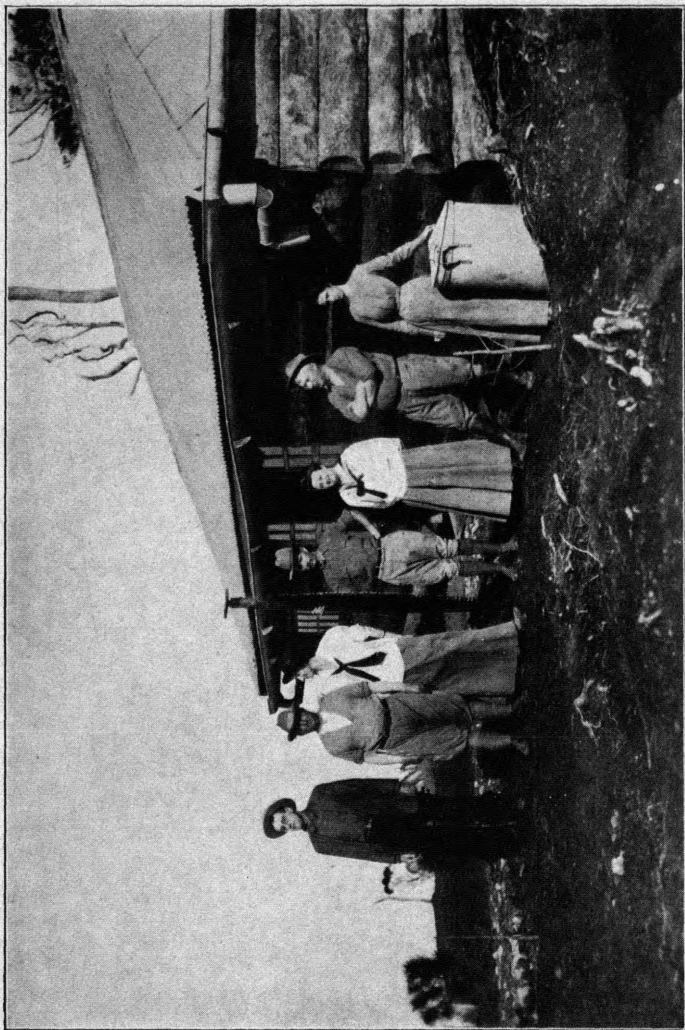


ON THE BENGUET ROAD
Showing one of the many slides which hampered
the progress of construction



THE BENGUET ROAD SURVEY
The route followed the almost perpendicular side
of the mountain





American school teachers in summer camp at Baguio

especially those connected with the British Colonial Service, who offered advice with that patronizing air which the professional reserves for the amateur. Many well-meaning persons kindly pointed out how much better things were being done in Java and the Federated Malay States and other nearby places; and the worst of it was they were right. Our colonists were amateurs, and it is by reason of that fact that they have succeeded. The enthusiasm of the amateur and his willingness to learn soon made up for his lack of experience, and put an end to his mistakes. Americans in the Philippines can almost select a date and truthfully say: "Before that time we made many serious blunders. Since then we have made many mistakes, but we have mastered the rudiments of the same, and there have been no mistakes we need be ashamed of."

CHAPTER IV

THE BUILDING OF A NATION

THIS later conquest of the Philippines by Americans bore a striking resemblance to the earlier conquest by Spain, whose soldiers have been described as "carrying a sword in one hand and a cross in the other." The American soldier carried a rifle and a school book, and he found great need for both. It was the early announced policy of the United States to give all Filipinos an opportunity to secure an education, and that branch of government activity has ever since been given the most prominent position.

"Educate them! My word!" a prominent British colonial official is said to have remarked when he heard of the policy of the United States. "Spain Christianized them three centuries ago, and now the United States is going to educate them. Why doesn't some one show them how to make a living, and earn something to eat?"

That comment fairly represented foreign opinion of America's policy of education. The announced intention to provide the Philippines with a public-

school system similar to that of the United States was greeted with some derision by those who have had experience in the colonization of other parts of tropical Orient. It was, they said, putting the cart before the horse, as industry should come first, and education should follow when the industrial condition of the country was such as to warrant the expenditure. Doubtless America's policy was formed in some ignorance as to the things other than education of which the Filipinos stood in greater need, and if we had known more of actual conditions we probably would have talked less confidently of our plans. America, however, was determined on the experiment, and even before the civil government was established the vacant places in the school-rooms were filled by volunteer soldiers, under the direction of the military government. This spectacle of the American soldier teaching Filipino children while their hostile elder relatives lurked in the background ready to dispatch him with a bolo should be perpetuated in bronze as a tribute to American daring and versatility.

While peace was more of a hope than a realization, a thousand American teachers were brought out and given places in the Philippine schools. The average annual expenditure for public instruction by the

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central government under Spain was less than \$150,000, an amount which was feebly supplemented from the revenues of the provinces and municipalities. The system was in every way inadequate, as evidenced by the fact that Manila, a city with a population of more than 200,000, had only three dilapidated buildings devoted to primary instruction. The American authorities immediately made provision for an expenditure of more than twenty times the annual Spanish appropriation, and the work of building up an educational system from nothing was begun.

The absence of schoolhouses was one of the minor difficulties encountered. There was no common language in which instruction could be given, for less than 5 per cent. of the people could speak Spanish, and no one of the many tribal languages was used over any large part of the country. One of the early mistakes made in planning the educational system of the country was the assumption that Spanish was the common language of the islands. Acting on this belief, the military authorities ordered large quantities of Spanish editions of "Wentworth's Arithmetic," "Barnes' History of the United States," "Frye's Geography," etc. These books could be used in Manila, where Spanish was rather generally known, but in the provinces they were about as useful as



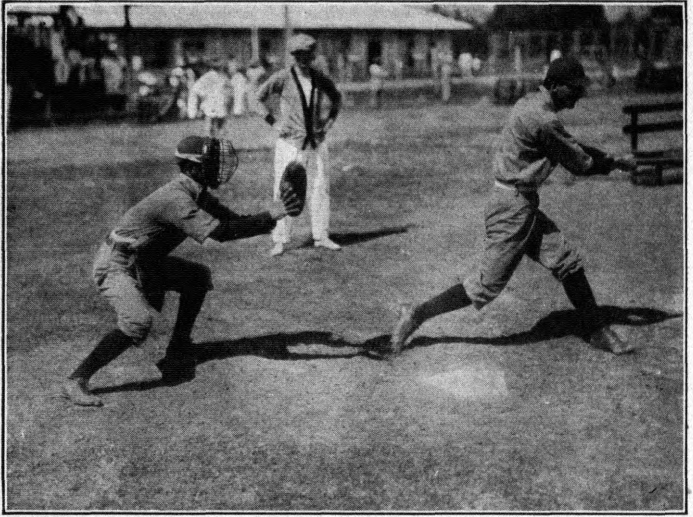
A group of girls in front of one of the schools at Baguio



A scene in a primary school — a school system almost an exact duplicate of that existing in the United States



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FIRST STEPS IN PHILIPPINE EDUCATION
Teaching the men the teamwork and activity of baseball,
and teaching the women the principles of civilized
cooking and housewifery

they would have been in the district schools of Missouri or Illinois. Spanish was never spoken extensively outside the city of Manila, where the large Spanish population made a knowledge of the language necessary for the transaction of business. This discovery was not made, however, until after a number of the teachers had spent some little time equipping themselves with a working knowledge of Spanish, in order to teach pupils to whom Spanish was as unintelligible as English. The tribal languages of the Philippines are so numerous and many of them are used in such a small area that it is often impossible for the villager to travel a day's journey from his home without coming to a territory where he is able to understand no one, and no one is able to understand him. In a general way, the languages correspond to the principal tribes, but the minor divisions are more numerous, for many of the languages are divided into several dialects. The two Bible societies at work in the islands have brought out scriptural translations in eleven languages, but their work has only begun, and translations into many others will be necessary before the printed scriptures will be available for all of the people. This lingual difference cannot be compared to that which exists in China where the number of dialects and the lack

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of means of communication have been urged as reasons why a republican form of government must fail, China's leaders are bound together by a common written language and a common literature, but the Filipinos not only have no common language of any kind, but no literature worthy the name.

This problem was solved by the adoption of English as the language to be used in the schools, one of the reasons for its adoption being that "English is the language of free government; it is the language of Anglo-Saxon freedom; it is the language in which they can read the history of the hammering out by our ancestors of the heritage of liberty which we have had conferred on us." There were, however, more immediate and practical reasons than these. Full consideration was given to all the native dialects, but it was found that not one of them was rich enough in words to be useful beyond the elementary branches.*

*"One has but to examine the literature which has appeared in the last fifty years in each of these tongues to see how unlikely of literary development is any one of them. The masterpiece of Tagalog literature is a satirical poem entitled 'Ang Salit áng Buhay ni Florante,' which was composed years ago by a Filipino 'filosofo' named Baltazar. It was his professed intention in writing this poem to use the Tagalog language in its purity, and he continually strives to avoid by circumlocution the introduction of words derived from Spanish. His result is not a success, and the poem, while of great interest, promises little for the future of Tagalog literature. For common intercourse, as well as for education, the Filipino demands a foreign speech. To confine him to his native dialect would be simply to perpetuate that isolation which he has so

Spanish was so little known as to make its use only temporarily convenient in Manila, and would poorly equip the Filipino for association with his neighbours. English is the language almost universally used in the ports of the neighbouring countries of China, Japan, and the Federated Malay States. It is practically a semi-official language in both China and Japan, whereas Spanish is virtually unknown.

The selection of English has been justified by the results, for more Filipinos can now speak and read English than can speak and read any other language or dialect, and English now has a position in the islands much more important than that ever held by Spanish. Almost every prisoner leaving Bilibid has acquired a good working knowledge of English, and this instruction, teaching here the lowest strata of the population, is repeated throughout the very complete educational system. English has so completely replaced Spanish that the order abolishing the use of Spanish as an official court language on January 1, 1913, created no serious inconvenience. An American teacher, writing several years ago on the growth of the use of English, said:

long suffered and against which his insurrection was a protest. Opponents of English education find no sympathizers among the Filipino people. The movement seems limited for its support to academic circles and partisan periodicals of the United States." — *From the report of the Philippine Commission for 1906.*

“In every province at the present time the traveller may find about fifty young men and women who are certified to possess English of secondary, i. e., high school, standard. He will find from one hundred to seven hundred children of intermediate grade, who, if they are not able to sustain a conversation on abstract subjects, can at least answer intelligently such questions as a traveller may have occasion to put about local officials, hotel accommodations, food resources, and transportation; and he will find thousands of little fellows who, just beginning to stammer a few phrases, will be ready in a few years to talk to him intelligently.

“English is growing in the Philippines. It is true that it is still the stilted English acquired by piecing words together instead of memorizing phrases. Filipinos never ‘go fishing’; they ‘catch fish.’ They do not ‘take a nap’; they ‘sleep in the day.’ They ‘comb their hairs’ and ‘do their works’ and they have apparently an ineradicable affinity for the expression ‘is belong.’ These are, however, but the fringes of our early formative influences. Every year the English spoken improves in quantity and in quality.”

However, the present knowledge of English does not by any means create a common lingual link between the Filipino people, most of whom continue to speak their tribal languages in everyday intercourse, and probably will continue to do so for many years.

The American teachers were the pioneers in the islands, going far inland, often among natives who were hostile, and living for months at a time without supplies or mail. Extracts from reports written by teachers in the early days of American occupation afford interesting glimpses of the pioneering they did. One teacher found it exceedingly difficult to travel over the province to which he had been assigned as a school supervisor, and set forth some of his difficulties as follows:

“At a number of points along the Agno crossing has been made possible by means of a primitive trolley system. A raw carabao hide is cut into strips two or three inches in width, and these strips are tied together so as to form a rope long enough to cross the river. The ends of the rope are securely fastened to rocks or trees near the river. An ordinary carabao yoke is then placed across this rope and a shorter piece of similar rope is then tied to both ends of the yoke. In this way a travelling sling or crude breeches buoy is formed in which the person about to cross the river sits. A smaller rope long enough to cross the river is then fastened to the lower portion of this sling. The Igorotes, who are supposed to be on the other side of the river, then take hold of the smaller rope and pull, sliding the yoke and its passenger along the main rope. This journey is not unpleasant until the first knot formed by the junction of the

shorter pieces of rope is reached. At this point security required that the traveller reach up, grasp the main rope with one hand, perform the gymnastic feat of supporting the weight of the body with one hand while with the other he places the yoke upon the further side of the knot. This feat must be performed every time a knot is reached. . . . Of course the fact that these knots are apt to become untied or that the rope is liable to break is not supposed to be considered."

As assistants to the American teachers, a number of Filipinos were employed, whose ideas of their duties were vague, and their performances discouraging. One who was employed at \$16.50 a month hired a substitute at \$4.50 and, until his perfidy was discovered, lived a life of cultured ease on the remaining \$12. Their general inability to take their work seriously was indicated by one sick and discouraged teacher, who wrote:

"When I returned on Wednesday morning only two of my six teachers were present, and my attendance had dropped from one hundred and forty when I left to twenty-five when I returned. During my six days' absence scarcely any work had been done. Thursday and Friday there was a big fiesta here, and consequently it was impossible to hold school. This morning I attempted to collect the pupils and get

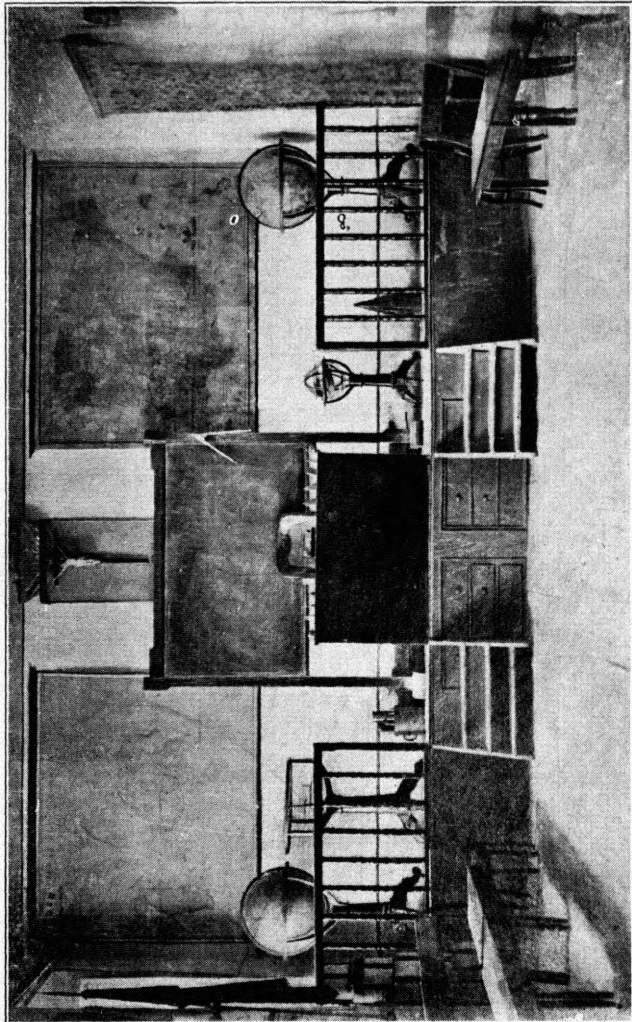
started once more. I find my teachers fully as badly demoralized as I expected they would be. Marie Garingales was the only one that came on time; Maris Griago came half an hour late and then wanted to get excused for the day. Francisco Girado came in an hour and a half late and then only because I sent for him. Norberto Girado was at his home asleep and would not come at all, although I sent for him twice. He did not come to the school, but went to the cock-fight instead, and as there is another cock-fight to-morrow I have no reason to expect him at that time. All of my teachers, with the exception of Marie Garingales, who is always on time, have of late grown very slack in regard to their attendance. Norberto is an old offender and does not seem to improve. I have done everything in my power to impress upon him some sense of his obligation as a teacher, but during this month it is safe to say he has been absent about half the time."

Despite the unpromising material of which the Filipino teaching force was composed, it was apparent that it would be impossible to fill all of the places with Americans, and to those already in the islands was assigned the task of training the native teachers. Discouraging and heartbreaking as this task was at first, progress was made. The steadfast Marie Garingaleses finally outnumbered the inefficient Norberto Girados, and a fairly efficient force of native

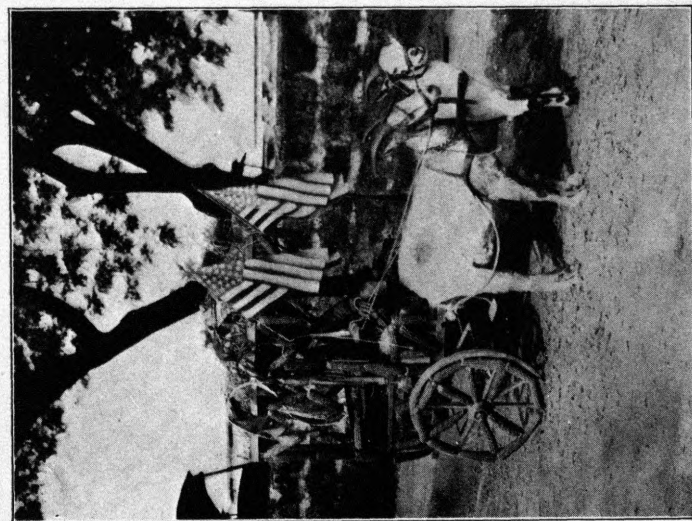
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teachers was built up. Indeed the progress was remarkable when one considers that the Filipinos knew no English, and the Americans had only recently acquired a smattering of Spanish and the native dialects. (One can only account for this, as well as for other successes in the Philippines, by attributing it to the enthusiasm of the amateur.) There were no restricting regulations from headquarters, for all were working in the same ignorance of conditions, and the individual teacher was usually left alone to fight out his own local problems. The efficient Filipino teacher was soon an established fact, and places filled by the Americans were given to the Filipinos as rapidly as the latter showed themselves fit to take them. The American teachers, who have never numbered much more than 1,000, have been given the higher executive positions, while most of the actual teaching has been done by the natives.

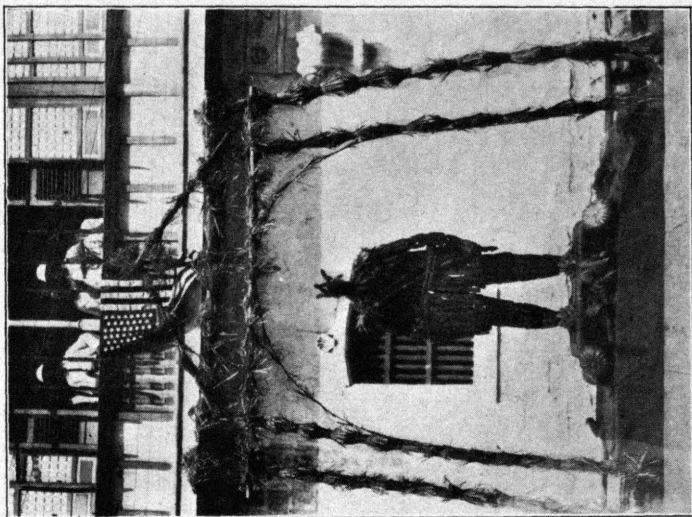
Americans had not been long in the islands before it became apparent that the plan on which they had begun the work of education was wrong. The system was almost an exact duplicate of that existing in the United States. There were primary schools — many of them — where pupils learned to read and write, and, here again, there was trouble with the text-books. The barrels of Spanish texts previously



CLASSROOM IN THE ATENEO MUNICIPAL EQUIPPED ACCORDING TO THE REGULATIONS FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

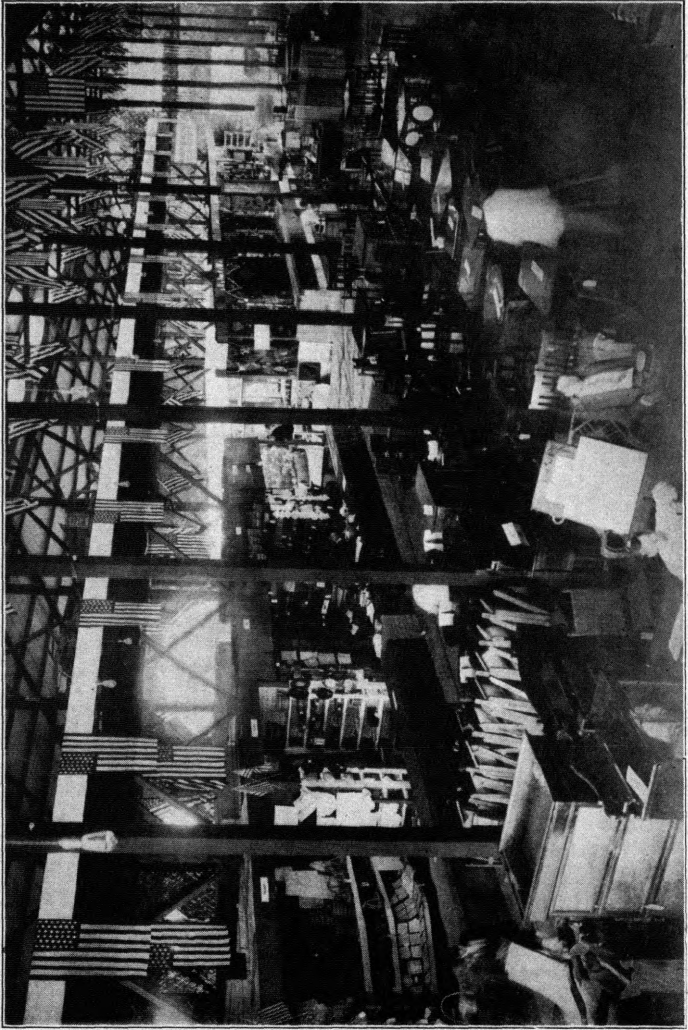


One of the floats used in a Corn Demonstration in Calamba



A part of the Corn Demonstration at Calamba





EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT AT THE MANILA CARNIVAL
The building was designed and erected by Trade School students

ordered had been thrown in the rubbish heap and replaced by English texts; but these were not all that could be desired, for they were full of references to snow and ice, peaches, pears, and other objects common to the temperate zone, but strange and confusing to our little brown brother of the tropics. This need was soon replaced by special primers in which the carabao, the banana, and other more familiar objects were mentioned.

In addition to the primary, there were the other courses culminating in the high school.* The Filipino child was given opportunity to start with the A B C class and finally graduate, as in America, with a mind adorned with knowledge of history, geography, geometry, etc., and then set about making a living for himself. There was where the parallel between the United States and the Philippines ended. The American student, having completed a public school course which beyond the reading, writing, and arithmetic it gives him usually aids him but little in the work he is going to do, generally sets about learning a trade or a business and has suffered no harm by his

*According to a recent report, the school system in the Philippines consisted of 35 high schools; 245 intermediate schools; 4,121 primary schools; 6 schools of arts and trades; 23 manual training shops; 1 normal school, and 1 commercial school. This list does not take into account any of the departments of the University of the Philippines.

years of schooling.) The instincts and traditions of the Filipino were different and the attitude of the native graduate was: "Why should I work? I can read and write and know the multiplication table. I belong now to the leisured, cultured class of which priests and officials are composed, and I cannot violate the traditions of my class by any degrading manual labour." In fact, with every student educated under the school system as originally established, one person was taken from the class of possible workers so urgently needed and added to the class who considered themselves superior to work.

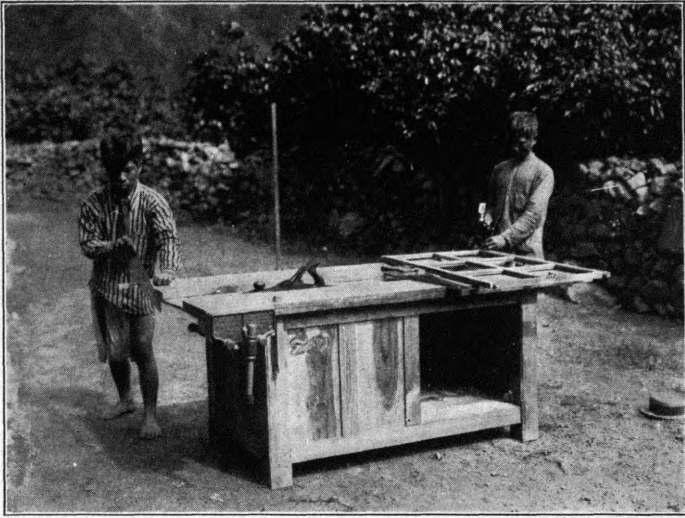
The climate of the islands is not such as to develop industry. With a fertile soil and none of the rigours of a northern winter, the few wants of the natives are easily supplied. The weather is always so warm that houses of the lightest and cheapest construction are comfortable and no winter's supply of fuel is necessary. Likewise thin and inexpensive clothing is suitable throughout the year. The seasons, rainy and dry, are not so sharply marked as those of winter and summer, and require no such close attention to the planting and harvesting of crops. There are few places in the world where one can secure the necessities of life — food, clothing, and shelter — with such a small amount of work as in the Philippines.

The calendar of the Filipinos was honeycombed with holidays. In addition to the Sundays, there were thirty-two regular holidays observed in all parts of the islands. Each town spent nine days celebrating the annual fiestas in honour of the town's patron saint, and an equal length of time honouring various local saints, birthdays of officials, etc., so that even the industrious Filipino felt under no compunction to labour more than two thirds of the time. The Spaniards had done nothing to encourage habits of industry. The forced labour which they compelled the poorer class of Filipinos to do, contrasted with the indolent lives of the Spaniards and other members of the upper classes, tended to strengthen the tradition that any form of manual labour was degrading.

But the islands were much more in need of workers than of such scholars as the American public-school system was turning out. When the Philippine Commission began work on the summer capital buildings at Baguio, it was impossible to find enough Filipino carpenters to do the work; therefore, it was finally turned over to Chinese. The average Filipino was as ignorant of such simple things as handling a saw or hammer as he was of the principles of calculus. The folly of teaching people the mysteries of chemis-

try when they didn't know how to mend a broken gate was soon apparent to the American teachers and again we can be thankful that they were amateurs, not bound by traditions and customs. Your professional educator refuses to recognize such conditions, or he would not be so slow in reforming our public-school system. Untrammelled by tradition, the system in the Philippines was changed almost overnight. In "book l'arning" they went back to the good old "three Rs" standard of our forefathers, when reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic were enough for any gentleman; and in industrial training, they projected half a century in advance of present standards in America, announcing as their ideal a system of education which would train every student to be a valuable worker and graduate him on to a pay-roll.

The American teachers in the islands had never taught and were not able to teach industrial subjects, nor was the Bureau of Education financially able to bring out a new staff of specially trained teachers. This did not discourage our enthusiasts, who at once set to work learning gardening, basket-making, embroidery, lace-making, carpentry, etc., that they might teach these branches to the Filipinos. Once they had started on this course, the need for education in these subjects became very apparent.



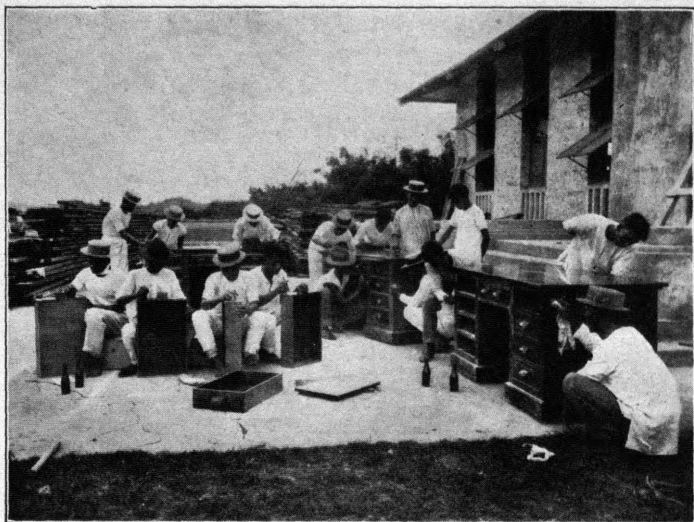
IGOROT BOYS IN TRADE SCHOOL

They learn to be good carpenters, but refuse to wear trousers

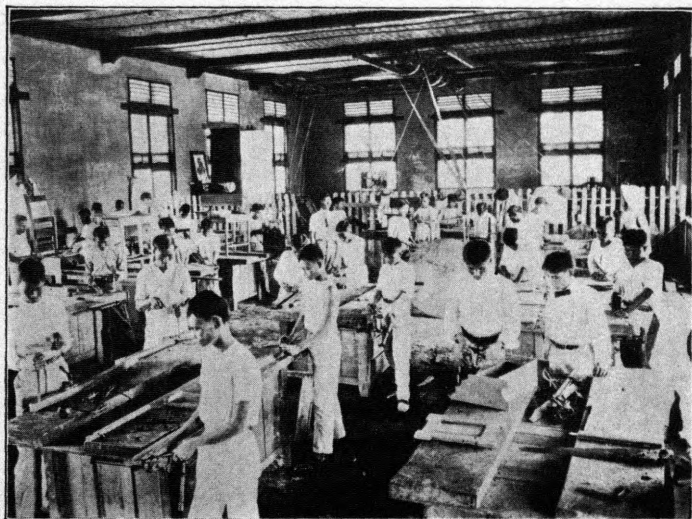


Students at work in the blacksmith shop of the Manila Trade School





Attendance at the Trade Schools has often outgrown the buildings and work is done out-of-doors



Carpentry Department of the Manila Trade School

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The Philippines is essentially a country of home industries. With poor roads or none at all, every community is more or less dependent upon itself for the manufactured articles used, and so, to a smaller degree, is every family. The farmer is not only a farmer, but must also erect his own house and make his own tools, while the wife weaves the cloth from which the family clothing is made. If a basket is needed, the probabilities are that some member of the family will attempt to make it. Despite this necessity which made every man a kind of Jack-of-all-trades, there was a remarkable dearth of Filipinos with a thorough knowledge of any useful trade. The work of the American teacher was not so much to develop new industries in the Philippines as to develop and standardize those which already existed. Filipinos were making baskets, lace, and embroidery long before the coming of the Americans, but only as scattered local industries, with markets limited to the local demands. Though the inhabitants of one village made excellent baskets, those of a neighbouring village with the same supply of good basket-making material might know nothing of the industry. Similarly, some villages had well-cultivated gardens with many kinds of vegetables, while other villages knew only one or two varieties. Probably the best em-

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broidery in the world is done by Filipinos, but they knew nothing about the commercial demand for this kind of work and devoted their energies to filling the churches with altar cloths. It remained for the American teacher to show them the designs which would extract money from the pockets of the tourists.

Of course the announced ideal of industrial training has not been attained. Industrial education is expensive, and funds have not always been available to carry this work forward as rapidly as the promoters desired. Another delay has been occasioned by the necessity of training teachers to do the work. It is doubtful if enough teachers could be secured in the United States to take up this work and carry it forward successfully in the Philippines, and even if this were possible, they would have to learn, after arriving in the islands, the peculiar local needs. Instead, the teachers in the islands have taken up the work with remarkable interest and to-day represent one of the most efficient bodies of industrial teachers in the world. Indeed, though the Philippines sent to America for teachers only a few years ago, America could with profit send now to the Philippines. A few weeks before this was written, I attended the Education Exhibit at the Philippine Carnival, where products of the schools were on display from nearly all

the provinces. Dozens of American teachers came to Manila to attend the Carnival, and one was constantly overhearing such conversations as:

“Our pupils in Negros are making a fine lot of shirt-waists this year. We brought up several dozen, and all of them were sold before the exhibit was open two days.”

“You should see the mats we are making in our schools! They are so much better than the old ones that we have sold almost all of our stock for other schools to use as patterns.”

The teachers in the Philippines are enthusiasts on the subject of industrial training, and when they are gathered together as on this occasion, their conversation turns to doilies, mats, embroideries, cloth-making, cabinet-work, pottery, or farming, instead of to classroom methods and academic courses of study. They talk and act like manufacturers and business men, rather than like pedagogues. As an example of how completely the old academic traditions have been broken down, the following paragraph is selected from the announcement of the courses in a summer training school for teachers held in Manila in 1913:

“70. Saws. — Two hours daily. An intensive course on the classification, uses, and methods of

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sharpening saws. Teachers taking this course may bring along two hand saws needing sharpening and three band saws needing brazing. The materials used in brazing will be charged to the provinces from which the band saws are sent. In case the teacher completes this work before the close of the session, the sharpening of edge tools will be taken up."

In this an ideal has been attained, for the teaching force is devoted to industrial training; and if there are any reactionaries with pedantic superstitions as to the impeccability of the old standard of "eight grades and a high school," they are so small in numbers as to exert no influence.

In at least one department a remarkably advanced stage in vocational training has been reached. The Bureau of Printing in Manila has been turned into a very practical trade school, which serves the double purpose of furnishing all the printing supplies of the government, and teaching the printing and allied trades to Filipinos. The methods have been worked out so successfully by Mr. John Leach, Director, that a brief description of them would not be out of place. Every one is familiar with the haphazard method by which a boy in America usually learns the printing trade. He is put to work at a small salary and given the most disagreeable tasks around the office,

usually spending a large part of his time sweeping out and running errands for the foreman. In the course of time he picks up a working knowledge of the trade through watching printers at work, or through instruction given him in odd moments. In three years' time he is supposed to have mastered the trade.

In the Bureau of Printing eight trades are taught: those of printer, pressman, bookbinder, photo-engraver, stereotyper and electrotyper (as one trade), engineer, machinist, and electrician. Each one of these trades is divided into specialties; for instance, that of photo-engraving is divided into thirty-two specialties, such as etching, zinc, half-tone, drawing, cutting circles or ovals, printing negatives, proofing, etc. Each one of these specialties is again divided into sub-specialties. The process of copper-line etching is divided into four operations: (a) etching line print, (b) retouching etching, (c) powdering and burning in line work, (d) preparing and mixing etching solution.

All of these specialties and sub-specialties are divided into classes "in the order of their relative importance, making a systematic and coördinate sequence of instruction." In other words, Mr. Leach has made the acquirement of all of these trades depend upon the mastery of every detail connected with the trades, leaving nothing to the chance experience

of the apprentice. He is carefully and systematically shifted from one class of work to the other, but he leaves no class until his mastery of all its details is complete. The result is that the apprentice leaves this school-workshop with a more thorough knowledge of his trade than the similar worker in America is able to acquire in years of experience. The course of instruction in photo-engraving extends over a period of four years, the apprentice receiving daily pay ranging from eighty centavos to two and a quarter pesos (40 cents to \$1.12 in United States money) during that period, with a scale of bonuses which insure the completion of the course by all who undertake it. The other trades are taught on a similar basis. This system of instruction has been wonderfully successful.

Grave doubts were entertained at first whether or not the Filipinos would ever be able to master a trade as difficult as that of printing, and graver doubts that they would ever be able to do anything effectively without American supervision. The Bureau of Printing has answered these doubts. In few printing offices in America could such an efficient organization of workmen be found, and in few is the standard of work so high. All of the workmen are Filipinos, with a diminishing number of American

foremen. The bureau started with an organization of sixty Americans and one hundred and four Filipinos and Chinese. The force recently consisted of sixteen Americans and one hundred and eighty Filipinos. Sixty per cent. of the employees are in the apprentice classes, yet the cost of production is less than in the average plant in the United States.

Branches of manual training not included in the courses given in the Bureau of Printing are taught in the Philippine School of Arts and Trades. This school is an outgrowth of a similar institution established by the Spaniards but never brought to a very high grade of efficiency. Now more than five hundred boys are given practical instruction in carpentry, machine-shop practice, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, stationary engineering, ceramics, drafting, preparatory engineering, and normal industrial work. The work is eminently practical, the shops being conducted much like commercial shops, with time tickets, an accurate accounting and charge system, etc. The practical worth of the work is recognized locally and in one recent year the repairs and other commercial work done for Manila people and for the government amounted to \$17,000.

These are prominent features of an industrial school system designed to reach almost every student

in the islands. There are many local and provincial trade schools, coördinated with the Manila institutions, besides special departments in the Manila Normal for the teaching of household industries. A great deal of this kind of instruction is also given in the village schools, where the courses are specialized and adapted to local demands and supplies of materials.

All of these schools started with the idea of giving students a knowledge of useful trades, and were established against the deep-seated prejudices of Filipino parents who regarded education only as a means of making their sons lawyers, priests, or officials. The Philippine School of Arts and Trades began with a mere handful of pupils, many of whom came there only because they were too stupid to master the common-school courses. As a rule they belonged to the "sodden oaf" class, who were resigned to degrading manual labour, and accepted this school as the easiest route to a pay-roll. The teachers soon saw that their task lay deeper than the mere teaching of trades, for before they could accomplish much in that direction they had to teach the Filipinos the dignity of labour. This was a tedious undertaking, but it was half accomplished when the Filipinos saw that the Americans themselves were not above working

with their hands. Attendance at the trade school grew slowly at first, with a decided tendency on the part of the students to elect courses such as telegraphy and drawing, which they could follow without soiling their hands. But with each year the attendance in the shop-work courses has grown larger, until now the school is unable to accept all those who apply for admission. Occasionally to-day some student attempts to learn blacksmithing without soiling his hands, but he is promptly reformed or sent away to make room for a more determined student. The school is now patronized by all classes. Among those in attendance in 1913 quite a number were paying their way by working as house boys or cigar-makers, while at least one student came to classes in his own motor-car.

An example of the very practical work done by the Department of Public Instruction is found in the corn campaign, which was carried on very successfully during 1912-13. The campaign differed radically from similar campaigns carried on in the United States, for it was necessary not only to teach the Filipinos how to grow corn, but also to teach them to eat it. Corn is one of the regular crops of the islands, but owing to ignorance and prejudice corn products were regarded by the Filipinos as food to be despised

by all except the lowest classes. The necessity of some food to supplement the scanty supply of rice was recognized by the American authorities, and a decision was reached that this could best be done by the use of corn.

Two corn-growing contests were inaugurated during 1912, one offering a prize to the schoolboy who grew the largest quantity of corn on one hundred square metres of land; and the second one providing a prize for the best ears of corn to be submitted in open competition. In these contests thirty thousand Filipino schoolboys engaged.

This, however, was only the beginning of the campaign. While the boys were engaged in these competitions, special lectures were delivered in the domestic science classes on corn foods, and five thousand girls received special instruction in methods of preparing corn dishes. Local corn demonstrations were then held in all parts of the islands. In specially erected booths, demonstrations were given on seed selection and testing, with lectures on proper methods of cultivation. At a special cooking booth, Filipino girls, daintily dressed, prepared short menus of corn dishes, which were served free to all who called. In this work a small hand corn-mill, costing about \$4, was used, and all the work of preparing the food from

the grinding of the corn to serving the dishes was seen by the people. Special lectures were delivered in the local dialects, and at each demonstration printed menus, giving explicit directions in local dialects, were widely distributed. In some provinces this elaborate campaign was supplemented by occasional "corn luncheons" to which the parents of the school were invited. A taste for corn bread and for corn cakes with syrup is rapidly developing among all classes of the Filipinos, and the more widespread growth of corn is hastening the day when the Philippines will be able to grow all its foodstuffs.

Competition has proved to be the life of education in the Philippines, for with the introduction of the American schools, the old church and private institutions have been compelled to dust the cobwebs from their curriculums as the only means of holding that prestige which was undisputed for so long. Among these institutions the University of St. Thomas (Santo Tomas) is the leader. For three centuries its graduates have been the leading men of the islands, but during that time its courses changed but little, until the American occupation revolutionized insular educational standards. Less than sixty years ago the rector of the school declared "Medicine and the natural sciences are materialistic and impious stud-

ies," and a Filipino student who proposed a thesis on economic reasoning was warned that political economy was a science of the devil. More recently the university announced "a brief medical course, suited to the limited intelligence of the native." In his "El Filibusterismo," José Rizal scathingly criticised the antiquated methods of St. Thomas and described as follows the method of teaching physics:

"The walls were entirely bare; not a drawing nor an engraving, nor even any kind of a representation of an instrument of physics. On occasions there would be lowered from heaven an instrument to be shown from afar to the class, like the Holy of Holies to the prostrate faithful: 'Look at me, but don't touch me.' From time to time, when some complacent professor came, a day of the year was assigned for visiting the mysterious 'cabinet,' and admiring from afar the enigmatic apparatus arranged inside the cases. Then no one could complain; that day there were seen much brass, much glass, many tubes, discs, wheels, bells, etc. And the show stopped there, and the Philippines were not turned upside down. For the rest, the students are convinced that these instruments were not bought for them; merry fools would the friars be! The 'cabinet' was made to be shown to foreigners and to high officials from Spain, that, on seeing it, they may nod in approbation, while their guide smiles as if saying:

'You have been thinking you were going to find a lot of backward monks, eh? Well, we are at the height of the century; we have a cabinet!'

"And the foreigners and high officials, obsequiously entertained, afterward wrote in their voyages or reports: 'The Royal and Pontifical University of St. Thomas, of Manila, in charge of the illustrious Dominicans, possesses a magnificent cabinet of physics for the instruction of youth. . . . There annually take this course some two hundred and fifty students; but, be it on account of the apathy, indolence, scanty capacity of the natives, or through any other cause whatsoever, ethnological or unperceivable, up to date there has not developed a Lavoisier, a Secchi, or a Tyndall, even in miniature, from the Philippine-Malay race!'"

Santo Tomas and the other ancient schools of Manila and the provinces were rudely awakened by the new American programme. With the arrival of hundreds of American teachers, the erection of modern school buildings and the announcement of plans for the University of the Philippines, the older institutions became alarmed for their prestige. There was at once a remodelling of courses, with new teachers employed and an often ludicrous attempt to be up-to-date. This movement has gone on rapidly until now most of the church and private schools are able

to pass the requirements necessary to secure the approval of the Insular Bureau of Education. So far has the venerable Santo Tomas changed that though a few decades ago it was primarily a theological school (teaching the theology of sixteenth-century Spain), now of the eight hundred students enrolled almost seven hundred are in the colleges of law and medicine.

The private and church schools are still antiquated, but considering the torpor in which they existed for so many years, they have made wonderful progress. They will not give up without a serious struggle the prestige they have always enjoyed, and, considering their field and their resources, they are now matching dollar for dollar with the expenditures of the insular government. A recent report to the Department of Public Instruction commented as follows on the great improvement being made in the buildings and grounds of the private schools:

“The dingy, unsanitary classrooms are beginning to disappear. Large classes are being divided into sections and better light and ventilation furnished. During the past year repairs have been made and additions built to several of these schools in Manila. La Concordia, Centro Escular, Burgos Institute, and La Salle College have between them expended some-

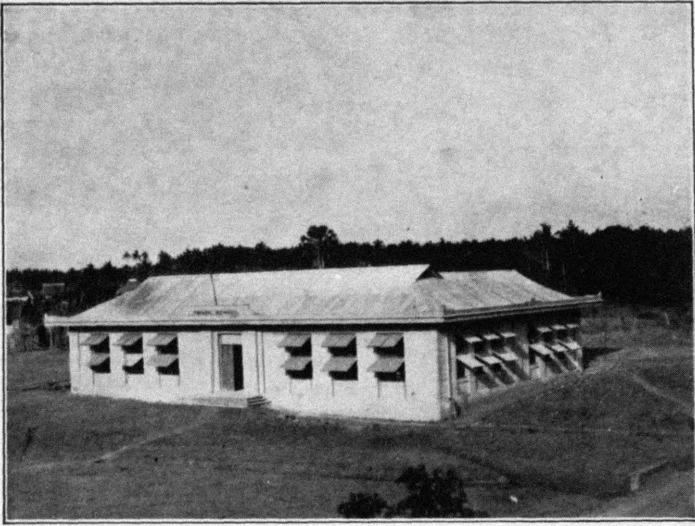
thing over 200,000 pesos (\$100,000) in repairs and construction. Several projects are under consideration for the construction of modern private school buildings in Manila. These buildings are in most cases to be situated away from the crowded districts and in sections where suitable grounds can be secured. The Jesuits have secured Palomar Island and a large tract of land surrounding and have prepared plans for their new Ateneo. These buildings and grounds are to cost in the neighbourhood of 2,000,000 pesos, and the work is to begin as soon as the plans are approved. The Dominicans are planning to abandon the buildings now used by the University of Santo Tomas and to spend something over one million pesos in the construction of a part of their new university on the outskirts of Manila. This university is to be modern in all respects and the buildings and equipment for all of the faculties, when finished, will cost approximately five million pesos."

Convents have always been popular as a means of educating the daughters of prominent and prosperous Filipinos, and there are many of them equipped with good dormitories. At these schools, the daily round of activities is so severe that probably the average American girl would rebel. The usual programme provides for a day of seventeen hours, as follows: 5 o'clock, rise for morning prayers; 5:30,

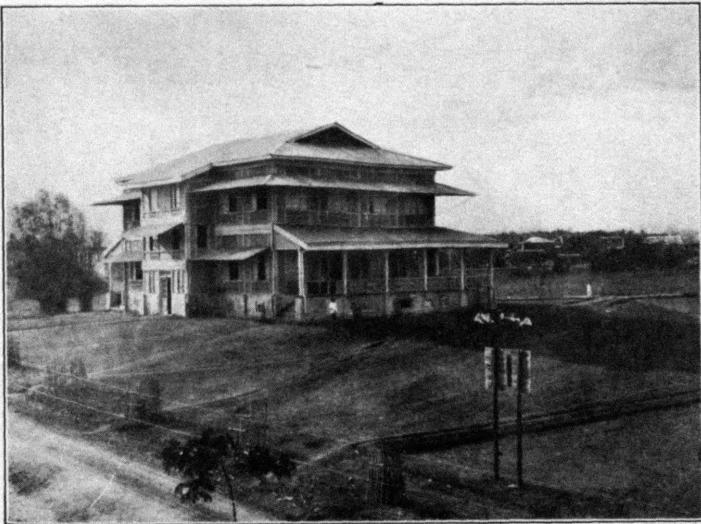
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attend mass in chapel; 6, bath; 7, breakfast; 7:30 to 12:30, regular school work; 12:30, dinner; 1, recreation; 1:30, study; 2, Spanish classes; 3:30, industrial work and domestic science; 5, lunch; 5:15, recreation; 6, study; 7, supper; 7:30, recreation; 8, prayers; 8 to 10, study period; 10, all retire. The American educational programme has made some changes in these girls' schools, probably the most notable being in the greater attention now paid to industrial work, and especially to the production of commercial laces and embroidery.

In most of the private schools, English is now being taught. According to the official report previously quoted, thirty-four of the private schools are giving the entire primary and intermediate courses in English. Nine are giving primary, intermediate, and high school courses in English, and there are two giving all courses including the college course in this language. In spite of this good showing, the private schools as a whole are doing a great deal to perpetuate the use of Spanish, as that is the only language spoken by many of the teachers employed. According to an official census, of the 440 teachers in the private schools, 275 speak English. A much smaller number is competent to teach the language or give instruction in it. The knowledge of any English on the



Provincial Trade School at Lucena, Tayabas

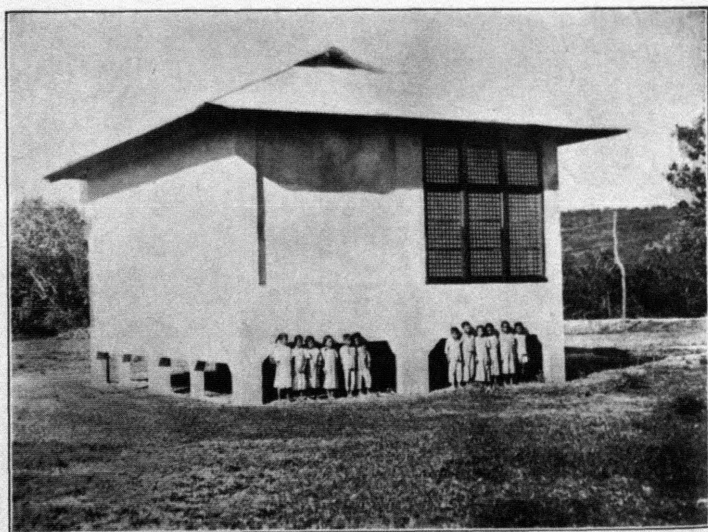


High School at Lucena, Tayabas





Manila Normal School



A modern village school

part of the Spanish priests who make up such a large proportion of the teaching force is very recent.

That Spanish should be perpetuated in these schools is agreeable to their clientèle, which is drawn almost exclusively from the Spanish-speaking, ilustrado, and cacique class of the native population. Either naturally, or through long association with the Spaniard, or from both causes, the Filipino is an aristocrat and prefers that his children go to the private rather than the public schools. Thus it happens that while the American school system is educating the lower classes, the ruling classes have been affected by it in a lesser degree. In this way the life of the old aristocracy is lengthened, but the good the church schools do quite overbalances their innocent complicity in this.

If some one has not already done so, an attempt will some time be made to show that American educational work is declining in popularity in the islands. The reports of the Bureau of Education contain a good many figures which might be used to support this contention, but the figures indicate nothing more than a change in policy. A few years ago the total enrolments were larger, but now no attempt is made to secure the enrolment of students who will not attend school regularly. The result is that, though the present

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figures are not so imposing, they show a substantial increase in the actual work done. The school system is yearly growing more popular with the Filipinos and is yearly reaching a larger number of them. In 1903 about 2.3 per cent. of the total population of the islands was attending school. In 1910 the enrolment had increased to 587,000, or 8 per cent. of the total population. This figure would compare very favourably with statistics from some sections of the cotton states, and is certainly far in advance of the school attendance of any other country in the tropical orient.

CHAPTER V

A COUNTRY OF INVALIDS

WHEN one discloses the fact that American sanitation in the Philippines has saved ten times the number of lives that were lost through the bullets of American soldiers, he robs the anti-Imperialists of one of their most treasured arguments and at the same time gives but a faint idea of the work done. Some mention has been made of the unhealthful condition of the islands at the time of the American occupation. Except in Manila, the medical profession did not exist, nor were the physicians of Manila distinguished either by their attainments or their numbers. In the provinces there were no physicians, nor was there any knowledge of even the most simple health measures. It is not an exaggeration to say that pure drinking water was unknown by the natives. The Manila water supply was drawn from Mariquina River after that stream had passed through several thickly populated towns, where it served as a sewer, a carabao wallow, and the public bath. It came to Manila freighted with

the filth of ten thousand people and of an equal number of carabaos, pigs, and dogs, and was unfit for even the bath of a fastidious person. To quote from an early report:

“Dr. Calvert, of the army, made a number of bacteriological examinations of water taken from the river above and below Mariquina and other towns in the valley, and found as many as 613,703 bacteria to the cubic centimetre when the water was filled with people bathing and with animals, while during a quiescent state he found from 6,000 to 15,000 colonies to the cubic centimetre. This is in striking contrast to the water supply of Boston, which contains about 73 bacteria to the cubic centimetre, and the Croton water supply of New York, with from 50 to 75.”

The same condition of water supply existed in practically all parts of the islands. Drinking water was in about the same condition it would be in America if we emptied our sewers into the water mains.

The islands were subject to great scourges of smallpox, cholera, and plague, which always spread until they died out of themselves, for there was not only no medical knowledge adequate to cope with epidemics, but a belief that nothing but the prayers of the padre and the penitence of the people would

avail against these evidences of Divine wrath. The priest had usually seized on any epidemic to point out that it was the direct result of the sins of the people, visited on them through San Roque, the saint who controls cholera, smallpox, and plague. When these diseases appeared, great religious processions were held in which sacred images were carried through the infected districts. This very frequently served to spread the disease over a still wider area. In the course of time the disease always died out, but usually not until its ravages had been great. In 1885 there was an outbreak of cholera in Manila so severe that the deaths numbered more than a thousand a day for several weeks. This was only one of many visitations of this and other diseases which have helped to keep down the population of the islands below what should be the normal increase. The neighbouring island of Java, with about the same climate and subject to the same diseases, had a population twice that of the Philippines a century ago, yet to-day the population is four times as large, a comparison which but faintly indicates the appalling conditions existing in the Philippines.

While the ravages of disease killed off thousands, the fittest who survived were not unaffected. Indeed, the healthy Filipino was as rare as the in-

dustrious one, and probably from the same cause: the conditions which made him unhealthy have also made him averse to work. Tuberculosis is so common that more than one third of all Filipinos are tubercular. A recent examination showed that more than one half of the students in the University of the Philippines are tubercular. But tuberculosis was not the only disease prevalent to an alarming extent. Autopsies of Filipinos show that a very large number have germs of malaria, hookworm, and amœbic dysentery, caused by mosquitoes and impure water.* In Manila 60 per cent. of all infants

*In a paper on "The Statistical Study of Intestinal Parasites on the Tobacco Haciendas of the Cagayan Valley," Doctor Willets reported that he had done his work in connection with the study which was being made by the Bureau of Health for the purpose of determining the percentage of intestinal parasite infections among the general population of the Philippines. He stated that in all approximately 19,000 persons were examined and that among the first 4,000 were the prisoners at Bilibid, 84 per cent. of whom were found to be infected with some form of intestinal parasite and 52 per cent. had hookworms. The next extensive examination was made at Taytay, in which 1,000 persons were examined: 95.90 per cent. had intestinal parasites in some form and 10 per cent. had hookworms. The next examination was made at Las Piñas in Riza Province, where 6,000 persons were examined, of whom 90 per cent. harboured some form of parasites and 16 per cent. had hookworms. After that it was deemed advisable to make a certain number of examinations in inland towns where the influence of the sea would not be felt, and accordingly 2,594 examinations were made at Tuguegarao in the Cagayan Valley; here 74.13 per cent. were infected and 8.01 were found to have hookworms. The next examination was made at a large tobacco ranch named Santa Isabel, at which 802 persons were examined, and 86.28 per cent. were found to be infected with some form of intestinal parasite and

died in the first year, largely because of the impure water and improper methods of feeding. There were no milk cows, and the children, to a great extent, were fed milk from the carabao, an animal as filthy as a scrub pig. So unhealthy was Bilibid prison that in 1905, several years after the Americans took charge of it, the death rate was more than 15 per cent. annually. Few prisoners survived a five-year term. These conditions in Manila were aggravated in other parts of the islands. An examination disclosed the fact that in some provinces all the men were suffering from intestinal parasites, and were physically unable to do a man's work.

Doubtless a great deal of the early complaint about the worthlessness of the Filipino as a labourer was due to this. In 1903, the engineer in charge of the Benguet road reported at length on the inefficiency of Filipino labour, summing up what was probably the general opinion in the islands as follows:

45.38 had hookworms. The next extensive work was done on the hacienda San Antonio, which is probably the largest tobacco ranch in the Philippine Islands; here 4,278 persons were examined and 85.40 per cent. found infected with an intestinal parasite in some form and 54 per cent. had hookworms. This examination was made at the special request of the owners of the plantation, who reported that their labourers were apparently more indolent than is generally the case in the Philippine Islands. — *Annual report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands, 1911.*

“After three years’ constant observation of the Filipino as a labourer, I have been unable to discover that chord of his nature which, if played upon, would excite within him an interest in his work and cause him to apply himself with diligence and intelligence to its performance. The most deplorable quality, I should say, to the native as a labourer is his absolute and utter indifference to any work to which he may be assigned. During the hours through which he is supposed to labour, the average native performs certain mechanical motions with the tool which may be assigned to him, these motions being his concession to the taskmaster, who has imposed upon him a week’s labour, during the performance of which he awaits alone with a perfect stoicism the termination of the day, endeavouring never to work with the accomplishment of a purpose in view, but concerned only with the passing of the hour, knowing that he will be forced to make so many certain motions with the pick or shovel or bar, which he does with painful regularity, cheerful in the belief of his foreman’s deception, confident in his own immunity from any undue exertion, and indifferent to the accomplishment of work for such labour as he puts forth.

“In handling a pick the native will raise it in the air, allow it to drop by its own weight, striking a glancing infinitesimal blow, and so continue picking gently here and there until observed by the American foreman, who will take the pick, deliver a few

sturdy well-directed blows, thereby moving more material than the native has been able to loosen in an hour; the foreman leaving him and proceeding to another part of the gang to give the same object lesson, will return to find his first man gently tapping the hillside, and stolidly indifferent as to where his pick falls. Again with a shovel he places the blade with the most deliberate care in such loose dirt as he can find, gathers a small portion on the end of the shovel, turns slowly and deliberately and, if the dump be only six feet from him, walks to the extreme edge and then deposits the dirt with great care and walks slowly back for another small portion of a shovelful. Because of these traits it becomes necessary to have a white foreman for every forty or fifty natives, and it is his continual care to see that they take full shovels of dirt, throw it, if the dump is not over six feet, instead of walking to the dump; that they pick with some strength and intelligence as to what they are trying to perform, and that they move in general with some life and spirit. Constant object lessons are given them daily by the foreman as to how the work should be done, but, notwithstanding all lessons, the eye of the foreman is no sooner removed from one part of the gang than they at once revert to their own methods."

That report fairly represented popular American opinion of the Filipino labourer in 1903. No one

had a good word for him, and no matter in what capacity he was employed, the employers were loud in their denunciation of his laziness and lack of ambition. No one recognized then that there was good reason for this, for the Filipinos were a race of invalids, too weak in body to do hard work, and the constant prey of physical pain. They had the invalid's petulant and irritable view of life. The only hopeful comment on the Filipino as a labourer came from the Bureau of Public Printing, whose Director remarked: "As a people the Filipinos are physically weak, but here we have a kind of employment making no great demands on their strength, but requiring simply care, good taste, and persistence. The character of the work done by many of the Filipinos is satisfactory and it is believed that . . . they will show themselves efficient workmen."

The task of starting seven million invalids on the road to health was not an easy one, and was complicated by the outbreak of epidemics. In 1902 the Asiatic cholera appeared, and all the energy the Bureau of Health had planned to expend on bettering the sanitary conditions of the islands was needed to combat the ravages of this disease and of the dread bubonic plague, which appeared soon afterward.

The deaths from cholera in 1902-3 were officially reported as 102,109, while the number probably actually reached 200,000. It was a grim initiation for the American health workers, for the diseases were not entirely stamped out until 1906. No adequate measure of praise has ever been paid to the heroism of those American doctors who followed so closely on the heels of the soldiers and worked so faithfully to save the lives of the Filipinos.

All attempts by the health authorities to improve sanitary conditions and prevent the spread of disease have been met by the indifference which is a common obstacle to such work in all countries. The Filipino native who refuses to believe that flies carry disease, or that river water should be boiled before drinking is, in that respect, on the intellectual level of many thousand American citizens who vote, serve on the jury, occupy seats on the school boards, and hold positive opinions as to Filipino independence. The health workers who tried to show the Filipino the connection between disease and foul drinking water got, perhaps, a polite hearing, but made no converts.

“That water tastes like and is as good as medicine,” many a Filipino argued in defense of his use of the filthy liquid in the carabao wallow.

Native superstitions added to the difficulties of the work, for the people were always ready to attribute any outbreak of disease to some supernatural cause and to expect cures to be effected in the same way. Three centuries of Christianity have done very little to alter their old beliefs that evil demons torment with disease. They refused to believe that disease or death came from any cause over which they had any control. If an epidemic broke out, it was accompanied by the birth of many stories dealing with the incarnation of evil spirits in the shape of dogs, or mysterious men. These spirits travelled about at night and cursed with disease all who came in their way. Less than a century ago the natives of Manila were led to believe that the residence of foreigners along the Pasig River had caused an outbreak of cholera, and a massacre of the foreigners followed. They have always been ready to believe in the efficacy of any kind of magic preparation, and not infrequently religious fakirs have been able to make large sums of money by selling dirty water as water from a "sacred spring."

A secondary outbreak of cholera in Manila in 1904, when the first outbreak was practically under control, was directly traced to practices of this kind. A report spread among the natives that a "sacred

spring" of fresh water had appeared in the harbour off Tondo beach, and before the health authorities learned of it hundreds had flocked to the place to drink the water. It was then discovered that the "sacred spring" was nothing more than a break in a sewer pipe, and the "sacred water" was Manila sewage diluted with sea water and cholera germs. A guard around the "spring" soon ended the cholera outbreak.

Nothing the Americans have done in the islands aroused so much opposition as the enforcement of sanitary measures. Those who were inclined to forget the death and destruction wrought by the American soldiers found a more abiding cause for resentment in the activities of the health department. They looked on the visits of the sanitary inspectors as a violation of their homes, and as they often sought to conceal the presence of cholera victims, it was necessary for the officials to be more than ordinarily inquisitive. Many of those suffering from cholera who were taken to the hospitals died there, and stories were constantly circulated to the effect that they had been poisoned. Stern measures were often used, as when it was found necessary in order to rid Manila of cholera, to burn large areas which were covered by cholera-infected shacks.

The health report for 1906 commented on the fact that all the energies of the bureau had previously been used in combating the cholera. Since that time, however, cholera has disappeared from the islands, and though it may appear again, it is a scotched snake and there will be no more plagues such as in the past.

With the plague and cholera out of the way, work in 1907 was progressing on water and sewage systems. The drilling of artesian wells had begun three years before, as a means of aiding in the fight against cholera, for the workers found it almost impossible to make any headway without an adequate supply of good water. The first wells were sunk in villages where the cholera was raging, and in a short time the health workers were able to point to the fact that there was no cholera in the villages with wells. But if they expected the Filipinos to appreciate the reason for this, they were often disappointed, for the natives promptly declared that the wells were "lucky." They did not by any means concede that all other wells would be similarly lucky, but waited for each individual well to prove its qualities. The common complaint was that pure well water had no taste and was therefore unsatisfactory as a beverage.

During the latter part of the cholera epidemic, a young American physician was sent to a section of northern Luzon where the disease was especially virulent. He was not there long before he discovered the cause. A slimy stream served as sewer, laundry, carabao wallow, and furnished the supply of drinking water for the people of that section. He induced the various small villages, one by one, to abandon the use of the river water, and sink wells, with the result that the cholera rapidly disappeared. But one village remained reactionary. Its inhabitants promised reform, but continued to drink the germ-laden river water. They were shown how their neighbours had rid themselves of cholera by the use of pure drinking water. They admitted that the new wells were exceptionally lucky, but failed to see any certainty that a similar well in their village would be equally lucky. San Roque had sent the cholera to them as a punishment and a warning, and through their own penitence and the prayers of the padre they hoped to obtain forgiveness and the good will of the saint.

In the meantime cholera was rapidly disappearing in every other part of the country, and the young physician was in receipt of daily telegrams from the chief of the bureau in Manila urging him to do every-

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thing possible to end cholera in his village before it spread to any other. He had exhausted all his persuasive powers and decided on measures which would solve the problem at once. From the nearest supply station he secured several barrels of coal oil, creosote and other stinking substances, out of which he mixed an emulsion repulsive enough to offend the nostrils of a crocodile. Very early in the morning he went to the river and carefully spread the mixture where it would do the most good. First the carabaos came, sniffed it, and went to their private mud-holes. Then the Filipinos came for their morning supply of water. There was excited discussion and a general opinion expressed that the evil spirits had poisoned the water. They were compelled to send boats to the neighbouring barrios and borrow enough of the lucky well water for their day's supply. On the following morning the physician carefully repeated his treatment of the river, and by nightfall plans for the sinking of an artesian well were under way.

During the past seven years the Bureau of Health has done many things in the accomplishment of its aim to turn the Philippine Islands from a plague spot to the healthiest place in the tropics. To give Manila a good water supply, the Mariquina River was

dammed twenty-three miles distant, and the watershed cleared of inhabitants. A reservoir containing two billion gallons of water insures an ample supply at all times. Manila water is not entirely good now, but it is colourless and odourless and free from the most virulent germs. Manila also has a good sewage system and a very efficient sanitary inspection department which is the terror of all who throw garbage in the street or fail to keep their premises clean. It is the only city in the Far East where strange odours do not offend the nostrils of the traveller. Similar work has been done in the provinces, and recently the drilling of artesian wells has been taken up by the natives. Many of these wells have been sunk by popular subscription or by volunteer labour, with the result that the water supply of the islands is now approximately as good as that of the United States.

To teach the use of quinine in combating malaria, the Bureau of Health distributed free thousands of doses of the drug. Six years ago the great vaccination campaign was started, two millions being vaccinated against smallpox in one year. This campaign has since been carried on until it has covered every province.

During the fight against cholera and plague, but

little was done to care for the lepers, who, under Spanish rule, were scattered about the islands, free to come and go as they liked. They were partially segregated immediately on the arrival of the Americans, and in 1906 the work of establishing them at the Cuilon leper colony was begun. Cuilon is an island which was purchased from private owners by the government and set apart for the use of the lepers. It was made so attractive that at present those who escape from it usually come back voluntarily.

Remarkably successful results have been accomplished in the cure of leprosy by the use of chaulmoogra oil taken internally. Making use of the experience of physicians at the Louisiana leper colony, the Philippine authorities have been able to report success in two cures undertaken and encouraging results in others. A recent special report to the Bureau of Insular Affairs commented on this experiment as follows:

“We began the use of crude chaulmoogra in the Philippine Islands a little more than two years ago, and there has been considerable success among those who have been able to take it. At the present time there are but two lepers in the islands who have been apparently cured with this oil, but of the large number who began the treatment these are the only

ones whose stomachs enabled them to take it for very long periods. In the last year an American contracted the disease and was immediately placed upon the chaulmoogra-oil treatment, with the result that all evidence of the disease disappeared in about three months, but at the end of this period, however, he became so nauseated after the administration of the oil that it was impossible for him to take it any longer. As experience has shown that the oil must be taken for at least a year, and preferably two years in order to obtain permanent results, it was no matter of surprise to find that in a few months the American relapsed into his original condition. This has been the experience in a very large number of cases. The salient fact remains, however, that those lepers who are able to retain the oil successfully apparently improve steadily so long as they can take it."

Experiments are now being made to prepare an effective oil in solution, with the hope that it will be possible to eliminate the nauseating element. It is believed that if this can be accomplished, permanent cures can be effected on a large scale. In the meantime the establishment of the Cuilon colony has made it possible to segregate the lepers of the Philippines and prevent any further spread of the disease.

The government medical school is educating many

natives to supply the need for doctors, while a similar need is being supplied through the training school for nurses. It will be a good many years before the islands are adequately supplied with physicians and nurses and the people are made to realize the possibilities of medical science. With one of the finest hospitals in the world at their disposal, thousands of native residents of Manila die each year without medical attention.*

In the accomplishment of health work, as in all other features of American administration, the observer must be impressed by the whole-hearted team work between the different departments. Doubtless there is departmental spirit in the insular government offices in Manila, but it is impossible to discover any evidence of that petty departmental spirit which shirks and refuses to aid another department. All work together. One cannot credit the accomplishments of any department to any one man, and in the hundreds of Americans who have gone out to the islands none stands out very promi-

*During the year 1911, of the 8,279 deaths in Manila, 3,779 were without medical attendance. This shows an improvement over previous years when about half of the deaths were without medical attendance. Residents now have a free dispensary medical service, free obstetrical service and municipal physician's service. A government report issued two years ago says: "It may be said that at the present time there are whole provinces without a single physician unless it be the representative of the Bureau of Health."

nently above the others, because all have done their part with enthusiasm. Nor can the Bureau of Health be properly credited with all of the work which has been done to make the Filipino physically fit to do a man's work, for other departments and agencies have contributed.

Not the least of these contributions is by Bilibid, formerly one of the foulest and deadliest of prisons. Now Bilibid is clean and healthy, and so much of its work is devoted to education and health that it is more of a school than a prison. Here come the lawbreakers of the islands; and it would be difficult to find a more hopeless looking lot of men. In a race of weaklings they are noticeable for their weakness. They are short and bent, thin and anæmic, most of them pilferers because they cannot do a day's work; or criminals because their diseased bodies have given them criminal minds.

These, the lowest class of Filipinos, go to Bilibid to serve a prison term and remain to attend a practical school which makes men of them. As the new prisoners come in they are formed into awkward squads, and, under the direction of one of the older prisoners, go through a physical drill. They learn how to walk and are given a series of exercises which develop their muscles and give them an erect and

manly bearing. They are set to work, not at the kind of soul-killing machine work to be found in many state penitentiaries, but each is taught a trade, so that when he leaves the prison he will be self-supporting. Like the school system, Bilibid is supplying the local demand for carpenters, blacksmiths, machinists, cabinet workmen, etc. There is a good-natured rivalry between prison and school in the production of fine furniture and wagons.

During a part of the time each day the prisoner attends school, taught by one of the long-term convicts, and there learns to read and write English. As an incentive to progress and good conduct, there are a number of styles of clothing, ranging from prison stripes to civilian costume, which the prisoners are allowed to wear, according to their department and their grades in class. So successful is this work that on one's first visit to Bilibid he is able to tell the awkward, stoop-shouldered newcomers from those who have been there a few months. Indeed, a term in Bilibid has such a good effect on the prisoner that many who apply for work are glad to mention, as an excellent recommendation, that they have been convicts there.

Equally effective has been the health work in the public schools, where the children are taught simple

lessons in sanitation and hygiene. One of the great causes of the spread of disease is found in the fact that nearly all Filipinos eat with their fingers. With the increased prosperity which has followed the American occupation, many of the older people have risen to the knife and fork social standard, and as the children are taught the uses of this tableware in school, its use is rapidly becoming more general.

An even more important work has been done in amateur athletics, as a part of school work. It was a strange lot of schoolboys the American teachers met in the Philippines, for they did not know how to play. Sports which involved any physical exertion were placed in the same class with work which involved manual labour — things to be avoided. One might say the only diversion of the Filipino was cock-fighting, a sport introduced by the Spaniards, which became a passion with the natives. A cock-fight was always of enough interest to draw the attendance of the entire male population of the village, no matter what work might be on hand.

The village cock-fight is the centre of interest on Sunday afternoons, and many fights are held at each fiesta. The male Filipino of the old type was always the possessor of a fighting cock, no matter

how poor he might be, and a world of tender care is lavished on these birds. Nearly every traveller who returns from the Philippines will tell of the Filipino, who, when his house was on fire, rushed in to save the fighting cock, but left his wife and children to burn. This fanciful story does not greatly exaggerate the esteem in which the good fighting cock is held.

With the coming of the American soldier, a new sport was added, for the soldiers played baseball in intervals of peace while they were skirmishing with the insurgents. Baseball seemed to fill a long-felt want with the Filipino, for it spread with amazing rapidity. It was soon taken up in Manila, and the American teachers carried it throughout the islands, thereby adding one more essential to the making of a Filipino nation by establishing baseball as the national game of the islands. To-day a Sunday afternoon drive around Manila will reveal as many baseball games in progress in back lots as in a city of similar size in America. Even the girls play it, and it is a poor urchin, indeed, who does not possess a bat and ball. The popularity of the game soon began to affect cock-fighting, which is still patronized by the older men, but finds no adherents among the younger generation of ardent baseball "fans."

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While baseball is the most prominent, it is only one of the many features of school athletics as developed by the American teachers. They found, as I have said, that the Filipino boy did not know how to play anything. Apparently he possessed none of the boisterous animal spirits which drive American boys into violent exercise as soon as they are out of the schoolroom. The Filipino preferred to sit in the shade or sleep. The Bureau of Education took up seriously plans to encourage the boys and girls to play outdoor games, and the result was a very systematic organization of athletics. The bureau published an athletic hand-book in which rules were given for many American games, including the "rooster fight," "Indian wrestling," "follow the leader," "duck on a rock," "prisoners' base," etc. Small athletic leagues were formed in each school and schedules arranged in such a way that all would have an opportunity to take part in the games. As a further incentive to interest in track athletics, provincial meets were arranged with a grand meet for all the provinces once each year in Manila. In a recent meet the following records were established:

Event	Holder	Record
50-yard dash	Llaneta, Albay	5 3-5 seconds
100-yard dash	Robillos, Cebu	10 2-5 "
220-yard dash	Robillos, Cebu	23 4-5 "

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Event	Holder	Record
440-yard run	Ablan, Ilocos Norte	54 4-5 seconds
880-yard run	Ablan, Ilocos Norte	2:13 3-5 "
$\frac{1}{2}$ -mile relay	Cebu	1:41 "
Mile relay	Cebu	3:45 "
Shotput	Percha, Albay	45 feet 11 7-8 inches
Broad jump	Cardenas, Occidental Negros	20 feet 2 1-2 "
High jump	Torralba, Bohol	5 feet 4 7-8 "
Pole vault	Abad, Albay	10 feet 6 7-8 "

Probably they would not show up very well in comparison with records of schools in America, but considering the fact that there was no such thing as a Filipino athlete fifteen years ago, the Filipinos have every reason to be proud of the results they have accomplished.

The American administration has gone far in the work of making the Filipinos a healthy race. By means of pure water alone, the death rate has been reduced 50 per cent. in many provinces. A start has been made in the great fight against tuberculosis, which must be conquered before the Filipino is physically fit and able to hold his own in industrial competition with other peoples. The first thing necessary was to teach the Filipinos to fight against disease instead of submitting to it, as they had previously done. There still exist very large numbers of those who burn a candle to a saint when a member of the family is ill, and never think of sending for a doctor. But the enlightened ones who realize the

intimate connection between dirt and disease are growing in numbers constantly. One of the most convincing evidences of the increasing health and stamina of the Filipino, aside from the health statistics, is found in the new appreciation of the Filipino as a labourer. In 1900 and for several years thereafter, none could be found with a good word for him. All agreed that his labour at 20 to 50 cents a day was more expensive than American labour at \$2 to \$3 a day. Many declared that he was hopeless and would never make an efficient labourer under any condition. Gradually, as the Filipino got rid of malaria, hookworm, dysentery, and other diseases, and attained a higher standard of health, these complaints grew less. First, a few employers ventured the opinion that he was a fairly good labourer, and then these optimists grew in number until now there is general satisfaction with him. Of course the employers usually take credit themselves for this change, and say it is because they have learned how to handle the Filipino, but I am inclined to believe that most of the credit is due to the doctors and the schools.

The islands themselves, considering the fact that they lie in the tropics, are healthy. The death rate among Americans living there is no greater than in the Southern States of the United States, and the

general health of foreigners points to the fact that the Filipinos may be brought up to a higher standard of physical fitness. Of course the present adult Filipino is slight of stature, stoop-shouldered, anæmic, and walks with a shuffling gait. But in the baseball playing youngsters, who have been taught to drink pure water and eat with a knife and fork, there is growing up a sturdy and manly race which may cause the world to set a new estimate of the Filipino.

CHAPTER VI

A FOOL-PROOF GOVERNMENT

IT WOULD be difficult to find anywhere a parallel to the organization by which the Philippine Islands are governed. According to the carefully edited "Official Guide and Handbook," "it combines with a framework of popular representation and local autonomy as much of the executive centralization usually characteristic of tropical dependencies as for the time being seems necessary to secure civil order and a fair degree of justice and administrative efficiency." In other words, it is a bureaucratic form of government, thinly disguised as a democracy.

The central authority of the insular government is largely invested in the Philippine Commission, of nine men, who are appointed by the President of the United States. Five of these men are Americans and four are Filipinos. In the government of the islands, this body has power approximately equal to that collectively exercised in the United States by the President, the Cabinet, the Senate, and the Governors of the several states, with a few additional powers and

perquisites borrowed from the House of Representatives. It constitutes the upper house of the Philippine Legislature, and has sole power of legislation for the non-Christian tribes. It names an important number of the provincial and municipal officials and all the judges except the seven members of the Supreme Court, who are appointed by the President of the United States. The American members of the commission, being in the majority, have, of course, always been dominant in its affairs.*

The Philippine Assembly constitutes the other branch of the legislature and is a purely Filipino organization. It consists of eighty-one members elected for four-year terms from the various provinces. It holds yearly sessions and in its deliberations does not differ materially from the average state legislature. Each session gives birth to a number of freak bills and also to many sensible measures. The session which adjourned in the spring of 1913 passed

*Since the above was written, President Wilson has appointed as members of the commission enough Filipinos to give them the majority. Thus there is now a native majority in both houses of the Philippine Legislature. However, considering the extraordinary powers of the Governor-General, this will not affect the constitution of the government as outlined in this chapter. On many occasions heretofore, owing to temporary vacancies or to absences of American members, the Filipinos have been in the majority. But the Governor-General has always been able to hold the balance of power, just as he will in the future. The new arrangement only adds to the appearance of Filipino participation in the government without lessening American restraint to a dangerous degree.

a bill prohibiting the making of arrests at night or on Sundays or holidays. Another bill passed by this session was rather discouraging to those who are always in search of evidence that the Filipinos are able to govern themselves. This measure allowed municipalities the privilege of letting out tax collecting contracts to the highest bidder, the successful bidder to pay the municipality the amount of the bid and keep all taxes collected. These measures, fortunately, failed to become laws, as they did not pass the commission. The Assembly's actions have satisfied no one; for those who prophesied that it would be a farce have been disappointed, and equally disappointed have been those who expected that it would prove the fitness of the Filipino for self-government. It has done neither, but has halted on that dead level of mediocrity characteristic of purely Filipino enterprises. Like many state legislatures, the Assembly alternates its wise and its silly actions so dizzily that it is difficult to cast up a balance.

These two legislative bodies have not always worked together in the most amicable spirit. The Assembly is a body of men elected by Filipino voters; the commission is a body appointed by the President of the United States, and confirmed by the Senate. The Commission naturally considers itself the more

important of the two as the direct representative of the American people and responsible for carrying out America's policy in the islands. Its greater powers add substantially to this view. The members of the Assembly look on themselves as the direct representatives of the Filipino voter and, taking their cue from similar bodies, stoutly champion the cause of the taxpayer. The upper house is American and the lower house is Filipino, for these are the real names of the two opposing political parties actually concerned in the administration of the islands.

The chief point of difference between the two bodies has arisen over the appropriation bill, which the Assembly has for several years failed to pass. Were it not for the existence of an extraordinary provision to meet just such an emergency as this, the failure to pass the appropriation bill might have caused the government serious embarrassment. As it is, it has had but trivial effect on the administration. The extraordinary law referred to provides that in the event of failure to pass an appropriation bill, the amount provided for in the last appropriation bill shall be available. In other words an appropriation bill once passed, automatically enacts itself until it is replaced by another. Further than this, there is a provision giving the Governor-General sole dis-

cretion as to the reapportionment of unexpended amounts. All unexpended money is not returned to the general treasury, but goes into a special fund which he may allot to any department or to any purpose he may consider fit without the sanction of the commission or the Assembly. This gives the Governor-General remarkable powers not possessed by any official in the United States. At the beginning of the official year 1912, the insular treasury contained \$520,000, but of this \$286,000 (made up of unexpended appropriations) was at the disposal of the Governor-General, who was empowered to allot this amount for any purpose. This control of the budget enables the Governor-General to dominate all departments of the government.

In explanation of their failure to pass the appropriation bill, members of the Assembly say it is frequently not presented to them until the eve of their adjournment, giving them no time to consider this provision. Some Filipino politicians hint that the commission purposely delays the bill in this way to make impossible any alterations by the Assembly. Others say they purposely decline to pass the bill, their refusal being a protest against the unfair provisions which give the Governor-General such great powers over the budget. There is a good deal of sharp talk

in Manila over this question of appropriations, and each side to the controversy is credited with saying rather nasty things about the other; but there is no good reason to believe that either side is particularly dissatisfied with the existing arrangement. It gives the commission and the Governor-General almost complete charge of the finances, and it enables the members of the Assembly to point out to their constituents that they had nothing to do with the appropriations, and are therefore in no way responsible for the taxes. So it would be difficult for any outsider to say how much of this appropriation bill controversy is more than plain unalloyed politics.

Four of the commissioners, three Americans and one Filipino, are heads of departments, bearing the titles of Secretary of Commerce and Police, Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Finance and Justice, and Secretary of Public Instruction. The various bureaus and offices of the government come under their authority.

The provincial and municipal governments have been officially described as "semi-autonomous," but without an official definition of that vague term. In each province there is a provincial board, consisting of the provincial governor, treasurer and a third member. The treasurer is appointed by the insu-

lar government, the others being elected. It was chiefly in their capacity as provincial treasurers that so many Americans embezzled government money, as related in an earlier chapter. Since that time a number of Filipinos have been appointed to these positions and a system of audits adopted which makes speculation practically impossible. The chief official outside the three members of the board is the *fiscal*, or district attorney, who is also appointed by the insular government. Except in Manila, the *fiscal* is a Filipino.

The provinces are subdivided into municipalities, governed by boards of from eight to eighteen members. The municipality or barrio includes not only the town but the surrounding country. In addition there is the presidente, who is the chief executive officer, and the municipal treasurer, the latter being appointed. All the elective provincial and municipal officials are elected for terms of four years.*

*It should be noted that the government of the important city of Manila is not left to an elective board. According to the "Official Guide and Handbook": "The city of Manila has an administration independent of that of the other provinces and municipalities. It is governed by a Municipal Board, modelled on the commission that Congress has established for the District of Columbia; but, besides the four members appointed by the Governor-General — three American and one Filipino — there are two elected, both natives. The powers of the board are very general; and the administration it has given the city is unquestionably superior to any that could have been hoped for under present conditions from a purely elective body."

Very limited powers other than those of levying taxes, enforcing sanitary measures and combating insect pests are enjoyed by either the provincial or municipal boards. Indeed, if every elective office in the Philippine Islands were abolished to-morrow, the machinery of government would not be seriously hampered, and one can believe that it would go on even more smoothly than at present. There is no elective Filipino official whose actions are not subject to numerous checks by the American authorities.

This rather anomalous situation is due to the haste with which we gave the Filipino a share in his government. We had to justify ourselves in view of the American bromide about "governments . . . deriving their powers from the consent of the governed." Of course, the American government of the Philippines has never existed as a result of the consent of the governed, nor is it likely that it will ever receive that consent. Neither have the great civilizing forces of England, Germany, and France in Africa and India been halted while they waited to secure the consent of the governed. As soon expect a child to consent to be spanked. The trouble is that the great doctrine was laid down for the United States of America and not for the Philippines. Its resounding phrases have always been popular, and for

the sake of our political conscience we were compelled to model the Filipino government after this American pattern. We were ruling an alien people, to which a good many patriots at home objected. So in order to satisfy all parties, we continued to rule them, but set up a purely ornamental annex to the real government which would make it appear that the Filipinos were, to a large extent, self-governing. That part of their government which we handed to the Filipinos is fool-proof. It is a working model of a democratic form of government, with all the running gear removed. The chief difficulty with this arrangement is that the Filipino, with growing familiarity with the toy, increases his demands to be allowed to manage the real machine.

But does his mastery of the toy warrant any such demand?

The suffrage basis in the Philippines gives a vote to any male twenty-three years old who can read and write English or Spanish, or who owns \$250 worth of property, or who pays taxes amounting to \$15 a year, or who held municipal office under the Spanish Government. These regulations are more stringent than those prevailing in the United States. We can, or at least we think we can, let in the illiterate and poor white trash vote without any great danger.

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We take some comfort in the fact that our intelligent voters are so far in the majority that the others can't do very much harm. Certainly the Philippine requirements, if generally adopted here, would not very seriously affect the suffrage. The American voter who is neither able to read nor write, nor owns \$250 worth of property, nor who does not pay taxes amounting to \$15, is not numerous enough to be of any importance. But in the Philippines, it was found that these rather mild limitations allowed a very small proportion of the people to take part in the government. The qualified registered voters make up less than 4 per cent. of the total population, and only 15 per cent. of the men twenty-three years old.

This limited number of voters, however, take an intense interest in the franchise, as shown by the fact that more than 90 per cent. of those registered cast their ballots. A Filipino election is usually a very lively affair. The candidates are numerous, and seldom in America will any election bring forth the amount of oratory and enthusiasm that is found in the Philippines. Yet it is most difficult to find out what the preëlection oratory is all about. The campaigns are fought out about nothing, for not yet has a Filipino been elected to city or provincial office on any practical issue. We find no barrio

electing its presidente and councilman on the promise that an artesian well will be drilled, or a new road built. Not infrequently the greater part of the speeches will be devoted to the question of independence — which is no issue at all, as it is a question which the provincial and municipal officials can not influence in the remotest degree. One man who has risen rather high in Filipino politics has devoted nearly all of his speeches to stories of his sanguinary encounters with American troops during the insurrection. The Filipino voter has yet to learn to express his own opinion on governmental affairs through the casting of a ballot. William H. Taft, when Secretary of War, made a special report on the Philippine situation, in which he commented as follows on the Filipino voter's attitude toward the government:

“Up to the time of our occupation, the government had represented to the Filipino an entity entirely distinct from himself with which he had little sympathy and which was engaged in an attempt to obtain as much money as possible from him in the form of taxes. He had been taught to regard an office as the private property of the person holding it and in respect to which ordinary practice justified the holder in making as much profit from it as he could. The idea that a public office is a public trust had not been implanted in the Filipino mind by ex-

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perience, and the conception that an officer who fails in his duty by embezzlement or otherwise was violating an obligation that he owed to each individual member of the public he found it difficult to grasp. He was apt to regard the robbing of the government by one of its officers as an affair in which he had little or no interest and in which, not infrequently, his sympathies were against the government. As a consequence, the chief sense of restraint felt by municipal officials in handling public funds comes from a fear of inspection by the central government and its prosecution. The fear of condemnation by the public opinion of the local community has a much less deterrent force, even if the official is to seek reelection. The sense of responsibility for the government they control and whose officers they elect is brought home to the people of a municipality with slowness and difficulty. This is the political education that is going on in the Filipino municipalities. We are making progress, but we must be patient, for it is not the task of a day to eradicate traditions and ideas that had their origin in a system of government under which this people lived for centuries."

Is it not probable that the Filipino will never entirely lose that detached point of view as long as he is under alien rule?

If the Filipino voter is ignorant of the duties he assumes by casting a ballot, the official is often equally

ignorant of the duties of his office. It has been mentioned that the enforcement of sanitary measures was one of the duties given over to the municipalities, and in this connection the statement that the Filipino share of the government was fool-proof must be qualified.

About the time of the American occupation in the Philippines, a rather serious schism in the Roman Catholic Church developed. This was the Aglipay movement, headed by a Filipino priest of that name, who set about the establishment of an independent Filipino church. It is unnecessary to go into the details of the schism further than to state that the popular feature of the Aglipay doctrine provided for the appointment of native instead of foreign priests. The "semi-autonomous" local governments were established at a time when the controversies between the Aglipays and the Roman Catholics were the hottest, and in a very short time this controversy was injected into local politics. In towns with an administration of Aglipays, the Roman Catholic cemeteries were promptly found to be unsanitary and ordered closed. Similarly, in towns with a Roman Catholic administration, the Aglipay cemeteries were declared to be a menace to public health; and the American authorities were compelled to step

in and prevent this abuse of power, by limiting the authority of the local boards.

Another duty of the local officials was to collect taxes and provide for the payment of the native teachers employed in the local schools, but it was found that many of the teachers were left unpaid because the officials had taken all the money in the local treasuries to pay their own salaries. It was necessary, in order to prevent the breaking down of the school system, to require the officials to pay the teachers' salaries before their own. In order to make this thoroughly effective, the funds set apart by law for the maintenance of roads, construction of buildings, and payment of teachers' salaries were placed, by the same authority, in the hands of the provincial treasurer, who is appointed by the commission. This leaves the municipalities a small portion of their income which may be devoted to salaries; but this amount is so small that there is hardly any room for speculation.

Flagrant abuses of official power were found in all the provinces which contained small settlements of the non-Christian, wild, or semi-civilized tribes. In the original organization of the provinces, the sections entirely given over to the non-Christian tribes were placed solely under the authority of the

commission. But scattered throughout the island are a number of small settlements of these tribes, most of them semi-civilized, and these were placed under the regular Filipino provincial and municipal governments. In a short time it was found that the Filipino officials were oppressing these wild tribes shamefully, forcing them to sell their produce at ridiculously low prices, collecting tribute from them in addition to the legal taxes, and subjecting them to forced labour.* The commission did what it has repeatedly been compelled to do to make Filipino government fool-proof; it took away some of the powers originally granted. Around the settlements of the non-Christians, a number of sub-provinces were formed, within the territorial limits of the Filipino provinces, and over each of these an American was appointed, with the title of Lieutenant-

*In his report for 1910 Mr. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, said:

“I say in all kindness, but with deep conviction, that there is no reason for believing that Filipino control of the more pacific non-Christian tribes would not promptly result in the reestablishment of the old system of oppression which Americans have found it necessary to combat from the day when military rule was first established in these islands until now. I speak whereof I know when I say that the people of these tribes have been warned, over and over again, by those interested in reestablishing the old régime, that American control in the Philippines will be only temporary, and that, when the government is turned over to the Filipinos, the tribesmen will be punished for their present ‘insubordination’ and failure tamely to submit to injustice and oppression, as many of them formerly did.”

Governor. His chief duty is the protection of the non-Christian Filipinos from the aggressions of the Christian.

Under Spanish rule, local government was largely the business of the cacique, the local big man, "who might be described as a combination of the American political boss and the English country squire." The cacique, with the aid of the friar, ruled the Philippines under Spanish administration. In spite of all the American officials can do, he has continued to rule local affairs without the aid of officials or priests through the blind acquiescence of the Filipino.

All through the reports of the Philippine Commission and in the Manila papers of to-day are constant references to this evil. A few years ago Mr. Dean C. Worcester, then Secretary of the Interior, reported:

"The great curse of Palawan is caciquism, or the oppression of the poor and the weak by the rich and powerful. It is practised on the Tagbanuas of Southern Palawan by the Moros, and on the Tagbanuas and ignorant Christians of central and northern Palawan and the Calamianes Islands by the members of a few influential Christian families; many of the poor people having laboured for years for these families at wages of two or three pesos a month, and yet, by some hocus-pocus, have been

made to appear to be heavily in debt to those who have practically enslaved them. If the poor man in his attempt to lead an independent life squats on a piece of public land and gets it under cultivation, even before he has had time to harvest his first crop, the rich man appears and claims the land and everything planted on it as his. Not content with robbing the poor, several of these families have attempted to steal immense tracts of public land by instituting claims to ownership supported by manufactured testimony.”*

What Secretary Worcester said of Palawan in 1906 is still true of a large part of the Philippines and must continue to be true for some time to come. Indeed, for the insular government to surrender any more than the present flimsy amount of power to the local governments would add nothing to the political rights of the Filipinos as a whole, but would only make them more subject to the rule of the cacique.

That this is true does not argue that the plan of American rule has been mistaken, but only proves that a peculiarly dependent people cannot be made over in a fraction of a generation. Americans have constantly preached against the evils of caciquism, and have, with monotonous frequency, told the

*Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906.

people of their individual rights. But there is a Tagalog proverb, a product of the Spanish days, which runs: "The Governor-General is in Manila, the King is in Madrid, and God is in Heaven." In that way the native summed up the powers which might have helped him against his oppressors, but were too far away. So it is to-day. The cacique is just down the road.

We must always remember that the Filipino is not an American, nor an Englishman, nor a member of any other race with which we are familiar. Whatever his latent characteristics may be, for centuries he has been taught to cringe before power; whether it be the power of the church, of the Spanish official or the cacique. Just what state of mind this training has developed it is difficult for the average independent, aggressive, double-fisted American to understand. It is enough to say that it is not like our own.

But there are indications that the power of the cacique is passing. The war, the rinderpest, and the cholera, together with the drought and the plague of locusts, contributed to this, for the cacique was the greatest sufferer. The poor had nothing to lose. The greatest loss fell on the prosperous. The American school system is also contributing to his down-

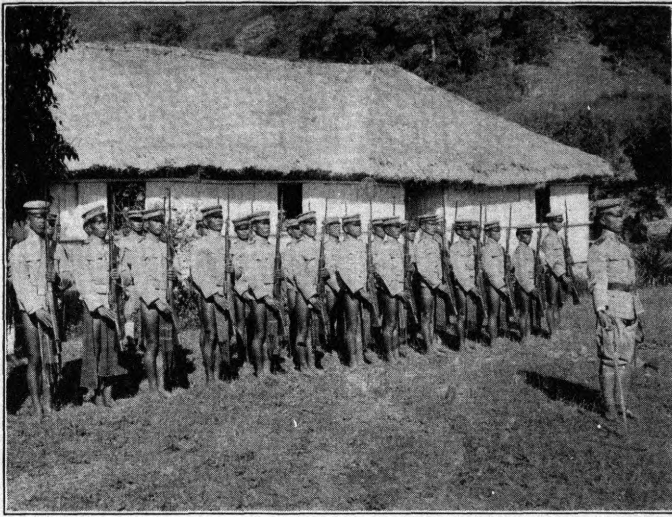
fall for, in the democracy of the school benches, the poor tao saw that his children were treated as well as the children of the cacique. American officials have found it very difficult to teach the masses of the Filipino people that they should protest against the oppressions of the local official. The Filipino had so long been used to the oppressions of the cacique and the local Spanish or native officials that he could not appreciate changed conditions. However, a few of them from time to time filed charges against barrio officials. These charges were investigated and in many cases the officials were removed. Slowly the news spread that under this new government the people would be protected against the officials. The number of charges of this kind showed a steady increase for several years. This is not believed to indicate an increasing tyranny on the part of the officials, but rather an increasing appreciation of their personal rights on the part of the people.* But the spirit of independence, that is, of

*Of the 253 municipal officials, justices, and auxiliary justices of the peace against whom charges were brought during the year, 220 were found guilty and 33 were either found not guilty or the charges were dismissed. Fifty-six of those found guilty were removed from office, 28 were removed and disqualified from holding office, the resignations of 10 were requested or accepted, 119 were warned, reprimanded, or suspended, and 7 went unpunished by reason of the expiration of their term of office.

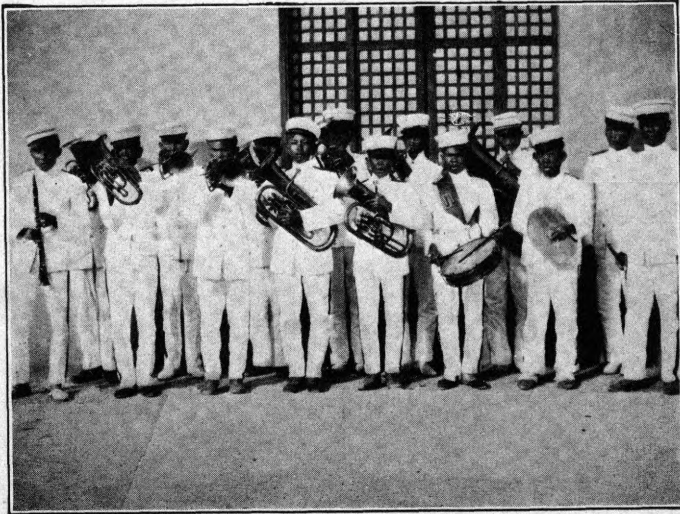
The number of charges has decreased by slightly more than 26 per

personal independence, is still a small and flickering flame in the islands. The cacique must continue to rule, in so far as the governmental system allows, for a number of years.

The police force of the islands is almost entirely in the hands of the insular government through the organization of the Philippine constabulary composed of about 5,000 Filipinos officered by Americans. It is this force, stationed throughout the islands, which pursues bandits and sees that peace and order prevail. The constabulary has been found very useful in aiding the health department in handling outbreaks of disease, and for several years has devoted a large part of its time to the campaign against rinderpest. Among its other duties at the present time, it reports on the condition of roads. The American officers of the constabulary are brought into close contact with the Filipinos in remote districts, and have succeeded in a remarkable, as compared with the preceding fiscal year, while the number of officers against whom charges were brought has decreased by more than 25 per cent. During the year there have been 40 per cent. fewer charges of neglect of duty than during the preceding year, while there has been an increase of almost 24 per cent. in the number of charges brought for abuse of official position. This increase cannot decisively be taken as evidence of greater wrongdoing on the part of municipal officials. It is rather due to the fact that the ignorant people are losing the fear, formerly entertained by them, of officials as officials and are no longer silently suffering under real or imaginary acts of oppression. — *Report of the Executive Secretary for the fiscal year 1911.*



Bontoc members of the Philippine constabulary. They adopt all of the military uniform except trousers



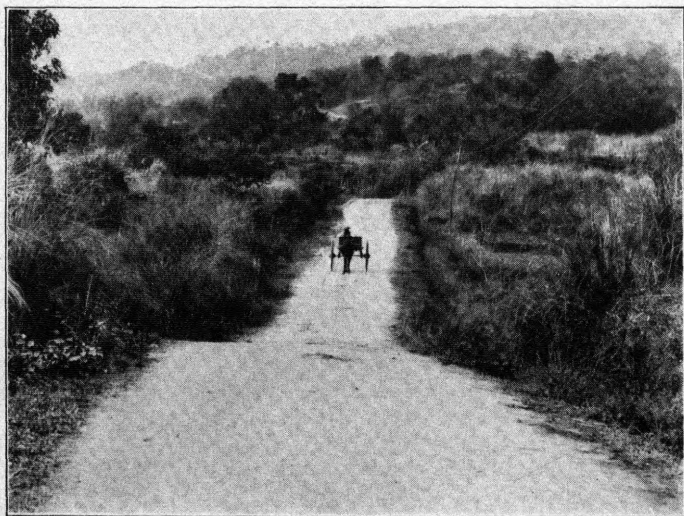
Band at the leper colony. All the members are lepers, and it is known as the Fingerless Band



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The Americans' summer cottage at Baguio



Provincial road built by Americans

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able degree in gaining the respect and confidence of the people. Although holding no administrative authority, the constabulary officers have performed very valuable work in settling local disputes and creating a friendly feeling for the administration. In many provinces the American constabulary officers exercise more real authority than the provincial officials. Little is expected of the municipal police, who had not infrequently spent their time as servants in the residence of the presidente.

In the administration of the insular government a steady policy has been carried out which early became known as "the Filipinization of the service." As indicated by the phrase, this means the constant replacement of Americans by Filipinos. The statement has often been made that 98 per cent. of the government employees and officials of the islands are Filipinos. While true, this statement is misleading, for it includes all the petty municipal officials, justices of the peace, etc., hundreds of offices which could never be filled by any but Filipinos. However, in the permanent civil service, embracing governmental positions to which both Americans and Filipinos are eligible, there has been a constant and rather rapid replacement of Americans by Filipinos. In 1903 and 1904, the two classes

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were almost equally divided, the average number of American employees for the two years being 3,003 and of Filipinos 3,037. Thereafter the Filipinos have always been in the majority and have constantly increased. In 1911 there were 2,633 Americans and 4,981 Filipinos. This increase in the proportion of Filipinos is not rapid enough to satisfy many of them and, indeed, there are many Americans who demand that the proportion of Filipino employees be still more rapidly increased. However desirable this might be, it is made difficult by the lack of Filipinos able to enter certain branches of the service. As the recent Governor-General Forbes pointed out:

“It is unfortunately true that in the matter of public works it is impossible to find Filipinos equipped to do the work of engineers. Few Filipinos have devoted themselves to the science of engineering, and it is impossible to find enough Filipinos equipped to take on these duties. In the matter of veterinarians, not only has the government been unable to find them, but the Filipinos have not cooperated in the efforts of the government to educate them, it having been found that there are very few applicants for the veterinary school which the government undertook to establish.”

The Filipino has preferred to go into the white-collar jobs, though there are now a few who have

qualified themselves for practical work, such as engineering, and have promptly been provided with positions. The Filipinos who have the most to say in criticism of the present "Filipinization of the service" are those who have their eyes fixed on the higher positions, such as those held by directors of bureaus. Only the complete retirement of Americans and their complete replacement by Filipinos will satisfy this group.

Even if there had been no definite policy looking to the gradual increase of Filipino and decrease of American employees, it is probable the Americans would not long have remained in the majority, for the Philippine service has never been attractive to them. The salaries paid are probably a little better than for similar service in the United States. There are liberal vacation allowances and an accommodating army transport service which will carry one to and from America at trifling cost if one has the least influence in army circles. Life in Manila or in almost any part of the island is rather pleasant. The greatest discomfort is in the heat, but most government employees escape the worst of that by going to the summer capital at Baguio. Certainly the American in the Philippines is more comfortable and he is usually better paid than the similar govern-

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ment employee in India. But the Indian Civil Service is able to pick its men from a large number of applicants, while the Philippine Civil Service has usually had to be content with what it could get.

The reason for this is not involved in any fundamental differences between the American and the Englishman. It is found in the fact that the Indian Civil Service offers a permanent career to any one who enters it. The Philippine Civil Service can offer nothing of the kind, and every American employee is haunted by the fear that he will live to see the government of the country turned over to the Filipinos. He knows that when this occurs there will be no room for him. He would then have to return to the States in debilitated health and out of touch with existent conditions, only to face the necessity of seeking a new position.

It is not probable that this condition will be changed, but several suggestions have been made with a view to ameliorating the position of these American Civil Service employees. One of these suggestions, which is persistently advanced by the employees themselves, is that their names be transferred to the United States Civil Service list, so that on retirement from the Philippines for any good cause they will be certain of employment in the

United States. The request is modest but can be granted only by an Act of Congress, and Congress has never been interested in the American employee in the Philippines. The other suggestion, made by Hon. William H. Taft, is that the Philippine government "make permanent provision for (them) by secure tenure for a certain number of years with a reasonable retiring pension." Considering the number of complaints from Filipino sources that all the high salaries are now paid to Americans, any attempt to provide pensions for them would be certain to encounter violent opposition and add to the differences now existing between the two peoples.

One of the stock Filipino criticisms of the insular government is that it is expensive, a criticism which has found occasional echo in America. Some of the Filipinos are particularly fond of pointing out what they consider to be the very large salaries paid to high American officials as compared with the best salaries paid to Filipinos. The obvious retort is that no Filipino is able to earn such large salaries; but this is not likely to be convincing to the Filipino. This criticism is not well founded, whether it comes from American or Filipino. The government of the islands is not expensive (though its total budget is larger than it was under Spanish rule), and

the tax burden has been shifted to fall more heavily on the property owning class.

In an average Spanish year the exports from the islands amounted to \$23,000,000 and the governmental expense to \$9,000,000, the budget amounting to about 39 per cent. of the total exports. In other years the government expense amounted to 45 per cent. of the exports. In 1911, which can be taken as a fair average year under American rule, the budget was \$14,000,000 and the total exports were \$40,000,000, making the governmental expense 35 per cent. of the exports. In proportion to the foreign trade, the government of the Philippines under American rule is cheaper than under Spanish. Yet the Spanish budgets provided little for education and practically nothing for public works, nearly all of the money going for the payment of the salaries of Spanish officials.

Of course the American system of taxation has greatly increased the taxes paid by the influential *ilustrado** class, and it is to that class that we are indebted for almost all native expression of opinion.

*The Spanish word *ilustrado* is generally used in the Philippines to describe not only the aristocracy, but also those who are locally prominent because of their scholarship. As a result of conditions of the Spanish rule, the two classes consist, almost without exception, of one body of men.

The Spanish taxation was admirably adapted to fall heavily on the poor and lightly on the rich. Its chief feature was the head tax, successor to the "tribute of the Indians" which was collected from the headman of the Filipino tribes in the earlier years of Spanish rule. It was a tax on persons and not on property, and was the same for the poor as for the rich. The revenue produced by this tax was eked out by a government lottery, various monopolies on tobacco, opium, etc., and at one time the sale of Papal Bulls. The present revenue is derived mainly from the customs receipts, supplemented by an internal revenue tax. Provincial and municipal revenues come from taxes on land and property, and that is where the shoe pinches the prosperous *illustrado*.

CHAPTER VII

PESOS AND CENTAVOS

DURING the sophomore period of our discussion of the Philippines, there was a good deal of talk about commerce following the flag. In the course of time commerce — that is, American commerce — did follow the flag, but it followed at a very respectful distance, and is not yet crowding the flag for further advances. Manila had long since ceased to play any very important part in the trade of the world. The rapid development of Hong Kong to a place among the world's very largest ports had created competition which Manila could not face. Hong Kong is on the high road of commerce which belts the globe. Manila is still on a by-path of the seas, though it is a by-path more frequently travelled each year. When America discovered Manila, the port was without good harbour facilities, and the few ocean liners which called were compelled to anchor some distance from the shore. The restrictions of the Spanish customs and the uncertainties of exchange added to the difficulties of commerce.

In former times there had been a Filipino currency on a fixed gold basis, with a coinage somewhat similar to that now in use in the nearby Federated Malay States. But the price of silver rose to a point where the metal in the Filipino coins was worth more than the face value, and they shared the same fate that befell America's plump trade dollars. They were shipped to China and melted up by the Chinese, who are no respectors of coinage, and who test every piece for its actual value. With customary dilatoriness, the Spanish authorities failed to replace the coins; the result was that the Mexican dollar came into general use. Its importation was heavily restricted, and this restriction incited agents for the banks to smuggle in the coins and share the profits of the transaction with high Spanish officials. Business paid this illegitimate tax.

This Mexican dollar was the coin Americans found in use. It had no fixed ratio to the American dollar or to any other coinage, the rate fluctuating daily and being largely dependent upon the operations of the London and Bombay silver speculators. For denominations smaller than the dollar, there were coins from China, Japan, and Mexico, while nearly every country in the Far East was represented by the copper coins. The use of these coins introduced an element

of uncertainty in every small transaction, for none of them had any fixed relation to any other, or to the Mexican peso. Money changers prospered, as did the big banks, and every one from the labourer to the exporter lost a varying portion of his income through fluctuations in exchange. The coming of Americans added to this confusion, for they brought with them their own silver dollar, of about the same size and weight as the Mexican, but worth twice as much, though the money changers were reluctant to admit this.

There followed a period of tangled finance as told in the reports of the Philippine Commission and in the account books of Manila merchants. It is an interesting story, but I doubt if any one will ever have the patience to tell it in all of its details, or if any one would care to read it. The banking business of the islands was then almost entirely in the hands of two British concerns, the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank, and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, both maintaining branches in Manila. A third institution was the Bank of the Philippines. The military authorities wanted these banks to guarantee some fixed rate of exchange, and as a result a gentleman's agreement was entered into. The banks agreed to maintain a rate of two Mexican dol-

lars for one dollar United States currency, and in return they were to be allowed to import Mexican dollars without restriction. The banks kept this agreement as long as it was profitable to them, but ceased as soon as it involved a slight loss. They further embarrassed the administration by refusing to accept deposits in American currency.

In the absence of any coöperation on the part of the banks, the insular treasury tried to maintain some semblance of stability by posting a rate of exchange for periods of ten days, but the government rate rarely agreed with the street rate, which often fluctuated as much as 20 per cent. in one day. The treasury accepted both gold and silver, according to the posted rate, and the result was that when it became possible to buy silver at a price cheaper than that guaranteed by the government, cartloads of it were presented to the treasury.

The insular treasury, like all other departments of American activities in the Philippines, had its lean years when ill luck piled up in crushing quantities. During the Boxer trouble there was an immense demand for Mexican silver for the use of troops in China, and large quantities of it were shipped out. Following this there was an even greater fluctuation, for the Boxer indemnities were to be

paid in gold, and Mexican currency was shipped back to the Philippines to purchase gold from the accommodating insular treasury. The importation amounted to \$20,000,000 in 1902, and the price paid for United States currency varied from \$2 to \$2.70 (Mexican) for \$1 (United States money). The amount of Mexican currency in Manila became so great that the banks gave notice they would no longer receive it on deposit, and it was stored under the counters like sugar. During this period, the insular treasury lost almost \$2,000,000 through its exchange operations, a not inconsiderable part of this going to swell the profits of the banks and of the street money changers. The loss between January 1 and October 25, 1902, was \$1,000,000, or more than \$3,000 per day.

In 1903 Congress authorized the coinage of a Filipino peso, to contain 416 grains of silver .9 fine, and be worth one half of the United States dollar. Subsidiary coins were also minted, and in a short time, despite attempts of small traders to discredit the new coin, the Mexican dollars had disappeared from the islands, and the banks accepted deposits of the new pesos. But the insular government was not through with its currency troubles. In May, 1906, the price of silver rose to 2s. 7d. per ounce, making the intrinsic

value of the peso greater than its face value. The coin was threatened with the fate that befell the older Spanish coinage. It was necessary to immediately recoin the peso, which now contains an amount of silver small enough to allow for fluctuations in the market price.

Since that time there have been no serious currency problems in the islands. United States currency circulates there at a fixed ratio of one dollar for two pesos. The nickel or the dime is accepted with as much alacrity in Manila as in any part of America. This is a fact of which Americans should be proud. I know of no British colony, dominion, or protectorate where it is possible to exchange a sovereign into the local currency without loss, while there is usually an amazing charge for the exchange of Bank of England notes.

If the insular government was rather tardy about arranging a system of coinage which would enable the American business man to transact business without disturbing his present dense ignorance on the subject of foreign exchange, the American business man was equally as tardy about taking advantage of the opportunity in the Philippines. The commerce which promptly followed the flag was not of the kind to make Americans proud. Fighting

is always thirsty work, and saloon-keepers followed by the hundred to serve their country by slaking the thirst of the American soldier. That was the beginning of American commerce in the islands, a beginning which alarmed a good many temperance workers at home and set afloat the many absurd stories about introducing whiskey to the innocent Filipino. The Philippines have suffered unusually from the stories of returned travellers who have more desire to be interesting than accurate. As for whiskey and the Filipino, the native "vino" has done far more harm to Americans than American whiskey has done to the Filipino.

In his report for 1903 Governor Taft commented on the hostility of the American business man against the natives. Up to that time he had catered entirely to the trade of the American soldiers and civilians, but in 1903 the fighting force was reduced to 15,000, with the consequence that a large part of the American commerce which had followed the flag out to the Philippines reluctantly followed the soldiers back to America. It was some time later that the development of American business along more permanent lines began. In its representatives, it has not yet lost the aspect it first bore, for a very large number of the business men of the islands are the

men who followed the army out or came as volunteer soldiers. With profound respect to the individual exceptions, they are not the class of business men one meets in Hong Kong, Shanghai, or in any other port of the Far East. If some one could apply a principle of eugenics to the business community of Manila and secure fewer business men but better, it would be an excellent thing for the city and for American commerce. However, they are the last of the motley crew who followed the army to the Philippines. Many of those who first came out have left for the China coast, some turned beach comber, and all contrived to give America and Americans a bad name from Yokohama to Singapore.

To quit personalities, and get down to pesos, the following table showing the yearly totals of exports and imports tells an interesting story of the progress of commerce in the Philippines:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Total</i>
1899	\$13,100,000	\$14,700,000	\$27,800,000
1900	20,600,000	19,800,000	40,400,000
1901	30,250,000	23,200,000	53,450,000
1902	32,000,000	24,500,000	56,500,000
1903	33,000,000	33,150,000	66,150,000
1904	33,200,000	30,250,000	63,450,000
1905	30,850,000	32,350,000	63,200,000
1906	25,800,000	31,900,000	57,700,000
1907	28,800,000	33,700,000	62,500,000
1908	30,900,000	32,800,000	63,700,000
1909	27,700,000	31,000,000	58,700,000

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<i>Year</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Total</i>
1910	\$37,000,000	\$39,900,000	\$76,900,000
1911	49,800,000	39,800,000	89,600,000
1912	61,000,000	54,000,000	115,000,000

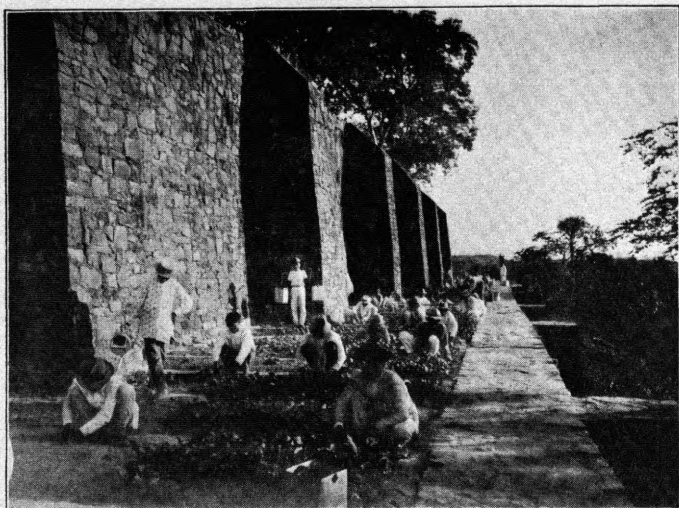
Under Spain the average annual trade was \$55,000,000, a figure more than doubled in 1912 and practically trebled in 1913, according to preliminary estimates for that year.

During the time that American troops were suppressing the insurrection of the Filipinos, in 1900, Mr. Frederick H. Sawyer, an Englishman long resident in the islands, published a book which remains a widely read and authoritative volume on Philippine affairs. In this volume he took occasion to criticise the optimism of certain Americans who thought they foresaw vast opportunities for an increase in Philippine commerce. Mr. Sawyer doubted very much if it would be possible to double the trade of the islands within twenty years, and in that statement he expressed the convictions of most other men of affairs who were familiar with conditions at that time. This has been accomplished, but it will be noticed that the total for 1909 was only a few dollars above the Spanish average. It was in that year that free trade between the United States and the Philippines became possible through the operations of the Payne bill, and Philippine trade responded immediately.



Primitive sugar cane mill which was so inadequate that less than 50 per cent. of the sugar was extracted





Improved methods of agriculture, which are being taught in the schools, will accomplish wonders in adding to the material wealth of the islands

In the meantime, what had the American business man been doing with his opportunities in the Philippines? The imports of American goods into the Philippines and its percentage of the total of imports are shown in the following table:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Per-centage</i>
1899 . . .	\$ 1,150,000 . . .	9
1900 . . .	1,650,000 . . .	8
1901 . . .	2,660,000 . . .	9
1902 . . .	4,000,000 . . .	13
1903 . . .	3,940,000 . . .	12
1904 . . .	4,840,000 . . .	15
1905 . . .	5,840,000 . . .	19
1906 . . .	4,330,000 . . .	17
1907 . . .	5,150,000 . . .	18
1908 . . .	5,080,000 . . .	16
1909 . . .	4,700,000 . . .	17
1910 . . .	10,800,000 . . .	30
1911 . . .	19,800,000 . . .	40
1912 . . .	20,770,000 . . .	38

The increase, of course, is very flattering, but the good showing is due to old Doctor Tariff rather than to the initiative or energy of the American business man. In no year before 1909 did the sales of American goods in the islands exceed \$200 per capita for the American residents in the islands. An analysis of the American goods shipped to the islands during that period reveals the fact that a very large proportion of them were for Americans, and were shipped to Manila solely to supply the transported de-

mands of customers who had always been used to and demanded American goods.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the United States agreed for a term of ten years to "admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States." Without violating the letter of this treaty obligation, its spirit was violated in every way conceivable to tariff experts by so adjusting the classifications that the duty would fall lightly on American goods and heavily on Spanish. So skilfully was this tariff manipulated that light Spanish wines were heavily taxed, but many holes left in the tariff wall for the entrance of similar California wines. Every peculiarity of American manufacturing or shipping methods was seized upon as an opportunity to favour American goods against those of Spain or any other country. According to the *Washington Post*, Colonel Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, assured the members of the Ways and Means Committee that "while no different duty in favour of American products is openly mentioned, the articles were so described in the tariff as to allow an advantage to American goods." In addition to this, competition was limited by a reduction of 25 per cent. in favour

of Spanish and American goods. Is it any wonder that American commerce with the islands showed a slight increase? In 1909 it was made still more completely fool-proof by free trade between the islands and the United States.

From the beginning, Filipino tariff legislation was largely framed to help the American manufacturer sell his goods in the islands, while Congress offered but slight encouragement for the sale of Philippine products in the United States. A reduction of 25 per cent. was made in the Dingley tariff, as applied to Philippine goods, and it was also provided that the import duty on Philippine goods brought into the United States should be less any export duty charged in the Philippines. An analysis of the 25 per cent. reduction shows how valueless it was as an encouragement to Philippine commerce. In the year in which this legislation was adopted and in the two years thereafter, the Philippine exports by articles were as follows:

	1902	1903	1904
Hemp	\$15,900,000	\$21,700,000	\$21,800,000
Sugar	2,700,000	4,000,000	2,700,000
Tobacco	2,500,000	1,900,000	2,000,000
Copra	1,000,000	4,400,000	2,500,000
All other	1,800,000	1,100,000	1,200,000
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Total	\$23,900,000	\$33,100,000	\$30,200,000

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There being no duty on hemp imported into the United States, the reduction from the Dingley tariff rates did not, of course, affect this article, which made up two thirds of the total exports in 1902. Copra is an article which at that time had no market in the United States, and the reduction did not result in the building up of a new market of any great proportions. There remained sugar and tobacco as the only important exports of the islands which could conceivably be affected. The reduction of 25 per cent. from the high protective tariffs on these articles was not enough to create a market for them in the United States.

Under Spanish rule, a very large part of the trade of the Philippines was with Spain, owing to special tariff and other privileges enjoyed by Philippine goods. The American occupation naturally destroyed this market at once, and it was not until ten years later that any practical move was made by Congress to replace it with another. The failure to do so, and the enactment of the "hemp rebate" clause, form a very interesting if unsavoury chapter of our tariff history.

Under Spanish rule there were certain export duties charged on Philippine products, and these were in part continued in the tariff act passed by the Phil-

ippine Commission on September 17, 1901. A few months later Congress took up the question of tariff legislation for the Philippines and reënacted the commission's tariff law, with one apparently minor, but really important change, since discovered and known to fame as the "hemp joker." Congress effectually repealed all export duties on Philippine products coming to the United States by providing that the duty collected at ports in the United States should be less any export duty paid in the Philippines. This provision would not affect hemp, the principal article of export, as it is free of duty in the United States, so hemp was provided for in the following clause:

"All articles, the growth and product of the Philippine Islands, admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty under the provisions of this act, and coming directly from said islands to the United States, for use and consumption therein, shall be hereafter exempt from any export duties imposed in the Philippine Islands."

Like most really dangerous legislation, this appeared very innocent. It could be justified to the American farmer as removing the tariff burdens from his supply of binder twine, and could be justified to the Filipino farmer as creating a better market for his

hemp. Unfortunately, it did not work out that way. After the passage of the act, the hemp business of the islands went on just as before. The hemp buyers scattered about at the market towns bought the hemp, which was shipped to Manila for export. Here all paid the export duty of seventy-five cents per one hundred kilos (about 225 pounds). In the course of time, after the shipment reached the United States and documentary proof was offered to the Manila customs authorities that it had reached that place and was consumed there, the money which had been paid in for export duty was repaid to the shipper. It is needless to say that he, usually the buyer for the United States harvester trust, did not then hunt up the many small producers from whom he had bought his supply and divide the rebate with them.

The evil of this arrangement was apparent in the Philippines very soon after it became operative, and attention was frequently called to it by the reports of the Philippine Commission. The report for 1904, referring to this subject, says:

“Under the provisions of this section there has been collected in the Philippine Islands, since its enactment down to the close of the fiscal year 1904, the sum of \$1,060,460 United States currency which

is refundable. These refundable duties are principally upon hemp exportations to the United States, and are in effect a gift of that amount to the manufacturers of the United States who use hemp in their operations.”

Again, in 1905 the report says of the operations of the act:

“It is a direct burden upon the people of the Philippine Islands, because it takes from the insular treasury export duties collected from the people and gives them to manufacturers of hemp products in the United States. These manufacturers were already prosperous before this bounty was given them, and it seems hardly consistent with our expressions of purpose to build up and develop the Philippine Islands when we are thus enriching a few of our own people at their expense.”

A year later the Philippine Commission report said:

“Since the passage of that act on March 8, 1902, the amount of duties collected and paid into the Philippine treasury and handed over to the manufacturers in the United States down to June 30, 1906, is \$1,471,208. This money has been taken out of the poverty of the insular treasury to be delivered directly into the hands of manufacturers of cordage and other users of Philippine hemp in the United States

for their enrichment. The cordage interests are prosperous and do not need this help; the Philippine Islands are poor. Legislation which takes money directly from the Philippine treasury and passes it over to a particular industry in the United States is not founded on sound principles of political economy or of justice to the Filipinos."

These protests have continued ever since, being made not only by the Philippine Commission, but by many Americans who live in Manila and are familiar with the injustice it works. The Merchants' Association has been prominent in working to secure its repeal, and every one who is familiar with it is opposed to it, except, of course, the benefited class, those who buy Manila hemp for use in the United States. But Congress has paid no attention to the protests, and the hemp dealers have grown wealthy. Up to the end of the fiscal year 1912 the rebates had amounted to more than \$5,000,000.

The loss of this sum of money from the insular treasury was not the only bad feature of the workings of this act, for with the advantage of the rebate the American hemp buyers have been able to control the market and at one time forced the price down from \$10 per picul to \$6.50 per picul, a price which means to Filipino hemp growers what five-cent cotton means

to the American cotton farmer. It is only recently that hemp recovered from this depression in prices and, presumably with the breaking up of the corner, began to regain its normally good price.

The customs duties have undoubtedly had a very great effect on the increased cost of living in the Philippines, and a cursory examination of the customs tariff indicates that the burden falls much more heavily on the native than on the American resident of the islands. For instance, the leading import for a good many years has been rice. In no year since the American occupation has enough rice been raised to supply local demands, and the imports have amounted to as much as \$10,000,000 in one year. The tariff rate on rice ranges from 80 cents to \$2 per 100 kilos, amounting to more than 25 per cent. of the average price of the food. The tariff rate on hams, bacon, and other smoked or cured meats is \$3 per 100 kilos, or less than 10 per cent. of the value. There is a large importation of both these items, one being for native consumption and one for foreigners. It would be unfair to the committee which drafted the tariff rates to suggest that they purposely discriminated against the native in favour of the American, but the fact remains that the imported food-stuffs of the native bear a tariff burden nearly three

times as large as that borne by the imported food-stuffs of the American. Indeed, the duties levied on the importation of rice alone have more than paid the cost of the Philippine educational system of which we are so justly proud. These customs duties are especially interesting in view of the following comment in the first report of the Taft Commission:

“One striking characteristic of the Spanish tariff is that it discriminates in a marked way against the poor and in favor of the rich. Thus, it will be seen that cotton cloth and rice, the poor native’s dress and food, pay 25.6 per cent. and 18.2 per cent. respectively, while silk and prepared foods pay only 20.8 and 9.4 per cent. respectively.”

The tariff legislation of Congress is one phase of our relations with the Philippines of which we cannot be proud. Its whole effect has been to create a market for American goods and to cripple the normal development of Philippine industries. It stands out as the one great injustice of America to the Philippines, yet it is one which has passed practically unnoticed by the Filipino politicians. With all of their attacks on the American administration, they have missed this, the one vulnerable spot.

It was not until 1909 that Congress did anything

to create a market for Philippine products to take the place of the market destroyed by American occupation. This was accomplished through the enactment of the Payne tariff bill, which, though it repeated the iniquity of the hemp rebate, provided for free trade between the two countries, the result of ten years of work by those who had the interests of the Philippines at heart, and wanted to see the United States give it a square deal. However, even in this bill, there was meticulous care to safeguard the interests of the sugar and tobacco trusts, for it provided that not more than 300,000 tons of sugar nor 150,000,000 cigars should be imported from the Philippines to the United States in any one year. This limits the possible introduction of Philippine sugar to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of our total consumption.

Apparently free trade was the kind of lubricant the rusty wheels of Philippine commerce needed. The total trade for 1910 showed an increase of 30 per cent. over the trade for 1909, an increase three times as great as for the entire eight years preceding. The effect on domestic trade was equally good. Estimates based on receipts of the internal revenue tax place the gross business of the last year before free trade went into effect at \$190,000,000. In four years this total increased more than 75 per

cent., amounting to \$330,000,000 in the fiscal year 1913. American business received the first benefit and, considering the extraordinary advantages it has enjoyed, little credit is due to the business men for the fact that in 1912 America controlled 40 per cent. of the total foreign trade of the islands.

The Filipino has been a still smaller factor than the American, for in the business world the native plays a very inconspicuous part. The Filipino merchant is as rare in Manila as the negro merchant in New York. There are no Filipino banks, nor has there ever been a noteworthy Filipino financier. The Chinese in the islands control 75 per cent. of the entire commerce, domestic and foreign, and 90 per cent. of the retail trade. This cannot be explained in the way that Chinese success is usually explained, by the fact that the Chinese can live cheaply and therefore sell on a smaller margin of profit. There is little difference between the Chinese and the Filipino scale of living. If not on equal ground, the Chinese scale is the more expensive of the two. In business theirs is a difference of capacity. How great the difference is one can judge by the fact that less than 50,000 Chinese are able to control 90 per cent. of the retail trade of more than 7,000,000 Filipinos.

The insular government, aided by enterprising

American citizens of Manila, has been trying very hard to put Manila on the commercial map of the Far East. An early act of the Taft Commission appropriated money for harbour improvements which the Spanish had often discussed and never begun. This work has been carried out at an expense of \$10,000,000 and now ocean liners can anchor and discharge cargo at the dock, which is possible at no other harbour in the Far East. The harbour is dredged for a depth of thirty feet and is enclosed by permanent breakwaters. The long coast line has been well lighted. All harbour dues were abolished, there being no tonnage, harbour, or light dues. This fine harbour has done a great deal to attract shipping to Manila, but in the year 1912 only thirty-two American vessels engaged in the foreign carrying trade entered and cleared at this port. Other flags were represented as follows: British, 1,342; French, 45; German, 330; Japanese, 292; Norwegian, 124; Spanish, 52. The American vessels were of large tonnage, which enabled the Americans to claim a little more than 5 per cent. of the total. More than half of the tonnage is British. Evidently American shipping needs the same kind of preferential treatment that is accorded to American manufacturers, and Congress has several times proposed

extending the coastwise laws to the Philippines. The immediate effect of this would be to give the Great Northern and the Pacific Mail lines a monopoly of the carrying business between the Philippines and the United States. A slight advantage has been given to these lines by the provision that Philippine products be exempt from duty in the United States only if carried all the way in one bottom. Formerly, a large part of the traffic went to Hong Kong and was there trans-shipped.

In spite of the very obvious advantage of a good harbour, free of charges, there is no reason to believe that Manila will ever be a very important centre for the distribution of American goods to the nearby markets in China, Japan, Borneo, and the Malay Peninsula. Those who argue for the establishment of American distributing houses in Manila are victims of the sophistry of the radius theory of city development, a theory which hundreds of cities in the United States are using to prove that they offer exceptional advantages for the location of factories and wholesale houses. It can be applied to any city. Draw a generous circle on the map, with the chosen city occupying the exact centre. Then connect the central city by radius spokes with all the other cities in the circle and assume that all these, because of the

favoured city's central position are, or will be, tributary to it in trade. You will then have achieved the ideal of development sophistry.

A good many enthusiasts have adopted this plan to prove the future possibilities of Manila, drawn the circle wide enough to include the important commercial centres of Hong Kong, Shanghai, Kobe, Singapore, Yokohama, Tokio, and Nagasaki. In the chart, Manila occupies the exact centre. In reality, she is on the outermost rim. There is no reason why any one in search of trade in the Far Eastern market should enter it by the back door of Manila, when the front doors of Shanghai and Hong Kong stand wide open. Manila offers no more advantages as a distributing point for American goods than Jamaica does as a distributing point for British goods destined for the United States.

The shortest route across the Pacific is that followed by the Canadian Pacific line of steamers from Vancouver to Hong Kong. Any merchant in China or Japan who is in a hurry for his goods from America orders them shipped by this line, which calls at Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, stopping six hundred miles short of Manila. Three other important lines sail from San Francisco. The one American line is the Pacific Mail, the only one of

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the four mail lines across the Pacific which connects Manila and the west coast of America direct. Until very recently this line usually called at the Japanese and Chinese ports before reaching Manila. It now offers direct sailings. The remaining two are Japanese lines, both calling at ports in China and Japan. Obviously the merchant who attempted to carry stocks in Manila for the Chinese or Japanese market would be limited to but one line which would bring his goods direct to Manila without trans-shipment at Hong Kong. Even when using this line, the goods would frequently be carried through the Japanese and Chinese ports, to be shipped back there after storage in Manila. To make Manila the commercial metropolis of the Far East is the commendable ambition of many enthusiastic Americans, and all would be proud to see it accomplished. But the great market of the future is in China, whose vast mineral resources are undeveloped and in that market Manila cannot hope to compete very successfully with Shanghai, Hong Kong, or Hankow.

The development of Manila does not depend upon the establishment of distributing houses there to supply the Chinese market. Every one who is familiar with conditions in China knows that the American manu-

facturer has done very little there to develop a market for his goods. In spite of the great tariff advantages he has in the Philippines, he has done little to develop even that market; indeed, it would be dominated by British merchants if they were not shut out by a tariff wall. In view of the indifference of the American manufacturer to the Far Eastern trade this talk of Manila as a distributing centre smacks of the "boost" literature of Western real estate dealers. Fortunately Manila is not dependent on China and Japan. In the sane development of the copra, hemp, sugar, lumber, and tobacco industries lies the promise of a brilliant future for Manila and the Philippines.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPING PHILIPPINE INDUSTRIES

PRESENT conditions must change considerably before it will be necessary to revise the statement that the chief industry of the Philippines is agriculture. Inasmuch as the Philippines lie wholly in the tropics, with vast expanses of rich land to be developed, with hundreds of square miles of valuable forests untouched, it will be many years before any other industry can offer the money-making opportunities offered by field and forest. How small a part any industry other than agriculture plays in the commerce of the country may be judged by the fact that 95 per cent. of the total exports are made up of the four principal crops: copra, sugar, hemp, and tobacco. Of these the least important is tobacco, and it is the only one which is exported chiefly in a manufactured condition.

Of the 78,000,000 acres of land in the Philippines, 26,000,000 acres, according to the most authoritative estimate, are covered by commercial forests and less than 4,000,000 acres are under cultivation.

This leaves a total of nearly 50,000,000 acres, or about two thirds of the total area, as unoccupied and unproductive land. According to Dr. George E. Nesom, formerly Director of the Bureau of Agriculture:

“This is, for the most part, covered with a growth of the perennial grass known as cogon, which reaches a height of about three feet in the rainy season and dies down and burns off in the dry season, thereby prohibiting the reforestation of the land by annually furnishing fuel for the destruction of any seedling trees which may have germinated on the land; a much smaller part of this area is covered with scrub brush, mangrove, and nipa swamps, barren rocky hills, and cañons. Practically all of this land is public domain and is awaiting the hand of industry, but owing to scarcity of labour but little of it can be used, except for grazing purposes, within the next quarter of a century.”

Of course a large part of this land is not fit for cultivation, but according to the lowest estimate, 15,000,000 acres of it is waiting for the plow. Other estimates of the portion which is arable range as high as 30,000,000 acres. For every acre under cultivation, there are at least four acres of good land **waiting for the ploughman.**

Congress, very soon after assuming control of the affairs of the islands, enacted legislation calculated to conserve this great area of public land for the benefit of the Filipino people. The most important provision of this act was one which limited the area of public land which may be sold to a corporation to 2,500 acres. This legislation was probably due in equal measure to real friends of the Philippines who were opposed to the exploitation of the islands by foreigners, and to the sugar interests, which did not care to see the creation of new competition through the development of Philippine sugar lands. This legislation was enacted in 1902, and reports of the Insular Bureau of Lands for that year and intermittently since that time have urged that this limit be raised to 25,000 acres. This recommendation has been repeatedly endorsed by many business men who are familiar with Philippine conditions. It is contended that 2,500 acres is an area too small to warrant the organization of a company to grow copra, sugar, hemp, or tobacco. It is also pointed out that with this vast area of undeveloped public land awaiting their settlement under homestead provisions, the Filipinos have done practically nothing toward taking advantage of it. Up to June 1, 1911, only 11,500 homestead applications had been re-

ceived, and many of these were cancelled because of the applicant's failure to comply with the regulations.

Here is, indeed, a very interesting situation. The Filipino is not a tenant farmer. According to the census of 1903, of the more than 800,000 Christian farmers, about four fifths are owners of their own land, a proportion much greater than in the United States and greater than in any other country whose statistics are available. The farms are pitifully small. The average is less than nine acres, as compared with the average of one hundred and forty-six in the United States, and nearly half of the parcels of land are less than one hectare, or two and a half acres. One would naturally presume that with such a small acreage and with a liberal government constantly urging him to homestead equally good land, the Filipino farmer-owner would jump at the opportunity.

However, the statistics showing such a large proportion of farmer-owners are misleading, and calculated to give one an entirely wrong impression of the Filipino farmer. During the Spanish rule, no taxes on land were levied, and few titles were registered. Under these conditions, it would have been rather remarkable if the Filipino farmer had not retained possession of the land he cultivated, for he

was threatened neither by sale for taxes nor by the foreclosure of a mortgage. It would have been rather difficult for him to dispose of his property, for he rarely had a title any one would care to purchase. Though crop loans are rather common, loans on a farm are rare, because of the fact that so few farmers have a good title to the land they own. Under American rule, farm lands are taxed and efforts are being made to secure accurate surveys of land and the registration of titles. As fast as this is accomplished, one may expect to see the number of farmer-owners decrease. The effect of taxation is already apparent. Up to June 30, 1912, more than 30,000 farms had been forfeited to the government for non-payment of taxes. During one year 16,588 farms were so forfeited. The next census will undoubtedly show a very large increase in the number of tenant farmers. Under the old conditions the Filipino's farm was about as negotiable as the American farmer's clothing, and he deserved little more credit for retaining possession of it than the American farmer deserves for ploughing his fields in mortgage-free shoes.

The failure of the Filipino to take up homesteads and aid in the development of his country may be attributed to several causes rather more definite

than his lack of initiative and ambition. Chief among these causes is the desire of the Filipino to live in village communities. The remote farmhouse is seldom seen there. Instead, there are hundreds of villages, surrounded by tracts of cultivated land. Necessity for this existed under the Spanish rule, because of the prevalence of brigandage, and it is only recently that Americans have been able to put down this evil and make residence in the open country comparatively safe. But the tradition of brigandage remains to keep the farmers in villages for mutual protection. Probably a motive even stronger than the fear of brigands is the desire for society which has developed through centuries of village life.

Another more timely reason is found in the poverty of the farmer since the American occupation, for no one in the islands, with the possible exception of the bankers, has escaped the seven lean years. In 1903, Sr. G. Gonzaga, the Governor of Cagayan, said in a report:

“Never as at the present time have so many misfortunes joined together, each of which threatens to exterminate the Philippine planters in general, and the growers of tobacco in Cagayan in particular. The rinderpest, which has been prevalent in the prov-

ince for some years, has visited all the townships and exterminated the carabao and other cattle. Horses were similarly attacked by surra, and between the two diseases the cattle of certain districts were gradually destroyed, and if any carabaos are to be found it is due to the fact that they have been purchased recently. Then came the drought which cracked the earth and burned the plants; then the locust plague, which visited all the districts and plantations, cleaning out all the vegetable growth; and finally to supplement all these misfortunes, came smallpox, dengue, and cholera."

Governor Gonzaga's report was echoed from all parts of the country, and it is doubtful if the native farmer of to-day is in as good condition as he was under the much maligned Spanish rule. The mainstay of agriculture in the Philippines is the ungainly carabao, an all-purpose animal which takes the place of horse, cow, and pig. Before 1898 carabaos were plentiful and cheap and the ideal of native agriculture; the ownership of "two hectares and a carabao" was much more universally achieved than the ideal of ownership of "forty acres and a mule" in America. But war and the rinderpest killed off the carabaos and they are now so valuable that they are practically out of the reach of the average farmer.* Nor

*The decline in rice growing began before the American occupation,

has the Insular Bureau of Agriculture gained any brilliant honours in its ten years' war with the rinderpest, though one is glad to believe their statement that the disease is now under control. The lack of roads has been another hindrance to homesteading of vacant land, for the road building programme was formulated only a few years ago and barely a start has been made in the constructive work.

Considering all of these things it is only fair to say that the Filipino has not yet had an opportunity to homestead the vacant lands and take the part in partly because the lands were being given over to the cultivation of hemp and sugar and partly because of the disturbed condition of the country following the insurrections against the Spanish Government. Yet the importations for the two years just preceding American occupation did not amount to one million dollars. Imports since that time have been as follows:

	<i>Value in U. S. currency</i>	<i>Per- centage of total imports</i>
1899	\$ 1,939,122	14.78
1900	3,113,423	15.11
1901	5,490,958	18.14
1902	6,578,481	20.54
1903	10,061,323	30.51
1904	11,548,814	34.76
1905	7,456,738	24.15
1906	4,375,500	17.35
1907	3,662,493	12.72
1908	5,861,256	18.96
1909	4,250,223	15.29
1910	5,321,962	14.34
1911	6,560,630	13.17
1912	10,569,949	19.38

the development of his country which we Americans are rather impatient for him to take. Too much should not be said of his lack of initiative until he is given a greater opportunity to develop the vacant land.*

Some are inclined to measure the results of American occupation of the Philippines by the industrial progress of the country. They alternately urge Americans to come to the islands and invest their money, and urge Congress to remove some of the restrictions so as to make a more rapid development possible. The American residents of Manila are enthusiastic "boosters." They point with pride to everything in the neighbourhood, and especially to the opportunities for investment. Even the official reports of the departments of the insular government contain many suggestions as to the pos-

*Still another reason for the failure of the Filipino to take up homesteads is given in the following paragraphs from the report of the Secretary of the Interior for 1911:

It is a regrettable fact that many "caciques" have actively interested themselves in preventing would-be homesteaders from acquiring public lands, preferring to have such persons remain without lands of their own, so that they themselves could be more certain of retaining them as labourers at a low wage.

Protests against homestead applications are growing more frequent. An investigation of some 250 contests showed that in 90 per cent. of the cases there was no foundation for them.

A number of requests for cancellation of homestead entries have been received which, upon investigation, were found to be frauds or forgeries, having been made without the knowledge of the true applicants.

sibilities for investment and development by Americans, and some of them read like the literature sent out by growing western cities.

In the many efforts which have been made to secure the enactment of more liberal land laws, the argument is made that the present area is too small and that only by allowing the purchase of the larger areas will development be possible. The fact that very few corporations have taken advantage of the present opportunities tends to support this idea. But why should not a holding of 2,500 acres prove attractive to a company? According to statements of various insular officials and others who are in a position to know, one might expect from a plantation of this size a net annual revenue of \$100,000 to \$200,000 from cocoanuts, \$500,000 from pepper, \$60,000 from hemp, or \$200,000 from tobacco. Considering the cheap price of Philippine land, these estimated incomes, even if cut in half, would pay handsome dividends on the investment. This does not take into account the increase in land values which may be expected with the building of wagon roads and railways.

The truth of the matter is that American capital is not interested in the Philippines, and cannot be induced to go there except on terms which would be

unfair to the country. The American occupation of the islands has wrongly been made a political issue, and it has been uncertainty as to the future of the islands rather than the limitations as to land holdings that has kept capital away.

But should the agricultural development of the islands by Americans be encouraged? A few who have established themselves successfully on plantations have added to the country's prosperity by their improved methods of cultivation. It is to be hoped that they have also set a good example to their Filipino neighbours which has had the result of improving agricultural conditions in the communities where they are located. But each one has added to the number of tenant farmers and unskilled labourers. If this development by Americans is good for the islands, then we should hope that, say, 5,000 Americans, each supplied with a liberal amount of capital, would go there and engage in the profitable business of raising hemp, copra, sugar, or tobacco. Each of the 5,000 could head a corporation and take up the 2,500 acres of land allowed by Congress without exhausting the available vacant land. If all remained and all prospered, we would at once have an enormously increased production of hemp, copra, sugar, and tobacco. Railways would be built to

handle these crops; new steamship lines would run to Manila; that and every other Philippine city would thrive; there would be new banks, an increased revenue, and the Philippine Islands would be the busiest and most prosperous place in the Far East. But in the meantime, what of the Filipino? What benefit would he derive from this development? He would be drawn from his own little farm to work on the big farm of the American, and even then the demand for labour would not be satisfied. With every American who goes to the Philippines to plant sugar, cocoanuts, tobacco, or hemp, the number of small farmers who help to build up a conservative community will decrease. With the natives all employed by Americans, America might add to her prosperity and to the prosperity of the islands, but where then would be our high ideals about building a nation for a dependent people?

The investment of each American dollar in the Philippines tends to complicate further what was once a comparatively simple question. Every American who goes out to the Philippines and invests his money in land adds to that force which would settle the question of the final disposition of the Philippines, not on the merits of the case, but on individual interest. The Philippines should not be given their

independence for a great many years — certainly not before the present dominant Spanish-speaking and Spanish-trained generation has ceased to have any voice in native affairs — but when the question does come up for decision, it should be decided on the achievements and merits of the Filipinos and not on the opinions and political influence of Americans owning property in the islands. There is no reason to quarrel with the opinion now held by the average American resident of Manila that immediate independence is unthinkable, but the important thing is that the average citizen is not likely to change this opinion, no matter how conditions may change. This is not a question of the right or wrong of development, but of our own sincerity in our Philippine programme. If we do hope to make a self-governing, independent country out of the Philippines, then why encourage the building up of an influential land-owning class of Americans and a land-tilling class of Filipinos?

If it were not for the constantly increasing appreciation of the Filipino as a labourer, one might say that the supply of Filipino labour will not be adequate for generations for the development of the agricultural resources. But with increasing health the native is a better worker, and with increased

ambitions there is another forward advance. Before the coming of the Americans, the prosperous native was known among his fellows as a "shoe hombre," meaning he had reached that pinnacle of wealth which enabled him to buy and wear shoes. He was then the exception, but now the "shoe hombres" are not unusual, while many of them add to their *éclat* by patent leather shoes with gaudy cloth tops. The effect is often ludicrous, but while we may laugh at the picture, we must respect the motive which means so much for the redemption of the Filipino from poverty in mind and goods. Just as those who want to belong to the *illustrado* class are more inclined to aspire to be orators, writers, or other ornamental members of society, so their humbler brother goes in for gaudy shoes and extravagant hats. But both are significant of aspirations for higher things.

It would be rash to say how far forward the development of agriculture could be carried by increased Filipino ambitions. Hemp, one of the principal crops, has practically no season. With it, as with copra, a few months' delay in harvesting is not a serious matter, so the busy seasons in both crops depend largely on the desires of the workers. The hemp season comes just before Easter, when the Filipino is confronted by the necessity of purchasing

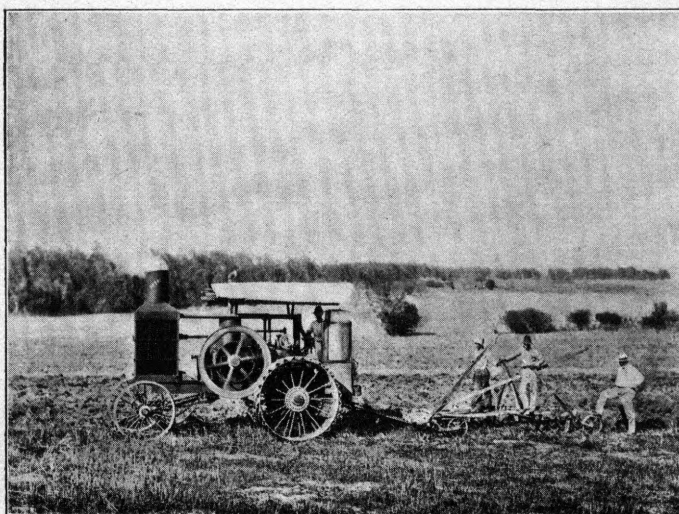
a new outfit of clothing for himself and family. This greatly increases the production of hemp, which falls to practically nothing during the recurrent fiesta. If the pre-Easter energy were maintained throughout the year, the annual production of hemp would greatly increase.

Is there more land than the Filipino can be expected to develop? According to the most liberal estimate, the tillable area is about 34,000,000 acres. The population is 8,000,000. So for every Filipino there is less than five acres of tillable land available, provided none of it is taken up by Americans. We are beginning to talk of land hunger in the United States, and we have twenty-four acres per capita. Is it not reasonable to believe that when we have only partially succeeded in our programme to make the Filipino a healthy, industrious worker, taught him how to use better tools, and given him more ambition by teaching him a higher standard of living, he will find need for all of the unused land?

But if the Philippines should be developed at once, why not follow the very successful example of the Federated Malay States, and allow the Chinese to do it? Sir Frank Swettenham, for many years Governor of the Straits Colony and High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States, had much



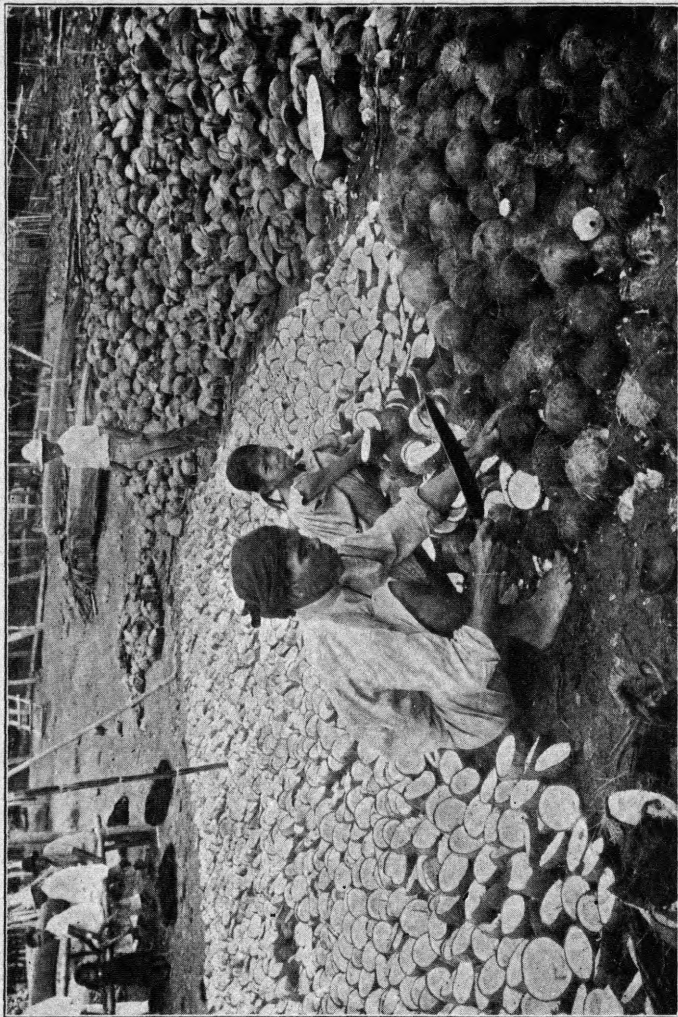
Ploughing with the caraboa



Modern farm machinery, introduced by Americans



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Curing copra. The Philippines produces one third of the world's supply, but owing to poor curing methods, the product sells at a very low price

experience in developing that country, which is near to the Philippines, lies in the same tropical belt and is afflicted with the same turkish-bath climate. This is what he says of the Chinese:

“Their energy and enterprise have made the Malay States what they are to-day, and it would be impossible to overstate the obligation which the Malay Government and people are under to these hardworking, capable, and law-abiding aliens. They were already the miners and traders, and in some instances the planters and fishermen, before the white man had found his way to the Peninsula. In all the early days it was Chinese energy and industry which supplied the funds to begin the construction of roads and other public works, and to pay for all the costs of administration. Then they were, and still they are, the pioneers of mining. They have driven their way into remote jungles, cleared the forest, run all risks, and often made great gains. They have also paid the penalty imposed by an often deadly climate. But the Chinese were not only miners, they were charcoal burners in the days when they had to do their own smelting; they were woodcutters, carpenters, and brickmakers; as contractors they constructed nearly all the government buildings, most of the roads and bridges, railways and waterworks. They brought all the capital into the country when Europeans feared to take the risk;

they were the traders and shopkeepers, and it was their steamers which first opened regular communication between the ports of the colony and the ports of the Malay States. They introduced tens of thousands of their countrymen when the one great need was labour to develop the hidden riches of an almost unknown and jungle-covered country, and it is their work, the taxation of the luxuries they consume and of the pleasures they enjoy, which has provided something like nine tenths of the revenue.”*

There is no good argument for the development of the Philippines by Americans that will not apply with redoubled force for development by Chinese. Their coming would not further complicate the political situation, for the Chinese planter would have no friend in Congress. The American must be coaxed to come to the Philippines; the Chinese are ready and anxious to come and are prevented from doing so only by the extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act to the islands. The limited introduction of Chinese labourers would bring Chinese capital, and it would no longer be necessary to urge Americans to take advantage of agricultural opportunities. Let us be consistent. If development by Chinese would be bad, then development by Americans would

*“British Malaya,” by Sir F. M. Swettenham.

be equally bad. Why shut out one who is anxious to come, and coax the other, who is indifferent?

Another cause for the tardiness of agricultural development is found in the need for irrigation, a need which is now being very successfully supplied by the insular government. Though the annual rainfall is always heavy, most of it falls during only one period of the year, so that many parts of the islands suffer alternately from flood and drought. Many years ago the friar proprietors of the big church estates attempted to carry out irrigation projects, and ditches and dams they have left tell an interesting story of the feuds and rivalries between the different orders of friars. They show that often after one order had completed an irrigation system, a rival order would dam the stream farther up, and by diverting the entire water supply, make the first system valueless.

In the attempts of the American officials to build up an irrigation system, the monotonous story of early failures and more recent success is again repeated. Says a recent report of the Bureau of Public Works:

“Until recently this bureau had no reason to be proud of its record in irrigation work. The administration has been costly, and poor judgment has

been shown in the selection and handling of the personnel, in respect to relations with other divisions of this bureau, as well as with other bureaus, and in the selection of projects. Furthermore, serious engineering errors were made in the construction of the San Miguel system, Tarlac, our first large irrigation project. The original estimate of this bureau, submitted October 14, 1909, was \$300,000. This estimate was approved, the money was allotted, and the government entered into a contract with the Tabacalera Company to construct the system for the company for that sum, the government to be reimbursed as provided by law. In July, 1911, the dam, then nearing completion, was destroyed by a flood. The dam failed during an extraordinary flood, but before the peak of the flood. A searching investigation has shown that the dam was located at the wrong point, was inadequately designed, and probably would have failed in an ordinary flood. The blame for this was distributed over many individuals, and it was urgently felt that the time had come for radical reform in the irrigation division, particularly when this failure was considered in connection with the otherwise unsatisfactory progress in irrigation work. Accordingly, extensive changes in the personnel of the irrigation division were made."

The report points out that the original system was designed by young and inexperienced engineers, and approved by older and more experienced men who

evidently did not investigate the matter very thoroughly, and adds, "the lesson of those first mistakes will not soon be forgotten."

The work is now in the charge of men who have had experience in similar projects in the United States and is proceeding very satisfactorily. To date, about one million dollars has been spent in irrigation projects, which when completed will provide irrigation for many thousand acres of land now practically valueless. It is hoped by all and believed by many that the completion of the irrigation projects will enable the country to again raise its supply of rice for home needs.

One valuable aid in irrigation development is the very thorough irrigation law which provides in great detail means for determining water rights, construction and operation of irrigation systems, use of water power, and all other problems connected with public water supply. The law was enacted only after an investigation and discussion extending over several years and has met with the approval of many authorities.

Improved methods of agriculture, which the Filipino, like the American, learns very slowly, will accomplish wonders in adding to the material wealth of the islands. The wooden plow, with point pro-

tected by a piece of iron, was, until a few years ago, the only implement used to prepare the ground for cultivation. With this plow and a carabao a farmer was able to scratch over an acre of ground in four to six days. After a few scratchings and a cursory clearing of the largest weeds, the ground could be planted. The soil was seldom if ever turned for a depth of more than two or three inches. Haphazard methods of cultivation followed, and only because of the extreme fertility of the soil did the Filipino farmer ever have a successful harvest. Many of them farmed like good St. Isidore, who prayed all day and left the fields to the care of the angels.

In every branch of Philippine agriculture, one finds poor methods used. The sugar mills are so inadequate that less than 50 per cent. of the sugar is extracted, the remainder being thrown away as refuse. In the modern sugar mill, more than 90 per cent. of the sugar is extracted. Yet so rich is the sugar land of the Philippines that it has been possible for the sugar industry to thrive in spite of the great waste in the manufacturing process. Modern sugar mills now being installed will draw from a radius of five to ten miles and will, it is believed, revolutionize the industry of the islands. The

exports of copra from the Philippines make up one third of the world's supply, but the Philippine product is always lowest in price, for the sole reason that it is so crudely prepared.

In the development of agricultural industries, the Bureau of Agriculture may be expected to play a part of constantly increasing importance. Compelled to spend almost all of its time and resources on the eradication of the rinderpest, this bureau has been unusually hampered in its constructive work, and has probably gotten a later start than any other department of American work. There were no thoroughly trained or scientific farmers familiar with Philippine conditions who could be called upon to take up this work, which is carried on by Americans, drafted from home for that purpose. Though they were all well-trained men, they were unfamiliar with conditions in the Philippines, and it has been necessary for them to learn before they could teach.

For a number of years they have been carrying on extensive experiments in methods of planting and the possibilities of new crops. The results achieved in only one phase of this work would justify the expenditure for all, for they have demonstrated that it is possible to raise forage and hay successfully and at a cost cheaper than that of the imported article.

It is now believed that the many thousands of dollars expended annually for hay by the United States army in the Philippines may be kept at home. Much work has also been done in the improvement of the sugar and tobacco crops, through experiments and demonstrations to planters. Those who are in charge of the horticultural work found that there are many varieties of fruit in the Philippines, probably more than in any other tropical country. But all of it is wild and grows up without cultivation or any kind of care. The result is that little of it is fit to eat and none of it is marketable outside the island. A valuable start has been made in the development of the fruit industry by the introduction of pineapples, oranges, pomelos, lemons, and limes from nearby countries.

The bureau has also brought in work animals from neighbouring countries with fair success, and, through the introduction of thoroughbred cattle, hogs, and horses, is slowly but certainly improving the very poor native live stock. When the present plans of the bureau are completed there will be a small but complete demonstration farm established in each of the thirty-one provinces, under the joint management and maintenance expense of the province and the bureau. At these places demonstration crops

will be grown and the knowledge of better farming methods spread as in similar farms in the United States.

In improving the agricultural methods of the islands the public-school system is a factor of a great deal of importance. Many of the schools maintain school gardens, where the children are taught simple methods of growing crops. In addition to these, there are a number of schools giving an intermediate farming course, and five agricultural boarding schools. The more recently established College of Agriculture at Los Banos is attracting a large attendance of young Filipinos and its work has been very successful. The few who have been graduated from this school are all employed in responsible positions.

A great deal has been said in official reports and a great deal more has been written by others about the opportunities for lumbering in the Philippines without, as yet, attracting any great amount of either Filipino or foreign capital to that field. Statistics showing the area and merchantable stand of timber awaiting development are impressive. The area is placed at 40,000 square miles, and the stand is 200,000 million board feet. At the lowest prices prevailing in Manila for the cheapest kind of native

lumber, this would bring the marketable value of the Philippine forests up to the astounding total of 5,000 million dollars.

Practically all of this, more than 99 per cent., belongs to the government, and is subject to development under government regulations, which are not stringent enough to discourage lumbermen, while they are wisely designed to prevent the deforestation of the islands or the building up of lumber monopolies. With the present regulations enforced, it is estimated that the forests can yield \$30,000,000 worth of timber annually without in any way impairing the present forest area or diminishing the stand, for ample provision for reforestation has been made. The stumpage prices charged by the government are very cheap, ranging from \$1 to \$5 per 1,000 board feet. The higher price is for such fine cabinet woods as narra, which sells in Manila for \$100 to \$150 per 1,000 feet. That price approximates the price charged for pine stumpage in the United States. In general, the forest charges are about half what they are in the neighbouring countries, where similar conditions exist.

Yet the Philippines is an importer rather than an exporter of lumber. The total exports amount annually to about \$80,000, which barely pays for the

cigar box materials purchased from Germany and Holland. Most of the new residences and many of the government buildings are constructed of Oregon pine. In 1911 the total lumber imports amounted to more than \$500,000, practically all coming from the United States. This in spite of the fact that the opportunities for lumbering in the Philippines have been so widely advertised. A few companies are operating, but the timber area has barely been touched by the operations now under way or in prospect.

Lack of transportation might be set down as the principal obstacle. It costs about three times as much to ship lumber from Palawan to Manila, a distance of 300 miles, as to ship it from Seattle to Manila, a distance of 6,400 miles. The steamers now plying between the island ports are not designed for carrying lumber. The shipping companies are evidently waiting for the lumberman to develop the industry and create the traffic. The lumbermen are waiting for the shipping companies to make the industry possible. An official publication of the Bureau of Forestry is responsible for the statement that the lumberman should own his own boats, which means, of course, that lumbering in the Philippines awaits development by companies able to invest

very large amounts of capital. There appears to be little room for the small man.

Another reason for the failure to develop the forests is found in the general unfamiliarity with Philippine woods. When we talk of Oregon pine, redwood, walnut, mahogany, etc., we use terms which every one understands. But so different are the woods of the Philippines in colour and texture that it is impossible to apply any of these names to them. The native names are used, so when the Bureau of Forestry publishes the information that "the main bulk of dipterocarp lumber may be roughly divided into three different groups, namely, the yacals, the apitongs, and the lauans," and that the yacals "comprise timbers known locally as yacal, narig, and mangachapuy or dalindingan," it is to be feared that little is added to the information of the average lumberman who reads it. The salesman who went about New York trying to sell a few carloads of mangachapuy would doubtless have to explain to every prospective customer that he was selling lumber, not drugs. This is, of course, a condition which will soon be overcome, for a knowledge of the very superior qualities of Philippine hardwoods is growing every year. The beautiful office of the President of the United States is furnished with it, and

few American visitors to the Philippines fail to carry away some samples of the wood made up in pieces of furniture or desk sets.

Most of the objections to the development of agricultural land by Americans do not apply to the development of forests, so long as the present provisions are kept in force. It would be better for our programme for the forests to be developed by the Filipinos, but of that there is little likelihood for many years to come. The American who goes now to the Philippines to engage in lumbering will not rob the future Filipino of any of his forests, for that is taken care of by the reforestation arrangements of the bureau. On the other hand, he will be creating a market for Philippine woods which will be very valuable to the future Philippine lumberman.

Every tourist who has included a side trip to the Philippines in a 'round-the-world tour, will tell you that the finest embroidery in the world is produced in Manila. If he has brought home some of the samples, he will not need to argue the point. Manila embroidery is so beautifully executed that it challenges the admiration of men as well as women. In addition to embroidery, the Filipinos produce other articles of household industry, such as hats, mats, baskets, lace, and handwoven cloth, which are

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beautiful and distinctive. In the production of such articles, which involves careful attention to detail rather than sustained manual labour, the Filipinos have shown remarkable ability. They produced these things long before the coming of the Americans, but it has remained for the latter to turn the production into sound commercial channels.

In this, as in all other phases of Filipino culture, the Americans found striking evidences of the isolation of Filipino communities from one another, with a corresponding ignorance by each of all other communities. They make excellent hats, so good that the Manila enthusiast really believes they are as good as the Panama. But the best hat makers devoted all their energies to the production of hats of such peculiar shape that no sale could possibly be found for them outside the village in which they were produced.

All the workers displayed entire ignorance of the commercial possibilities or market requirements of their wares. "Mats intended for floor covering and beautiful in design and finish were made so light as to represent practically no value for the purpose indicated. Single pieces of embroidery represented an amount of highly skilled labour sufficient to do fullest justice to a half dozen equally valuable arti-

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cles if made according to standard designs. The most exquisite class of manual dexterity was being wasted upon lines of production so faulty in design as to confine their ultimate possibilities, assuming even absolute perfection in their production, to competition with the common machine-made product which is turned out by the ton in Germany and other countries in Europe.”* Often the finest pieces of embroidery would be executed on material of such poor quality that the finished article would be practically valueless. Hats were made according to no standard of design or quality, and it was impossible to make up an order for one hundred hats of the same style, quality, and price. The sale of these articles was limited to individual objects, sold to tourists or to residents of Manila.

The development of these industries was taken up several years ago by the public schools, and later the system of development was made complete by the establishment of an unique institution known as the Insular Sales Agency, a government concern which acts as middleman between producer and consumer. In the public schools it was found comparatively easy to teach the Filipino children how to make mats, hats, lace, and embroidery, for with many of

*First Annual Report of the Sales Agent of the Philippine Islands.

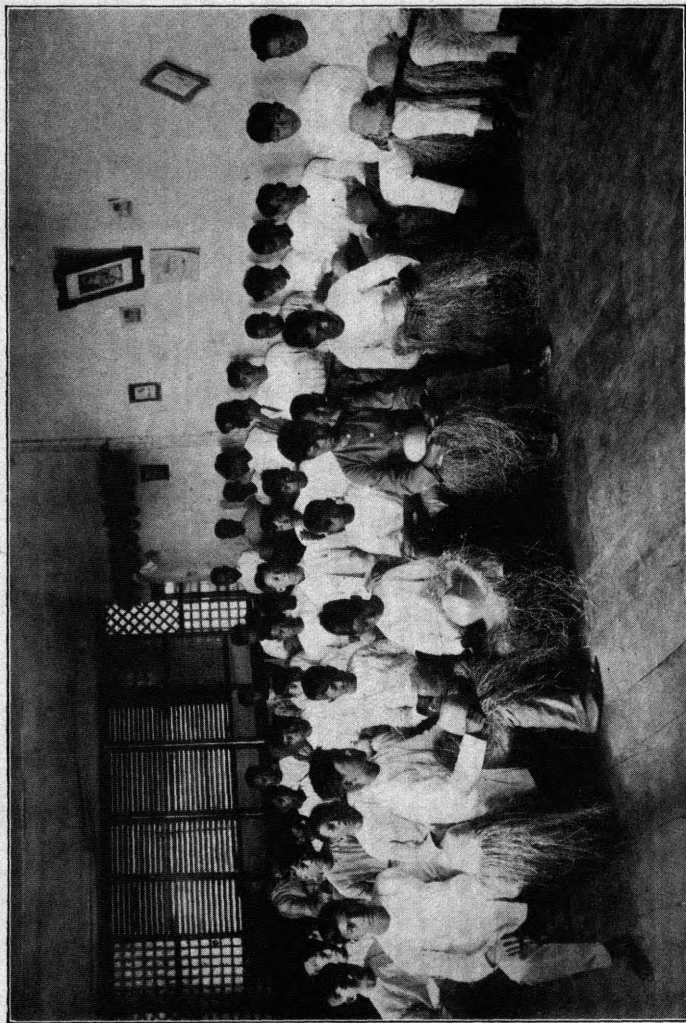
them this was a familiar household task. But the teachers soon saw that they were failing in this phase of the educational programme if they did not teach the children to produce an article of commercial value. To do this, they set about standardizing the products of household industry, this work being largely accomplished through the carnival held each year in Manila. Here there are interesting displays from the schools of the different provinces. It is a wonderful opportunity for the curio-hunting tourist, for baskets, laces, and embroideries can be picked up for a few centavos. But the carnival display serves a more useful purpose. It shows by actual test those forms of articles which are the most salable, and enables the teachers to eliminate those which prove a drug on the market. This process of selection has been going on for several years, with the result that all the native products are each year more rigidly standardized and find a quicker sale.

In order to reach the older people as well as the school children, a School of Household Industries was established in Manila. Here women from the different provinces are given instruction, with the understanding that when they return to their homes they will instruct their neighbours. In this way thousands of women who had formerly made fine



Natives taking hand-made mats to market





Public school boys learning to make hats

articles for home use only, are now taught how to produce these articles for sale.

About the time the insular government had succeeded in developing a standard production, this infant industry of the Philippines was menaced by the sweatshop system, introduced by dealers from New York. They came to Manila and farmed out embroidery patterns to be worked by the Filipino women. They were not very careful about the quality, and paid low prices for the work. They might have been forgiven this, but having secured some of the Philippine product, they leavened with it a large consignment of cheap goods from Japan and Germany and offered the whole to American purchasers as Philippine embroidery. Very little of the so-called "Philippine" embroidery sold in the United States ever knew the touch of our little brown sisters' fingers. The household industries of the Philippines were threatened with commercial ruin before they were fairly started. This sweatshop system tended to create lower standards of production, and to interfere with the government's educational programme.

Governor-General Forbes gave a great deal of attention to plans for the development of household industries of the Philippines, and as a result Mr. G.

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A. O'Reilly, who had been prominent in educational work, was named as a commissioner to investigate the condition of household industries in Europe. Mr. O'Reilly made an exhaustive report on the development and decline of household industries, finding that some form of coöperation which would insure standard designs and quality and afford a marketing medium was necessary. This has been created in the Philippines through the establishment of the sales agency. This agency supplies to workers pieces of cloth ready stamped with designs for shirt-waists, handkerchiefs, or other articles of embroidery. The supplies, including thread, are furnished at cost, and are of standard quality. On delivery of the finished piece, the agency pays for it, carefully rejecting all which do not come up to the standard in workmanship. As the agency operates on a small percentage of profit, and pays higher prices for work than have been offered by the sweat-shop promoters, this will, it is believed, result in the creation of a benevolent government monopoly. It will insure to the producer a fair price for his work, and the development of a growing market. To the consumer in the United States it will insure standard designs and qualities and prices which are fixed, and the same for one piece as for ten thousand. Since

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the establishment of the agency, it is possible for the first time to purchase embroidered shirt-waists, handkerchiefs, hand-made laces, etc., in large quantities.

The agency is also making efforts to build up a trade in Philippine hats, baskets, mats, etc. Philippine hats have already found a ready sale in the United States, more than a million of them being imported in 1912, though most of these were sold as "Bangkok" hats. An effort is now being made to place them on the market under their proper name. An investigation by the sales agency disclosed the fact that material used in making women's hats, and sold in the United States as a French product, was nothing more than Manila hemp, braided and dyed. This resulted in the manufacture in the Philippines of hemp hats for women, for which there is a constantly increasing sale.

There are vast possibilities in the development of these industries, which can be carried on in the home of the Filipino. It is a kind of work which is attractive to men and women alike, for many of the Filipino men and boys are quite as adept as their sisters at embroidery and hat and mat making.

CHAPTER IX

LINKING THE ISLANDS

WHEN American soldiers, rifle in hand, started after their little brown brother to civilize him, they found that they must pursue him through a roadless and trackless country. According to some Spanish war maps which fell into American hands, there should have been a number of fairly good roads radiating from Manila and reaching to several parts of Luzon. But the American soldiers were able to find only a few traces of these roads, with the piers of an occasional bridge which had long since fallen into the water and ceased to be of any use. They built what roads were necessary, and when they revisited them after a few months' absence they understood why the Spaniards had left no road-building monuments to their memory.

Building roads in the Philippines is a good deal like building roads on a tide-swept beach. The annual rainfall is more than 70 inches, and a large part of it falls in the wet months of July, August, September, and October. During this period a rainfall of ten or

twelve inches a day is not uncommon. These tropical showers would be called "cloudbursts" in America. In the Philippines they are so common that they bear no distinctive name, but their effect on the roads is the same. One of these downpours will in a few hours reduce an ordinary dirt surfaced road to a muddy pool, wash all the road-surfacing material into the gutters, and construct new gutters in the middle of the roadbed. A very rainy month will have the same effect on a macadam road, and nothing short of a roadbed built of reënforced concrete would withstand a few rainy seasons without rebuilding. A further difficulty is found in the fact that the carabao carts, which constitute nearly all the wheeled traffic, are equipped with knife-edge wheels which cut deep into the surface after every rain. Also, good road-building material is scarce, for much of the rock is extremely friable and is easily reduced to dust by rain, sun, and traffic.

The need for roads was so apparent that the first appropriation voted by the Philippine Commission was for \$1,000,000 for roads and bridges. It is unnecessary to go into the distressing details of how this money was expended, along with \$2,000,000 more voted for the same purpose. We were still in the amateur stage of our administration of the Philip-

pires. We either had not learned very much about the job or were unable to break the spell of the seven years of bad luck which followed the breaking of mirrors in the Spanish fleet by Admiral Dewey's guns. At the time this money was spent, self-government for the Filipino was a popular slogan. It is just as well to lay the blame for the road-building fiasco on that as on anything else. The \$3,000,000 was spent in the construction of roads, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we can assume that the roads were fairly well built. After having constructed them, the trusting insular government turned them over to the recently organized provincial and municipal governments with the advice that they take care of them. The advice was not heeded. The rains came down. The road surface was washed off. Grass grew in the ditches, and tropical creepers crept out to hide the shame of what had been the beginnings of America's ambitious road-building campaign.

The provinces and municipalities politely regretted the disappearance of the roads and offered excuses. They were able to point out that their revenues were not sufficient to enable them to spend much money on roads. The commission replied by authorizing all provinces and municipalities to compel five days' labour of every able-bodied man each

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year on road building. Fortunately this crude road-building plan, which has failed so signally in many parts of America, was not adopted by the provinces or municipalities. There was in it so much of a suggestion of the old "forced labour" of Spanish days that not a single province or municipality took advantage of the act. The roads continued in their same miserable condition. America had been in the islands six years, with many boasts of the work she intended to do, yet it was often impossible to drive in a carriage from Manila to Cavite, fifteen miles distant.

The commission tried another plan, and authorized the provinces to fix tolls on roads and bridges, the funds so secured to be used in keeping the highways in repair. The provinces very wisely refrained from doing this as there were few roads or bridges worth paying tolls over. A third attempt was made. The commission passed an act authorizing the provincial boards to double the cedula, or poll tax, raising it from 50 cents to \$1, the increase to be used in building and maintenance of roads. Again the provinces failed to take advantage of the opportunities offered them.

Up to 1906 the insular government had worried along without any Bureau of Public Works. In that

year the bureau was established, replacing the older Bureau of Engineering. Perhaps even more important to the road-building programme was the arrival in the Philippines of Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, as a member of the commission and secretary of the department having charge of road building. With his arrival and the creation of the bureau, road building began for the first time to be carried forward on a permanent and successful basis. Several measures were adopted to secure the coöperation of the provinces in the matter of road building. The commission agreed to appropriate 10 per cent. of the internal revenue to a road-building fund which was to be divided, according to the population, among the provinces which doubled the cedula tax, and thereby created a provincial road fund. It was also provided that the provinces sharing in the money from the internal revenue must introduce the "caminero" system, keeping one competent labourer with good tools employed on each two kilometres of the road during the dry season, and one labourer for every kilometre during the wet season, spending at least \$175 annually on each kilometre of roads in the province.

With an additional appropriation from the commission to eke out that from the internal revenue

fund, the new road-building programme was started with more than \$2,000,000 available. We had spent \$3,000,000 of the Filipinos' money learning how to teach them to build and keep good roads, but at last we learned. This new programme was put under way in 1908, construction on roads being started at once in provinces which had accepted the terms of the commission and had doubled the poll tax. Soon others fell into line, and a sensible system of road building was in progress in all parts of the islands. To stimulate rivalry between the provinces, the commission awards several annual prizes: \$7,500 to the province maintaining a first-class road in the best style; \$5,000 to the province constructing the greatest mileage of first-class road; \$2,500 to the province transferring the greatest percentage of its funds to the road and bridge fund.

Under this programme, the building of good roads has gone on rapidly and very successfully. Of course, in order to comply with the provisions of the offer to the provinces, it was necessary, instead of carrying on consecutive construction of each road system, to build small, isolated sections of the systems in the different provinces. This necessarily increased the cost of construction, and limited the usefulness of the roads. But, what was more important, it aroused in

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all the provinces an interest in road building. The small sections are now being linked up. In January, 1913, there were 1,100 miles of the best roads in the islands and 400 miles of light-surfaced roads. Of course this is not one tenth the mileage the islands should have to constitute a complete system. It is as inadequate as a mileage of that length would be for the New England States. Neither are the roads, as many enthusiasts contend, the best in the tropics or in the Far East. But they are far better than the average American is accustomed to at home.

It is needless to recount here the manifest advantages of roads for the Philippines, or the prosperity which has followed their construction. New farm lands have been opened up along the roads with such rapidity as to lead to the conclusion that it is lack of roads more than lack of initiative on his part that keeps the Filipino from developing the vast areas of virgin soil in his country. When we remember that it was 1908 before we did anything noteworthy in the matter of Philippine road building, there is less room for criticism of the Filipino for sticking to his old, cramped homestead instead of taking up the fine new lands so freely offered to him.

In view of our avowed intention to educate the Filipino up to self-government standards, the unity

of the islands accomplished through road building is of first importance. Without roads the Philippines cannot be considered as one united country, but rather as a collection of isolated settlements. It was this isolation through lack of roads which developed a great part if not all of their linguistic differences, and was certainly responsible for the mutual distrust and lack of sympathy between communities as well as between tribes. With good roads, the villages are no longer separated by hard journeys measured by days, but by comfortable journeys measured by hours. Neighbourliness becomes possible, and this was encouraged in the road work itself, where gangs of labourers from strange but nearby villages were brought together and in their daily labour on the American built roads became acquainted with each other for the first time.

In the Philippines the phrase "capacity for self-government" has a rather involved meaning which we in America find difficult to understand. We are inclined to measure their capacity by our own surroundings, and presume that any collection of people having a certain average intellectual standard is able to govern itself. If 85 per cent. of the adult males of the islands were able to read and write in their own language, we would probably assume that the Fili-

pinos were entirely capable of self-government. We would not be far wrong in assuming that each individual possessed the abilities which are necessary to make one a useful citizen. But ability to pass a test of this sort in 1900 or at any date soon thereafter would not have involved an ability to govern themselves, because they would not have been able to communicate with each other in that free and unrestricted way necessary to formulate and determine the will of the people.

Since it is such a vital part of the Philippine question, let us try to define "the capacity for self-government." It means, broadly, the ability of a body of people to govern themselves without alien interference or aid. This implies a form of government in which the administration, as nearly as possible, interprets the will of the people. In any form of government there will always be a dependent class which counts for nothing, and a ruling class which governs. But when this ruling class is small, the country cannot be called self-governing, for it is governed, not by the people as a whole, but by only a small part of them. Let us set a standard then, and say that it implies a degree of intelligence high enough to allow a majority of the people to take an intelligent, understanding interest in affairs of government.

This majority should, of course, be able to read and write, for only with these accomplishments will they be able to take the part in political affairs incumbent on every citizen to make the self-governing community a success. But there is something more required. There must be, not necessarily a racial unity between the members of the community, but that easy means of communication which makes exchange of ideas and the interpretation of the will of the people possible. This will naturally lead, as in America, to the breaking down of racial and linguistic differences and the creation of a homogeneous people with common aims and ideals.

It is this last requirement which is so often overlooked. Many have assumed that when a certain indefinite proportion of the Filipinos were able to read and write, or had attained some other standard of culture, they would be able to govern themselves. They would then have attained only the first requirement. For even with every adult Filipino the equal in intelligence of the American voter, the Filipinos would not be able, like the Americans, to go to the polls and register the country's verdict on national issues, because they would still be divided into clans by the lack of roads, and by the mutual ignorance of each other's language. The public schools are estab-

lishing a universal knowledge of English, and the Bureau of Public Works, through its road system, is making closer unity of the islands possible. It is another and a very important step toward the building of a nation and the creation of a "capacity for self-government."

Since the early failure of the provinces to take care of the roads built by the insular government, no more chances have been taken with them. The Bureau of Public Works now has an organization which extends to every corner of the islands. Each province is a separate engineering unit, in which is located the provincial engineer, nominally the representative of the provincial board, actually the agent of the bureau. Through the systematic inspection of the roads by this organization repair work is kept up, and the provincial officials are not allowed to neglect their duties.

The Philippines was a country without a postoffice, as well as a country without roads. Theoretically, there was a very efficient postoffice service under Spanish rule, but like many other institutions under Spain it existed largely on paper. The theory was that there was a postoffice in every municipality, and the maintenance of the postal service was provided for by an elaborate set of regulations. All steamship

lines were required to carry mail between island points free of charge. The presidentes of the different barrios were required to receive, forward, and deliver all mail without cost to the government. At their discretion they charged what they pleased to the man who sent the letter, while the man who received it was usually subject to another charge. With such a small number of people able to read and write, and with a still smaller number belonging to the letter-writing class, there was no urgent demand for a more efficient postoffice system. The absence of any demand for a postoffice was only another evidence of the natural isolation of the people — the lack of any essential solidarity. The flimsy system of Spain, little as it amounted to, was entirely destroyed by the war and the insurrection, so that when America started in 1900 to build up a postoffice system, a start was made with only nineteen postoffices. Two years later there were ninety, and now there are more than six hundred. The postoffice has become popular with the people, and its development has helped to join all together.

The development of the postoffice made possible the granting of subsidies to commercial steamship lines, on condition that good service and reasonable transportation rates be furnished the general public.

These ship subsidies do not create a heavy burden on the revenues, and have been used to build up and maintain a very efficient inter-island service.

As an indication of the progressiveness of the Philippine government, it may be stated that the Philippines had postal-savings banks before they were established in the United States. Indeed, there was great need for them, for the only banks were in Manila, and there were no facilities for banking outside that capital and a few of the larger towns. With the establishment of money-order postoffices, the need for postal-savings banks became very apparent, for a great many, especially among the Americans, bought money orders payable to themselves as the only means of depositing their money. A system of postal-savings banks was established in 1906 and gradually extended to all parts of the islands. At first they were patronized almost exclusively by the Americans, but as the Filipinos grew familiar with the institution it became popular with them as well. The deposits now amount to about \$1,500,000, and of the depositors five sixths are Filipinos. The credit for this good showing is largely due to Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, recently Governor-General. Governor Forbes while in office in Manila gave away a large part, if not all, of his salary in various projects



A class in lace making



Class in embroidery at the School of Household Industries, Manila



Native shopping district. Practically all the shops are Chinese



The foreign business quarter of Manila

which would aid the advance of the Filipino. A part of his salary went to establish a series of prizes offered to school children who started postal-savings bank accounts.

The war and the insurrection had destroyed the inadequate telegraph system which had been built under Spanish rule, but when the civil government took hold of affairs they found the beginnings of a system in the lines which had been strung by our military. Out of this was developed the present efficient system, which has been made a part of the postal department. The different islands have been joined by submarine cables and it is now possible to reach by telegraph every town of importance. The rates are about the same as in the United States.

In the development of railways, the insular government has successfully followed a policy of encouragement by guaranteeing the interest on bonds issued with the approval of the commission on the construction of lines designated by that body. Under this arrangement railway construction is now progressing very rapidly. The Filipino Railroad Company, a Connecticut concern, is building 295 miles of railways in the islands of Panay, Negros, and Cebu. Under the terms of its arrangements with the government, 4 per cent. interest is guaranteed on the first

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mortgage bonds issued for the construction of the roads, the bonds to be sold at par, and all the proceeds to be expended in the construction and equipment of the roads. In case the government is compelled to pay the interest, the sums paid will be a lien on the property of the road. The guaranty ceases at the end of thirty years. Taxation on the railway property is fixed at one half of 1 per cent. on the gross earnings for thirty years and one and one half per cent. for fifty years. Thereafter the rate will be fixed by the government. The material used in railway construction is imported free of duty.

Under a similar arrangement the Manila Railway Company, incorporated in New Jersey, is building two lines, aggregating 428 miles, in Luzon, the guaranty applying to only a part of the construction. There is now about 600 miles of railway in operation, more than five times the mileage that existed when the Battle of Manila Bay was fought. All of the lines are producing a good revenue, and there is no reason to believe that the insular government will be called upon to make good any of the guaranties on the bond issues. The construction of each line has greatly quickened industry and has often disclosed unsuspected resources. In one small province not famed for its fruit, several thousand tons of oranges

were shipped out the first season after the opening of the railway. The existing agreements for construction expire in 1918, and by that time there will be practically 1,000 miles of railway in operation. The longest line in the islands will then bisect Luzon north and south, a distance of 463 miles.

In view of the peculiar conditions existing in the Philippines it would be difficult to say which work is the most important, the educational work now being carried on through the public-school system or the work of linking the islands through the construction of roads, railways, telegraph and telephone lines, etc. Through the growth of better means of communication, the natural physical tendencies toward disunion are being slowly overcome. With the streams bridged, and roads built through the jungle and over mountains, these things cease to divide the country. Probably education alone could never make one people out of the Filipinos. But education and road building will accomplish this aim of American rule.

CHAPTER X

AMERICAN AND FILIPINO

THIS is a chapter of trivial things, but of trivial things which have a rather important bearing on the Filipino question, for it concerns the everyday relations of the two races. One does not need any large measure of pride in his own country to aid him in coming to the conclusion that, in her Philippine project, America is actuated by humanitarian motives. She has not oppressed the Filipino and she has given him a more liberal share in the affairs of his own government than is given in any other colony. In many ways the Filipino is pampered and spoiled. Under American rule he is enjoying a degree of personal liberty and prosperity he never dreamed of while under Spanish rule. We might naturally expect from him some measure of gratitude. Instead, we find that the Filipino hates the American.

This hatred of Americans is one of those intangible things which are ever present and most difficult to gauge. But it is present, and beneath the apparent tranquillity of the islands there undoubtedly smoul-

ders an intense dislike on the part of the Filipino for his big white brother. This dislike is strongest in Manila, where the Filipino has constantly before him the most striking evidences of the advantages of American rule, and it dwindles to nothing in many parts of the provinces.

There was reason to hate the Spanish, who oppressed the native with unjust laws and taxes; or the friars, who took his land and made it the property of the church. But no such charge can be made against the Americans. The most bitter critic of American methods in the Philippines cannot charge that the natives are not free from legal oppression or political graft.

Relations of ruler and ruled are very different from those obtaining in the foreign-governed treaty ports of China, where there is one law for the foreigner and another for the Chinese. In the foreign settlement of Shanghai, Chinese rickshaw coolies are beaten daily by foreigners who are never punished. The only case of the kind I remember appearing in a Shanghai court in one year concerned a foreigner charged with kicking a coolie after knocking him down. The foreign judge reprimanded the defendant severely — not for hitting the coolie, but for kicking him, which the magistrate characterized as a distinctly ungentle-

manly method of fighting. There is no such ill-treatment of natives in Manila, where they receive the same consideration as under the British government of Hong Kong.

Aside from the artificial anti-American feeling stirred up by the politicians over the question of independence, there are two main causes for this feeling as it exists in Manila. These are (1) social, (2) political. Men who have lived there since the days of Spanish rule tell of a time, just after the suppression of Aguinaldo's insurrection, when for a few months there existed a feeling of perfect good will. With the horrors of the war so fresh in the memory of both, Americans and Filipinos fraternized together. It cannot be too often repeated, for the benefit of those morbid-minded Americans who delight in discussing its details, that the insurrection is no longer a factor of any importance in the Philippines. Its incidents doubtless furnish village heroes with many tales of their exploits, but it is no longer a rancorous subject. The average Filipino will grow excited over the question of independence, but he will calmly discuss the insurrection. During the period "just after the war" Americans attended parties given by the prominent Filipinos and danced with the wives and daughters of their hosts. For a time they were on a social equal-

ity and it appeared that all men were really free and equal just as they are in the Constitution of the United States and nowhere else.

Enter, then, the American woman. Peace had been secured and wives came out to join their husbands. At once another campaign against the Filipino began. The social barriers set up by the American woman were quite as impregnable as those their hero husbands had built against the insurrectos. The engagement was short but decisive, and ended with a second defeat for the Filipinos, for they were barred from the American drawing rooms, except in the case of certain unhappy wives of government officials who must entertain the Filipino for sweet policy's sake. The American man, as usual, allowed his wife to regulate his social affairs, and as a result no Filipino is admitted to the clubs, and there is no place in Manila where the two races can meet socially on an equal footing. With cheap servants and few household duties, the American woman in Manila has far more time to give to social affairs than she would have at home, and she has made secure her first victory. Certain streets in Manila are given over to fashionable residence, which means the residence of any but Filipinos, and without doubt the high prices for property in these districts would suffer from an

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invasion of Filipinos just as similar residence properties at home would suffer from the invasion of negroes.

There was no such sharp social distinction before the coming of the Americans, for many testify to the cordial social relations which existed in Manila between the Spaniards and the Filipinos. Being an aristocrat, by inclination at least, the Spaniard was never led into an admission of race equality between himself and the ignorant native. But he did not refuse to mix with the wealthy and influential mestizos who formed an important part of the population of Manila. He not infrequently married a native woman of the better class, and some of the leading men of the islands are the offspring of such unions as these. Such a marriage as this did not shut him out of Spanish society, though this is the fate of the American who marries a Filipino. There were, of course, under Spanish rule many strata of society. But the Spaniard associated with the wealthy mestizos; the wealthy mestizos associated with their poor relations; the poor relations associated with their pure blood country cousins. The social ladder reached from the highest to the lowest without any missing rungs. There were not, as at present, two social classes between which no communication is possible, but many classes loosely merged with each other,

The social seclusion of the American woman would not be so deplorable if there was any justification for it, other than race prejudice. The ignorant peasant is not, of course, a fit companion for her. He would not expect to be received by her, nor is he received by his Filipino cousins who have risen to a higher station in life. But among the educated classes, the *illustrados*, there are many whom the American woman should be glad to entertain, for they are in all the social graces her equal. As Professor Taft observed:

“The educated Filipino has an attractive personality. His mind is quick, his sense of humour fine, his artistic sense acute and active; he has a poetic imagination; he is courteous in the highest degree; he is brave; he is generous; his mind has been given by his education a touch of the scholastic logicism; he is a musician; he is oratorical by nature.”

Add to this the fact that he can balance a teacup with assurance and precision, and you have a picture of a man who should be more useful than the average American at a dinner or an afternoon tea. Doubtless, he would be if the American hostesses would give him an opportunity. Herein lies the task for some American woman in Manila who wants to do her country a

real service. Let her turn her attention to breaking down the social barriers which the others have erected. One woman with tact and diplomacy might do a great deal toward bringing the two peoples together. If she could accomplish it, even in a small way, she would have done more than all the American officials in the islands can do toward settling the Philippine question, creating a friendly feeling between the two peoples, and making the American administration there a complete success. We can give them law and order and prosperity, educate them and train them to be self-governing, but we can never give them happiness while we refuse to receive them socially.

The political motive for the hatred or jealousy of Americans is very simple; it is the old story of the dislike of the "outs" for the "ins." Here we have a government whose servants are largely Filipino, but the most important places are held by Americans. In this respect it is much like every other government of the colonial type since the world began. It is like India, Java, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Singapore, with the important exception that in no other colony are the natives given such a large share in the affairs of the government or such high positions. There is the genesis of the political cause for the dislike of Americans. Having been given so much, the Filipinos

naturally want all. Those who hold high positions feel that they should be given better ones. Of a half dozen who now occupy rather high positions in Filipino politics, each feels certain that if the Americans would only leave the islands, and independence be established, he would be the first president of the Filipino Republic. So it goes, all down the line of native official employees. Every one of them sees above him some American to whose position he aspires, and it is natural that he should dislike the American as a foreigner whose presence is a bar to his further advancement. In other words, the Filipinos are as grateful for good American administration as Republicans are for good Democratic administration. When you hear any large number of Republicans proclaiming that though President Wilson differs from them in political ideas, he has given the country an excellent administration, you may expect to hear the first words of praise from Filipinos for the work Americans have done for them. The two cases are parallel.

When one leaves the capital of Manila he finds the relations between Americans and Filipinos are rather different. Manila has seen more than any other city or section of the excellent constructive work of the American administration. Here are located almost

all of the government offices, the University of the Philippines, the large hospital, and half a dozen other institutions which feed civic pride. In Manila the greatest advances have been made in securing a good water supply, an adequate sewage system, street paving, etc. Here the Filipino has profited most and has seen his wages doubled as the direct result of American activities. But it is here that we find the least liking for Americans, for Filipinos are much like human beings in other parts of the world; they forget the material benefits and remember the closed drawing-room doors and above them the Americans whose presence is a bar to further advancement. In the provinces social and political barriers are not so apparent. Away from the serio-comedy of Manila society, Americans and Filipinos find more common ground. They meet more frequently and on terms of greater intimacy.

A constantly disturbing minor factor is to be found in that class of Americans, still in the islands, who came out as volunteer soldiers. Most of these, having served their country during the insurrection, returned home. Others remained to embark in business and many of them succeeded. Those who failed and turned beach comber, have been carefully gathered up through the operations of a stringent vagrancy

law and shipped back to the United States. No beach combers remain, but there are, in Manila, an extraordinary number of unshaven, toothpick-chewing Americans, who probably filled very useful positions in the firing line, but certainly add nothing to the prestige of America now. It is particularly surprising to find some of these occupying minor official positions. My pride in American administration was rudely shattered by a visit to a Manila police court. The magistrate, an American, presided in his shirt sleeves. He had evidently not been shaved for twenty-four hours, and he rolled and smoked cigarettes while hearing evidence. Of course his coatless, unshaven condition and his cigarettes probably did not interfere with the precise operations of his legal mind, but it added nothing to one's conception of the dignity of the law. The sight of this disordered court-room came as a decided shock after several years' observation of the dignified British courts of the China coast. The comparison was equally striking when, on the following day, I visited a justice court, presided over by a Filipino. He was freshly shaven, his collar was clean, he ate no toothpicks and smoked no cigarettes while on the bench, where he presided with dignity, and, I presume, with justice.

Of course, as Americans, we are rather proud of the

fact that we do not love ostentation and despise display. We care so little about dress suits, frock coats, and silk hats that we seldom miss an opportunity to talk about them and advertise our indifference. We are greater slaves to the unconventional than others are to the conventional, and have given these words a new meaning as applied to dress. The unconventional man in America is not the one who dresses as he pleases, but the one who dresses correctly. By this we show our independence of spirit, as I have heard Americans proclaim on both big oceans and several minor seas.

But we should learn better when we go abroad, and the American in the Philippines should learn that the Filipino is punctilious about the matter of dress. To be sure, according to the customs of the tao, he wears his shirt outside his trousers. But that, according to his ideas, is the proper place for it, and it is always there, whereas the American of the same class often shows a tendency to go about with no shirt at all. So it is in the silk hat stratum, though owing to climatic conditions, that gear is unknown in the Philippines. The Filipino, according to his station, is always properly dressed, the American seldom. We rejoice in the democratic spirit of the official who casts off coat and collar in the Manila heat, but the

Filipino would be more inclined to respect the properly dressed man.

A number of the unofficial Americans in Manila, the army teamsters and some of the soldiers, can only be referred to as roughnecks. No more graceful term will fit them. It is this class which is loudest in its denunciation of the Filipino as a creature unfit for self-government, to serve on a jury, or hold a good job. These Americans talk with feeling, for many of them have escaped the operation of the vagrancy act only by going into work in which they meet the competition of the Filipino. They make up a small part of the American population, but they loom up large on the horizon of affairs, because they are noisiest and most noticeable.

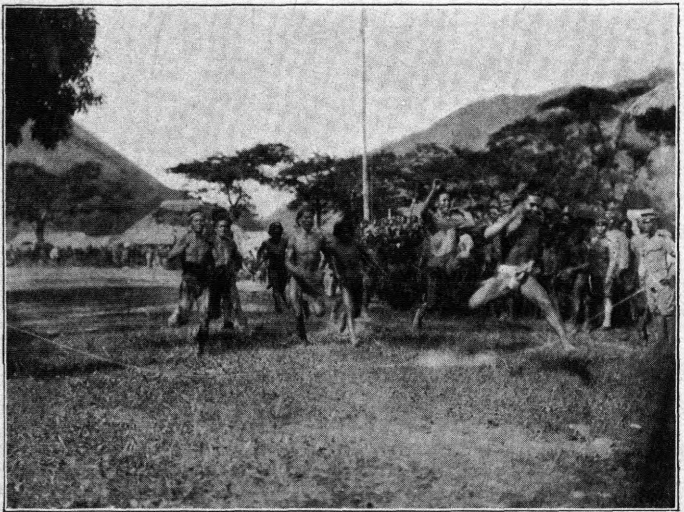
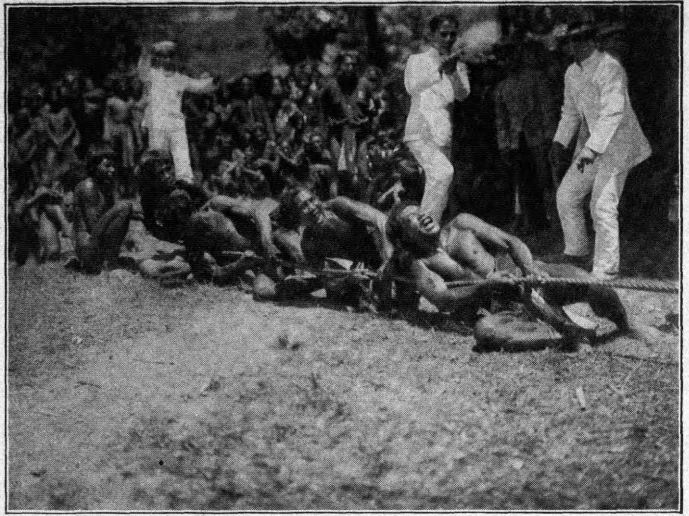
They are at once placed in their proper position by any one of their fellow citizens. The Filipinos cannot be expected to be so discriminating. Some visitors have been known to form very decided opinions of Filipino character solely from association with servants in Manila. To the Filipino the unkempt and immoral American offers daily proof of Filipino superiority. Now the Filipino would not be called a man of stern morality, for he lives in the banana belt, where, according to no less an authority than a Roman Catholic pope, saints do not grow. He not infre-

quently maintains several domestic establishments, which fact is rather well known. But there is one thing that shocks him to the bottom of his soul, and that is what he calls, in Spanish phrase, "escandalo publico," easily translated into "public scandal." The American of similar morals, being far away from home in an alien land where there are no old-maid aunts to watch over him, is not so punctilious. Hence the occasional sight of a drunken soldier or teamster driving through the street with a native woman of doubtful or well-known reputation always calls for disgusted comment by the Filipino. We call them immoral. The Filipino adds to the charge and says we are not only immoral but shameless.

The Filipino certainly has the average share of racial conceit; perhaps more than the average. He has had but little opportunity to compare himself with others, and has the insular characteristic of extreme self-satisfaction. There have been many humorous examples of this, such as the protest against the teaching of English by a large number of Filipinos who declared that the replacement of the native dialects by English would cause the Filipinos to lose their "national character." A teacher in one of the provincial schools was carefully explaining to her pupils the necessity of a knowledge of English. "If



Moslem Missionary in the Moro country



New sports, such as tugs of war, wrestling matches, foot races, etc., have been introduced to take the place of headhunting which was little more than a savage sport

you speak only Tagalog," she said, "you may get along very well with it here, but when you go away from the Philippines you would find no one able to understand you." "But I speak Visayan," spoke up the young son of the local presidente, "and father tells me that educated people the world over speak Visayan." This complacent self-confidence is a characteristic not unknown to Americans. Naturally it comes as a shock to find that the man we patronize as our little brown brother is not inclined to accept our own estimate of ourselves or of him. While we deplore the fact that the Filipinos are divided by so many dialects, they are likely to assume that their many dialects, compared to our one language, proves their superiority to us. The reasoning may be like that of the Manila man who tried to prove to me that as the Manila death-rate for infants was much higher than that for adults, there would always be more adults than infants, but the faultiness of the reasoning does not affect their point of view.

Our English cousins found the same condition in India. They built great railway lines through the country, linked them with telegraph and mail lines, and have sought to stagger the Hindu and the Mohammedan and the other races of India with the stupendousness of their accomplishments. The native

accepted these things, for he could not help himself, but the sight of the trains, of the wonderful stations, the marvels of the telegraph, and the sound of the busy hum of industry did not disturb his complacency or cause him to revise in the least his former estimate of his superiority to the Englishman. The Filipinos do not talk, as we do, of their own superiority, but it is evident that they are not only unwilling to admit that we belong to a superior race, but are inclined to assume that position for themselves.

The traveller who goes to Manila after a residence in any other part of the Far East is immediately struck with one result of American occupation which may be overlooked by one coming direct from America. This result is the very high prices which prevail. It is possible to purchase articles of American manufacture, such as shoes, cheaper in Manila than in any other part of the Far East. There are a few articles of native manufacture, including hats, embroidered dresses, and native fabrics, which are cheap, but most of the necessities of life are very much higher than in the surrounding ports. Rentals are out of all proportion to the value of the real estate; they would be considered high in America, and are absurdly high when compared to rates prevailing in neighbouring countries. A great part of the foodstuffs bear the addi-

tional cost of transportation from Australia and tariff charges, to which the retailer adds a percentage of profit much greater than that added by the dealer in similar articles in Chinese treaty ports. The additional cost for the usual necessities of life would probably range between 10 and 50 per cent., a margin large enough to mark the difference between comfort and a bank account and discomfort and debts.

The landing of a large number of American troops gave the first upward impetus to prices, which remained for some years on a war-time basis. Before the standards had begun to regain a normal basis, American civilians arrived, bringing with them those prodigal ideas of expenditure which have made the American the victim of high charges the world over. Prices have never returned to the normal level of Spanish days. It would be impossible, of course, to apportion the blame for the high cost of living. A part of it is a necessary accompaniment to prosperity, which has increased the price of labour; a part is due to the spendthriftiness of Americans who are accustomed to high prices at home and fail to adjust themselves to the lower basis of the Orient; a part is due to the tariff with which we have protected the industries of the United States against the industries of the Philippines. We have also introduced into the Phil-

ippines, along with other American institutions, our old friend, Watered Stock.

The Manila street railway system offers an excellent illustration of one of the reasons why the cost of living is so much higher in Manila than in any other part of the Far East. When the Americans came to Manila they found in operation a short horse-car tramway line which covered only a portion of the city. Other parts were reached by small carts, known as caromatas, drawn by the diminutive Filipino horses. With American occupation and the increased population of Manila, this system became even more inadequate than before, and the need for an electric line became apparent. A franchise for such a system was granted to an American concern in 1903 and operation was begun soon thereafter. The system now in operation could be compared very favourably with any system in an American city, both as to service and equipment.

In common with other tramway lines in the Far East, the Manila system provides for two classes of fares, the first being 6 cents and the second 5 cents. Both classes of passengers are carried on the same cars, the only difference being that the first-class seats are in the front. Equally efficient street-car services are to be found in Shanghai, Tokio, Hong

Kong, and Singapore. The Tokio system provides for but one class of passengers, the fare being $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The Shanghai systems are on the section basis. The first-class fares range from (approximately) 1 to 4 cents; third class, $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 cents. The Shanghai coolie travelling a short distance pays only one tenth the fare charged to the Filipino workman of the same class, while in Shanghai the maximum fare is less than one half of the minimum fare in Manila. A similar comparison might be made with the fares of Singapore or Hong Kong.

From the American point of view, this is not a very serious question, but the tramway line was not built for Americans. Of the comparatively small American population in Manila, many travel in carriages or automobiles and never use the tramways. It is on Filipino patronage that the company must depend for traffic, and the fares charged are prohibitive to a very large proportion of Filipinos. Ten cents a day for street-car fare is more than can be afforded by a worker who receives only 50 cents a day, and the result is that most of the workmen in Manila walk.

The franchise which was granted to this company by the Philippine Commission provides for this rate of fares, which cannot be changed, except at the volition of the company, for twenty-five years. The

legal fares provided for the carts are such as to place them out of competition with the trams, even for short trips. It would appear from the experience of the other systems in the Far East, that it would be good business policy to reduce the fares in Manila, or to provide a third class which would be cheap enough to appeal to the workers who now walk. A number of recommendations to that effect have been made by local managers, but the board of directors in New York finds itself unable to think in terms of less than 5 cents, and there is little prospect of a voluntary reduction. The street-car service shows the difficulty the average American finds in understanding a scale of living different from his own.

While Americans in other lines of work have been contributing to the satisfactory record of progress in the Philippines, the American missionary, usually the pioneer in foreign lands, has not been far behind and has set a new record of missionary endeavour. During Spanish rule there was, of course, no opportunity for Protestant missionary work there, it being prohibited by an article of the penal code. This prohibition was backed by powerful sentiment in the islands, and every effort to introduce Protestantism failed. A conspicuous attempt was made in 1889 by two representatives of the British and Foreign Bible

Society, who arrived in Manila with a stock of Bibles. While at a Manila hotel, both became violently ill, one dying. The other recovered but was immediately imprisoned and then banished. It is charged by Protestants that they were poisoned. Under such discouragements no further attempts to enter the islands were made by Protestant organizations.

Two weeks after Commodore Dewey's victory at Manila, the American Presbyterian General Assembly, which was then in session, endorsed a proposal to undertake missionary work in the Philippines. Almost as promptly, the British and Foreign Bible Society began making plans to send to Manila the stock of Pangasinan Bibles they had held in storage since their tragic failure of 1889, and soon other organizations were turning their attention to the new American possession.

↳ The entrance of the Protestant missionaries was a necessary part of the American programme if for no other reason than to fulfil the promise of religious freedom. But they were entering a field where there were, apparently, many reasons for failure. The strong position of the Catholic church and the intense opposition they might certainly expect from that quarter made the success of the individual Protestant denominations appear rather doubtful. The

favourite argument of Catholicism against Protestantism, the division of the Protestant denominations, would apply with special force in a country so overwhelmingly Catholic.

• Fortunately for the Protestants, they foresaw this obstacle and united. "The Evangelical Union of the Philippine Islands" was formed in 1901, constituting a working alliance between the denominations. Under this agreement the Methodist church is responsible for the evangelization of the island of Luzon to the north of Manila, with the exception of the province of Union, which is occupied by the mission of the United Brethren, and of the Ilocano and Mountain provinces, which it shares with other missions. The Christian mission works in the Ilocano and Cagayan provinces as well as in and about Manila. The Presbyterian mission has for its field the country south of Manila on Luzon and some of the Visayan islands, the other islands being occupied by the Baptist mission. In Mindanao two missions are maintained by the Congregational church and the Christian and Missionary Alliance of New York. Other missions, notably of the Episcopal church, are stationed in the islands, and although all do not belong to the evangelical union, all work in harmony with it. In no place is it possible to witness the un-

dignified spectacle of rival missionaries surreptitiously lifting each other's converts.

The working alliance did not stop with this sensible division of territory, but a uniform name was adopted under which practically all the mission work was carried on. The name, "Iglesia Evangelica," is used on all Protestant chapels, the name of the particular denomination to which the church belongs appearing in smaller letters. It is not to be presumed that all the Protestant denominations have forgotten their differences, but so far as the native convert is concerned, all forces are united.

\ Protestantism has made rather rapid advances and now claims more than 50,000 members, with 159 missionaries in the field. Almost two million Bibles and portions have been distributed by the British and Foreign and the American Bible societies. One gets another view of the linguistic differences of the island when he learns that the Bible has been translated into Tagalog, Ilocano, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Ibanog, Bicol, Panayan, Cebuana, Samareno, and Igorot, while many other translations are contemplated.

The good showing the Protestant missionaries are able to make indicates that they have drawn most of their converts from those who were nominally Catholic. No such large numbers could be converted

from among the savage tribes in such a short space of time. As a matter of fact, but little work has been done among the pagans. Whether one counts this chiefly as a gain to Protestantism or as a loss to Catholicism will depend, naturally, on whether one is Catholic or Protestant. The missionaries take no pains to conceal the fact that they are attempting "to break down the power of Rome," and many of them keep alive the old stories about the viciousness of the friars. These stories were doubtless always exaggerated and are certainly not descriptive of conditions which exist to-day.

The conversion of the pagans to Christianity would add a great deal to the advancement of the islands. Probably in no other way can the Moro problem ever be satisfactorily settled. It is gratifying to note that the Episcopal church is making rather ambitious plans for work among the Moros.

The Catholic church in the Philippines is not the organization it was under Spain. The intense interest taken in the islands by Protestants of America was equalled if not excelled by the interest of the American Catholics, who through the acquisition of the islands saw the number of Catholics under the American flag increased by more than 50 per cent. The authorities of the church were prompt to recog-

nize new conditions, and Americans have, almost without exception, been appointed to fill the places made vacant by the retirement of the Spanish ecclesiastics. The first priest to be consecrated an Archbishop by Pope Pius was Rev. J. J. Harty, pastor of St. Leo's church, St. Louis, who became Archbishop of Manila. Many American priests have followed as bishops, and though the orders have not been materially affected, the organization of the Catholic church is quite different from what it was in the last century. Through the change in its organization, the Filipino has been brought into contact with Americans in a new way, and the American priest must be counted one of the strongest factors making for better relations between American and Filipino.

CHAPTER XI

THE "MUTUALLY HOSTILE TRIBES"

SOME time during the political campaign of 1900 the phrase "mutually hostile tribes" was used to describe the Filipino people. The phrase aptly suggests so many of the really important phases of the problems of the islands that it has come into popular use, despite the controversies which have waged around it. The enlightened Tagalog or Visayan indignantly denies that his people are either tribal or mutually hostile. In this contention he is supported by many Americans who approach the question from the ethnological side and find all Filipino people the same. The controversy will last so long as the phrase is used, for while not literally true, it is more accurate than any other phrase which can be used to describe the Filipinos.

The Negritos are the real owners of the Philippines. They are the original Filipinos and, according to generally accepted theories, long held possession of the islands undisturbed. Then came a stronger and more advanced race, the Igorots, who took the islands

from the Negritos by conquest. Later came the ones we now know as the Filipinos and took from the Igorots what they had gained. Spain came and assumed possession of the islands, and then came the United States. Every transfer was by right of conquest, but each brought the islands to a higher development. If, as has been suggested, the United States should give the islands back to the Filipinos for the sole reason that conquest is wrong, then the Filipinos should give the property to the Igorots, and the Igorots should give it to the Negritos.

Most of the present population of the islands is due to the Filipino conquest, and of these all are of the same appearance and the same stature. So far as physical appearance goes, the Moro, Tagalog, Visayan, Pangasinan, Ilocano, and Bontok might be blood cousins. They are so much alike that it is impossible to distinguish the Filipinos from the various provinces by appearance alone. Dr. Merton I. Miller, chief ethnologist of the Bureau of Science, says:

“Dress an average Bontok or Ifugao man in the clothes worn by the Tagalog, cut his hair as the Tagalog cuts his, and not one man in a thousand could pick out the Bontok or Ifugao men from a company of Tagalogs. With few exceptions this statement might be made about any of the people of the Philip-

pires. We recognize a Moro by his peculiar clothes and his close cut of hair. We distinguish an Ifugao by his unique way of cutting the hair and certain characteristic features of his dress. But no man can distinguish the average Iloko from the Pampanga, the Pangasinan from the Bicol, or the Tagalog from the Bisaya. From the extreme northern end of the archipelago to its southernmost limits, with the exception of the few scattered Negritos, the people of the Philippines, pagan, Moro, and Christian, are one racially. There is some reason for believing that they migrated into the islands at two different times. But in all probability they came from the same general region and have a common ancestry."

Yet it would be difficult to find any two people more hostile to each other than the Christian and Mohammedan Filipino. Each in his way is devoutly religious, and to each the other is a heathen and an unbeliever. The wave of Mohammedanism swept through the lower part of the islands only a short time before the coming of the Spaniards, and all their soldiers and all their priests were needed to push it back and hold it to the southern islands of the group. There the Moros have remained for three centuries, defiant alike of Spain, the Christian Filipinos, and the United States. Spain never subdued them, nor has the United States entirely succeeded. Only by mak-

ing the Moro country an armed camp and disarming the natives has it been possible for Filipinos or Americans to live among them. Theirs is not the Mahomedanism one finds in India and China, but a brand of the religion peculiar to themselves. The Koran is read to them in Arabic, which they do not understand. They neither pray five times a day, nor fast during the month of Ramadan, duties enjoined on all good Mahomedans. In some places the scholars assemble in the mosques on Fridays and do the praying for the entire community. That is about the extent of the devotions of the Moro, whose Mahomedanism is but a thin veneer covering a more savage religion. The Moro has perverted the teachings of the Prophet into a justification of piracy, arson, and murder.

When the Spaniards came, the Moros had spread as far north as Manila, and the more southern islands were ravaged by their piratical attacks. Spain failed for more than three hundred years to do more than localize the Moro piracy, and even in that was not always successful. The Moros were not infrequently victorious in their conflicts with the Spaniards, and terrorized the Visayas and Manila Bay. So far as present conditions are concerned, the common ancestry of the Moro and the Filipino counts for nothing. The Filipino fears the Moro. The Moro hates and

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despises the Filipino. Only the presence of the Spanish troops, and, later, of the American troops have prevented the Moro from making what would probably be a successful attempt to carry out the complete conquest of the islands. In the conflict between Moro and Filipino which would certainly follow the withdrawal of American troops, there can be little doubt as to the result. The Moro would be victorious.

It has been noted that the Filipino leaders and the present ruling class are largely recruited from the half-caste population. It is interesting that this is also true of the Moros, who probably have a much smaller admixture of foreign blood than the Christians. In the fifteenth century an Arabian trader, Sayid Abu-Baker, arrived in Sulu, married the daughter of the ruler, Raja Baginda, and, succeeding his father-in-law, became the first Sultan of Sulu. The present Sultan and practically all the prominent men of Sulu are the direct descendants of this Arabian. At about the time this trader gained the ascendancy in Sulu, an Arabian prince, Kabungsuwan, came to Mindanao and became its first Sultan, establishing the line which has since ruled. Is it another proof of the superiority of mixed over Malay blood?

The Moros number about 300,000, all warriors, for they recognize no distinctions of age or sex, and in

their fights with American troops have frequently used the women and children as shields against the bullets and bayonets of the Americans. Though so far as they affect the Philippine problem the Moros may be considered as one people, they embrace five distinct tribes: Sulu, Yakan, Samal, Lanao and Magindanao. “They differ in their dress, laws, government, arms, and occupy different territories.”

A great many Americans who advocate the immediate independence of the Philippines, argue for it because of the expense of maintaining American troops in the islands. No one has yet proposed that independence be granted to the Moros, and all would provide that the present status of the Moro remain unchanged. They would have them remain as now, under the guardianship of the United States army. As the work of the army in the Philippines for almost ten years has been solely in the Moro country, and as the army is the only item of expense connected with our administration of the Philippines which is paid by the American taxpayer, Philippine independence would neither relieve us of responsibility for the Philippines nor of Philippine expense.

Aside from the Moros there are many other tribes which have nothing in common with the Christian Filipino, one eighth of the population being made up

of Moros and pagans. Among the latter are the Negritos and the Igorots, who include the head-hunters. The Negritos are the famous dwarf blacks, no more nearly related to the Filipino than the American Indian is related to the American, nor are they of any more importance than the Indian in domestic affairs. The Negritos are merely interesting as representing one of the lowest types of the human race. Except for the occasional trouble they cause by clearing parts of the government forests, they are non-existent in Philippine affairs. It is inconceivable that they should ever occupy a more important position.

The Igorots are of much greater importance. Driven from the fertile plains to the mountains by the conquest of the Filipinos, they have lived in a more invigorating climate and have been compelled to work harder than their conquerors. Safe only in the mountains from the attacks of the Filipinos, they were compelled to create tillable land by the construction of the most wonderful terraces in the world. In neither intensely cultivated China nor Japan have the farmers accomplished such wonders in agricultural development. The terraces climb the steep sides of mountains like giant steps to a height of three thousand feet. "These terraces, each of which is flooded with water at certain periods of the year, are

wonderful feats of engineering; sometimes they follow the contour of a canyon for as great a distance as half a mile without varying two inches from the dead level. The summit of the retaining wall of each terrace is so constructed as to be about fifteen inches above water level, and at the time of flooding it is invariably found that the condition has been complied with.” Physically the Igorots are much superior to the Filipino, and they differ from him materially in the fact that they are very industrious. Aside from technical racial unity, there is nothing in common between the two, and they do not mix. An Igorot in his native costume would attract as much attention on the streets of Manila as in New York.

The Negritos, the Igorots, and all the pagan tribes have been systematically exploited by the Christian Filipinos for centuries and even under American rule. One of Hon. W. H. Taft’s reports as Secretary of War contained the following reference to this source of trouble:

“Whenever Filipino municipal officials come into contact either with non-Christian tribes or with inferior peoples of their own race like those who live in the mountains of Samar and Leyte, known as ‘pulahanes,’ they are likely to exercise official authority for their own profit and to the detriment of the

inferior people. Thus in Samar and Leyte the mountain people raise a good deal of hemp. The municipal authorities of the lowlands and the local caciques conspire to prevent the disposition of this hemp to any one but their own agents at an unjustly low price, using duress and a show of official authority for the purpose. This fraud and mistreatment ultimately create among the mountain peoples a just sense of indignation. Then it is that some religious fakir invites them to organize against their enemies, under the charm of some religious token, and some lowland village is sacked and its people are murdered. The central and provincial authorities intervene and a war ensues, which lays waste much of the interior of the islands, to suppress a disorder that had its inception in a just cause of complaint."

Thus we find the three general groups of peoples in the islands, Moros, Christian Filipinos, and pagans, have always been and are now mutually hostile. Only the presence of the authority of the United States prevents the Christian Filipinos from oppressing their pagan neighbours, and the same authority keeps the Moro from the throat of the Christian. Out of the total population, one million are aliens. Because of the constant trouble with the Moros and the unhappy prominence given to the wild tribes in the St. Louis Exposition, a great many people have

an erroneous idea of their numbers. They are in a minority, and the average Tagalog politician refuses to recognize them as constituting any part of the Philippine problem, but the fact remains that one eighth of the inhabitants of the Philippines are uncompromising enemies of the other seven eighths, and any kind of social or political unity between them is impossible.

In addition to the difference existing between these three general groups, there is great lack of uniformity between the tribes of civilized or Christian Filipinos. It would be only tedious to go into the tribal organizations in detail. Few authorities agree as to the exact number of tribes, as their differences are chiefly lingual, and many tongues which some set down as separate languages are declared by others to be only local dialects which really belong to one of the better known languages. When the census of the Philippines was taken in 1903, the census enumerators turned in 116 tribal titles, which number has been greatly reduced by the ethnologists. According to a classification which does not recognize many of the smaller tribes as distinct, the main divisions follow:

<i>Name of Tribe</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Name of Tribe</i>	<i>Population</i>
Bicol	566,365	Pangasinan	343,686
Cagayan	159,648	Tagalog	1,460,695
Ilocano	803,942	Visayan	3,129,030
Pampangan	280,984	Zambalan	48,823

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The lingual divisions are much more numerous, there being no less than sixteen distinct dialects spoken by the civilized tribes and as many more by the pagans. Without going into a study of these tribal dialects, let us try to imagine a situation in the United States which would parallel that in the Philippines. The use of English, we will say, would be confined to a part of the New England States; around New York nothing but Dutch would be spoken; along the Great Lakes, French; on the Atlantic Coast, Italian; in the Gulf States, Spanish; throughout the Middle West, Portuguese; in the Central States, German; in the Northwest, Swedish; in California, Russian. In addition to these general divisions imagine many smaller isolated communities where Chinese, Japanese, Yiddish, and a few other languages would be dominant. All these languages in this hypothetical state are purely colloquial, enriched by no literature and preserved in a printed form by only a few translations. Most of the people know no language other than their own, but scattered through them are a few college men who are able to speak Latin or Greek, which are the languages of government and business and the only means of common expression in the country. This is the situation in the Philippines. So long as it exists, how would it be possible for the

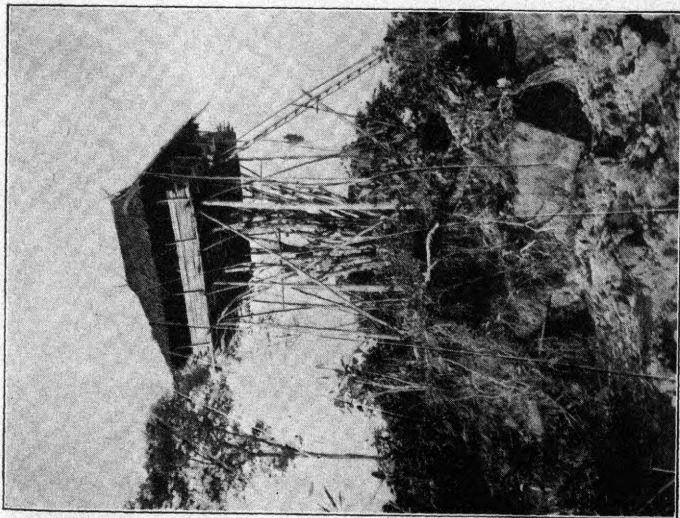
common people, on whom the success of democracy rests, to either form or express an intelligent opinion as to public questions?

While living in a Manila hotel, we employed an Ilocano woman as a seamstress. Like most others of her class, she understood no language other than her own native tongue. The room boy, a Tagalog, who spoke a peculiar brand of English, was requisitioned as an interpreter, but proved to be useless as he could not speak Ilocano. After a search, he brought up another boy from the kitchen, introducing him as an Ilocano who understood a little Tagalog but no English. With that combination we tried to convey to the seamstress instructions that white goods should be sewn with white thread, and not with black. The Tagalog boy received the message in English and translated it into Tagalog for the kitchen scullion, who exhorted the seamstress. I don't know what he told her, but when her reply filtered back it was: "I didn't bring any white cigarette papers with me, but will bring some to-morrow." But after a little practice, the arrangement worked very well. That is, it worked until we found that the kitchen scullion was not an Ilocano, but a Pampangan, knew not a word of Ilocano, and had fraudulently mulcted us of several ten-centavo pieces. After that we reverted

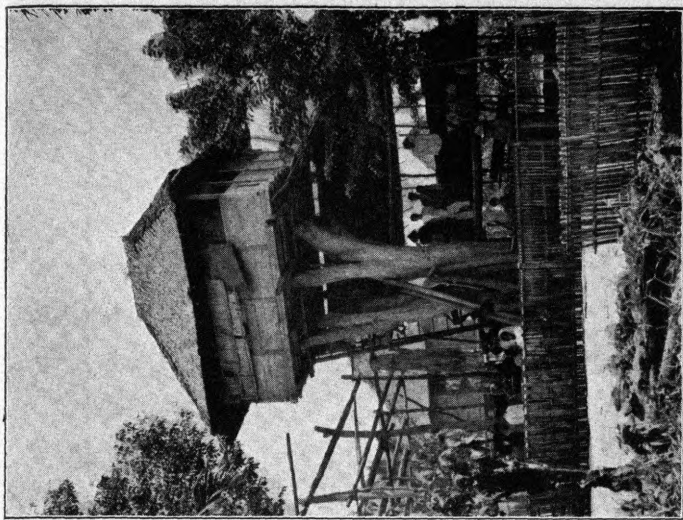
to the sign language. But when we left Manila we spent half a day finding some one to tell the seamstress that we did not need her services any longer.

Lingual and other differences are largely accounted for by the environment of the different tribes. As an example the Ilocano is noted for his industry and enterprise. Driven by hostile tribes to one corner of the island of Luzon, where he was on rather barren soil, and surrounded by enemies, he has been compelled to exert himself to make a living. The result is that he is industrious and ambitious, in striking contrast to the others who have lived in the fertile plains, where a few days of labour will supply an average Filipino with necessities for a year. None of these differences is insurmountable, much as they divide the people at present. With common knowledge of any one language, with a good system of roads and the other improvements being given to them by the American administration, the Christian Filipinos can become socially and politically, what they are now ethnically, one race. But until that is accomplished, it is impossible to consider them as one people. Instead, there are a number of tribes, which if not actually hostile, at least lack that sympathy necessary to make them a political unit.

Either because of indifference to them or because

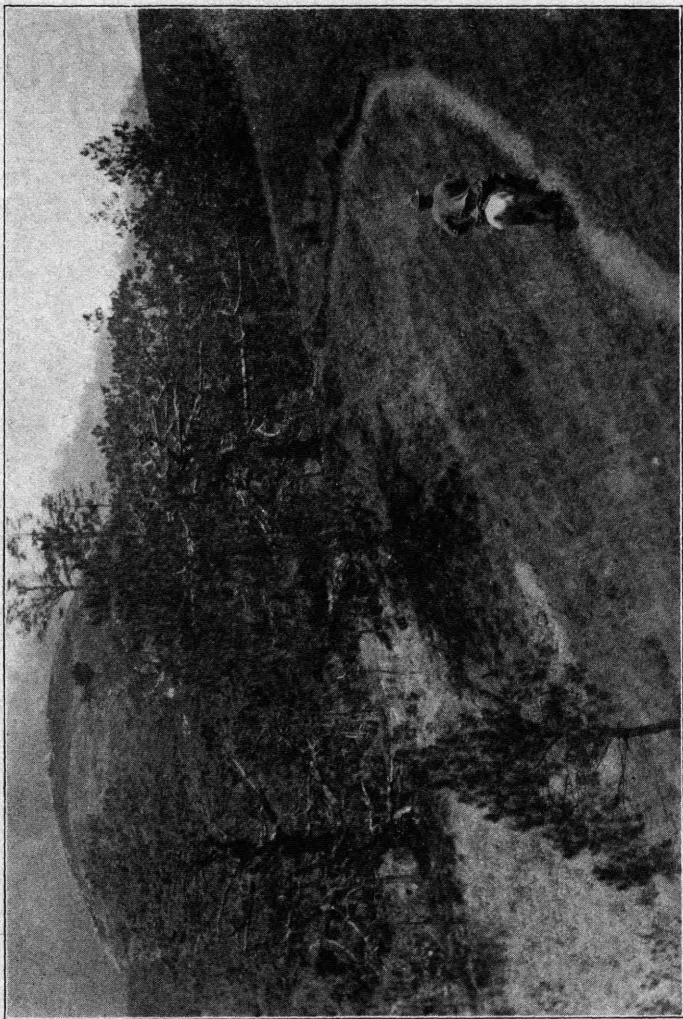


So hostile were some of the tribes in mind that they built their houses at this elevation so that their enemies could not kill them by thrusting spears up through the floors.



A TREE DWELLER'S HOME

Since the American occupation there has been a change in the architecture of the tree dwellings. The tribes are not now so hostile, so another story is added



American trails have made it possible for people living on opposite sides of a mountain
to become acquainted with each other

of their inaccessibility in the mountains, Spain paid practically no attention to the wild tribes who at the end of Spanish rule were practically unchanged from what they were at the beginning. The American authorities very soon after going to the islands took up work among them. Mr. Dean C. Worcester, the recent Secretary of the Interior, and a member of the first Taft Commission, has taken a great personal interest in the wild people and has done much toward bettering their condition. They are now effectually protected against the aggressions of their Christian neighbours, and headhunting is a thing of the past.

Headhunting was the way in which the various wild tribes manifested their own mutual hostility. Inhabitants of rival villages took each other's heads as often as opportunity afforded, and by an elaborate savage code a man's social position was largely determined by the number of heads he was able to hang over his door. The Americans soon found that the feuds of the headhunting villages existed largely because the inhabitants of each village knew nothing of their neighbours. Indeed, headhunting was little more than a savage sport.

To bring the members of the different tribes and the inhabitants of different villages together was the task of the American authorities. To do this, trails

25
76

were built, making the different communities easily accessible to each other. To replace the sport of headhunting, army officers introduced less bloody contests. Under the auspices of the army, and, later, of the constabulary, field meets were held in which headhunters from different villages were induced to compete in foot races, wrestling matches, tugs of war, etc. These contests at once became popular and are now most important events among the wild tribes. Cups are now competed for, and the contests have aroused so much interest that headhunting has been abandoned as a tame and uninteresting sport. Among some of the wild tribes, baseball has been introduced with a great deal of success, though often the catcher's mask and chest protector are the only garments worn by the players.

CHAPTER XII

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

WHILE in Manila I renewed the acquaintance of my Sikh friend, Karim Singh, whom I had known in Shanghai as a night watchman distinguished by the fact that he slept only a part of the time when on duty. He had come to Manila because of the higher wages paid to watchmen and under the delusion that he might become a city policeman. His political ideas developed rapidly in the heat of Manila, and when I saw him there he unfolded to me a plan for the establishment of a Sikh republic.

Briefly, it was as follows: the chief representatives of British power in India were to be assassinated on a prearranged date, thereby removing local evidences of British rule, and the Sikhs would take charge of the country. In order to prevent the sending out of any more British to take the place of those assassinated, a friendly alliance would be made at once with the United States, which country would provide troops and battleships to prevent the landing of British forces until the Sikhs got their government into work-

ing order. In recompense, the Sikhs would, after the establishment of their republic, loan a large number of their own people to serve in the United States army and navy at the usual rate of pay. Karim's object in unfolding this plan to me was to secure my co-operation in making this alliance with the United States. As the representative of an organization which he assured me included practically all the Sikh watchmen on the China coast and in Manila, he proposed that I see President Wilson on my return to America. The organization was poor, so \$50 Mex. was all they could offer as an expense fund, but there were richer rewards in store for me. Having made the alliance, I was to return to the Far East, and, in the absence of anything better, be made editor of one of the Sikh newspapers which would flourish without the restraining British censorship. Friend Karim was surprised and grieved at my refusal to take part in his scheme.

It would be unfair to compare the intelligence of the Filipino with that of the tribe of Singh, but my friend's artless plan for the independence of the Sikhs is the Filipino plan reduced to an absurdity. Through several very hot afternoons I interviewed prominent Filipino politicians in Manila, seeking some one who could tell me what plans had been made to solve cer-

tain well-defined problems which would be sure to arise in the event of independence, to learn what material benefits they expected to derive from it. I heard a great deal about the rights of man and the development of the Filipino national spirit, but little about how the Filipino unaided intended to handle the Moro problem or the question of Chinese immigration, to mention only two of the many problems which must face the proposed Filipino Republic. The only advantage any of them claimed would be gained by independence was in the cutting down of expenses through the discharge of American officials and the employment of Filipinos in their stead.

It should be more thoroughly understood that no one, not even the Filipino, is demanding complete independence. All propose that the neutrality of the islands be guaranteed, either by the United States or by an agreement between the powers. With all of their national conceit, the Filipinos recognize their own inability to defend their country from foreign aggression. Most independence advocates also ask that the status of the Moro country remain unchanged, the United States to remain in control and keep the murderous Moros from attacking and conquering the independent Filipinos. Many Americans who argue for the independence of the Philip-

piners reach this conclusion by a circuitous kind of logic. They base their arguments for independence (1) on the ability of the Filipinos to take care of themselves, and (2) the expense to which the United States is put in maintaining armed forces in the islands. But as the Filipinos are unable to defend themselves against the Moros, they propose that the United States continue to look after those troublesome citizens, forgetting that at present that is the chief if not the only purpose of the United States army in the Philippines.

Proponents of the immediate independence idea suggest that the islands be made neutral territory, for all recognize the fact that assuming the greatest possible prosperity and advancement for both Philippines and Filipino it must be many years before the latter would be able to defend his country against a foreign foe. Indeed, the islands are so easily subject to attack that it is difficult to conceive of the Filipino ever being able to defend them. So, say the independistas, let them be neutralized, and the examples of Belgium and Switzerland are cited. These are, of course, successful examples of neutralization. They are successful because it is to the interest of the great powers that they be so. Neutrality of the Philippines is to the interest of the Philippines, and to no

one else. The proposed neutrality would be more like the "territorial integrity of China," guaranteed as it is by the great powers. But what has this agreement amounted to, with Manchuria and Mongolia practically swallowed up by Russia and Japan, and with all the great powers except the United States holding portions of the territory of China?

The leased territory of Weihaiwei affords an example of the value of treaties where a weak and defenseless nation is concerned. When the Russians secured possession of Port Arthur from the Chinese, Great Britain at once leased the port of Weihaiwei on the opposite side of the gulf of Pechili, the agreement between China and Great Britain reading that the latter government should hold Weihaiwei for so long a time as Russia remained in possession of Port Arthur. Later, Great Britain made an alliance with Japan, and Japan took Port Arthur from Russia. As Weihaiwei was leased by China to restore the balance of power in the Far East, and as the lease has expired by reason of the fact that Port Arthur is no longer a Russian possession, China has made repeated demands on Great Britain for the return of the property, but no reply has been received by China.

Some Filipinos naïvely purpose that the neutrality of the country be guaranteed by the United States,

which reminds one of the definition of independence given by one of the employees of an American planter in the Philippines. This American followed the army to Manila, and then went to Mindanao and purchased a cocoanut plantation which he tried to operate by American methods. Under the old labour system prevailing in the Philippines the owner of such a plantation divided it into small tracts, allotting each to a native who became the tenant of that fraction of the estate. When the cocoanuts were harvested, the owner of the plantation took half of the crop and the tenants the other half. Old custom established the right of the tenants to go into debt to the landowner, who usually provided them with food and clothing during unproductive seasons, charging up the supplies against the tenant's share of the crop.

The American didn't approve of that plan, for it made the yield of the plantation too largely dependent upon the voluntary industry of the tenants. Instead, he employed at 20 cents a day a number of men who cultivated and gathered the crop under his direction. At the end of the season the planter found he had lost money. The second season he went back to the old system with different results, for there was a good profit for him, though the labourers made only five cents per day.

Their obvious contentment with this small wage puzzled him and he sought an explanation. He finally found it in the answer of a grizzled old tenant who said: "Under this plan we do as we please and work when we please. We like to get up early in the morning, work until it gets hot, then sleep and rest during the hot part of the day, and finish up the work in the cool of the evening. When you paid us regular wages, we made more money, but we had to work all day and every day whether we wanted to or not. Now we are independent, and if the crop fails, you have to feed us." That is the kind of independence a good many Filipinos mean when they talk about the independence of the Philippines. They would rid themselves of the Americans who rule them now, but make sure that the same Americans are near at hand to help them in case they get into trouble.

There is one fiction which is constantly being brought to the front in connection with the Philippines, and that is that Japan wants possession of the islands. This fiction is made the basis of most of our annual Japanese war scares and has given many an opportunity to argue that because of our possession of the islands, Japan is anxious to pick a quarrel with us. Therefore by ridding ourselves of the Philippines we would rid ourselves of a possible war.

On the face of things it appears that Japan would profit immensely by possession of this very valuable territory. She is crowded and needs room for expansion. The Philippines is rich in undeveloped resources, and once in possession of it Japan would soon be in position to solve her very pressing trade problems. She possesses Formosa, which is so near that on a clear day its peaks are visible from the islands lying off the north coast of Luzon. Indeed, to the telescope student there is no apparent reason why Japan should not want the islands and make their ultimate possession the chief object of a war with the United States.

Soon after the American occupation of the Philippines, this idea was strengthened by the large influx of Japanese immigrants. Beginning as soon as peace had been established around Manila, the number of Japanese immigrants increased yearly until in 1904 they reached almost 3,000. But they did not prosper there, though the Philippines have offered business opportunities unequalled in any other part of the Far East. The Japanese failed, in contrast to the success of the Chinese, and became discouraged. The immigration suddenly dropped until, in 1906, only 277 came to the islands while 371 returned to their native land. Since that time there has been a

slight movement of Japanese to and from the Philippines, but the figures are so small that the Japanese are a negligible quantity, and the present population is of no importance numerically or otherwise. In view of the growth of Japanese interests and their business success in other parts of the Far East, this failure in the Philippines is rather remarkable.

The reason for this, and also the reason for the abandonment of any plans Japan may have entertained for possession of the islands, is found in the fact that the Japanese are most intensely hated by the Filipinos. This hatred has existed for more than two centuries, dating from a time when Spanish priests from Manila attempted missionary work in Japan. The priests sent there to carry the message of Christianity to the heathen were brutally treated, being confined in wooden cages, exhibited like wild animals in all parts of the kingdom, and finally tortured to death. These acts so enraged the Archbishop of Manila that he published an account of them in a tract which was widely read and has become a part of the popular religious literature of the islands. Later, the Emperor of Japan, in response to an offer by Spanish priests to come to Japan to care for the lepers, loaded a large number of these unfortunates into a ship and, with a taunting message

to the priests, turned them loose on the island of Luzon. According to popular belief in the Philippines, leprosy was introduced into the islands in this way, and the spread of the disease for several centuries has aided in keeping alive the hatred for the Japanese.

There is a lot of the old religious war spirit in this, and if Japan should ever attempt to take the Philippines, either peacefully or by force, she would immediately be involved in a fight much more stubborn than the one the United States was compelled to put down. It is impossible to imagine the devoutly Catholic Filipinos ever submitting to even a semblance of rule by a nation as essentially non-Christian as the Japanese, and it is equally impossible to imagine a Christian world allowing such a reverse to the unbroken advance of Christianity. Leaders of Japan realize this and have long since abandoned any idea of taking the Philippines. The United States could safely offer them to Japan to-morrow, for Japan would not dare to accept them.

Assuming that the neutrality of the Philippines could be secured and that the islands would be forever free from the danger of foreign aggression, that would not solve the immigration problem which the independent Philippines would have to face. Six hun-

dred miles north of Manila, connected by many steamship lines, is the port of Hong Kong and near by the crowded city of Canton and the overpopulated provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. Here, within easy distance of the Philippines, is a population of hardworking Chinese almost equal to the population of the United States. Kwangtung province, with an area less than that of the Philippines and with natural resources much smaller, has a population of 31,000,000. These southern Chinese have developed to the uttermost the agricultural resources of their own country. To them the large undeveloped regions of the Philippines have been the promised land for centuries. They were kept out by the Spanish authorities and later were kept out by the Americans. It is inconceivable that with their newly awakened pride of race, the giant China would allow the puny Philippine Republic to bar or restrict the Chinese by either treaty or law. The independence of the Philippines would be the signal for the entrance of a stream of Chinese immigrants. The islands could easily support a population of 50,000,000 Chinese, who would make it one of the garden spots of the world and the most prosperous place in the tropics.

Perhaps not so many would come. But certainly the immigration of Chinese to the Philippines, follow-

ing their unrestricted entry, would be numbered by the hundreds of thousands. With the Filipinos crowded from business and from the most profitable trades by the 50,000 Chinese now in the islands, what would become of them with from half a million to three million there? Neutrality agreements might prevent other nations from seizing the territory of the Philippines, but no agreement and no law the Philippine government would be able to enforce would ever protect the Filipinos from this industrial invasion. Chinese would be dominant industrially in the Philippines within a decade after the granting of independence.

And how would independence affect the constructive programme which America has introduced in the islands? Would this programme be carried on, or would it be abandoned and the islands revert to the careless unbuttoned ways of the Spanish régime? A rather definite answer to this question may be reached if we consider the degree in which the American programme has affected different classes of the population.

For convenience all Filipinos may be divided into two classes, those who speak English and those who speak Spanish. The Spanish-speaking class is composed of the old *ilustrados*, the men who were most prominent in local and governmental affairs in the

Spanish days. Most of them were adults before the American occupation, and they have been affected in but a minor degree by the reforms which followed. Few of them have learned to speak English, and all prefer the Spanish with which they have been longer acquainted. It is to this class that all the Filipinos now prominent in native affairs belong. The proceedings of the Filipino Assembly are in Spanish, and its records are kept in that language. A very small number of the members have more than a working knowledge of English. Most of the municipal and provincial officials speak Spanish rather than English, and belong to the old *illustrado* class.

These are the aristocrats of the Philippines, for that is an aristocratic rather than a democratic country. Those who belong to the aristocratic class believe that they, the upper 10 per cent., should rule the lower 90 per cent. As a rule these people do not send their children to the American public schools, where they would come in contact with the children of the lower classes and be placed on an equality with them, but rather patronize the many private and church schools. They have but little sympathy with the programme for popular education. The change from the chieftain-ruled state of pre-Spanish days to the privileged aristocracy of the Spanish régime was less

marked than the change America is now asking them to make, from aristocracy to democracy. When one change was perfected through three centuries, why should we be impatient that the other is not made in a decade?

The English-speaking class is made up of the younger generation, who have been students in the American schools. These, it is hoped, have been permanently impressed by American ideas, though the permanence of their impressions remains to be proved. They have been taught the duties of citizenship, the usefulness and necessity of manual labour, the need for sanitation, all of the things that are involved in our progressive civilization; to a certain extent they are in sympathy with all the reform movements which America has instituted. They cannot be called progressive, except in comparison with the older class.

But in public affairs this younger class counts for nothing. It cannot be expected to count for much for many years, for the growth of new ideas through the younger generation is a slower process in the Philippines than in America. In the Orient, whether it be China of ancestor worship, or the Christian Philippines, age is dominant. The rising generation, no matter how thoroughly its members have been drilled in the schools, will cling to the old ideas

through the influences of their parents. Because of this, if we are to change the Spanish-Malay civilization into an American-Malay civilization, it must be a slow process. It is retarded not only by the dominance of age, but also by the fact that the children of the ilustrados go to the church and private schools rather than to the American schools. The country can be made over, but the breaking down of the aristocratic system and the building up of a large body of good citizens who are independent of domination by the upper classes must be the work of several generations, finally reaching that goal through gradual changes. American schools, American sanitation, and American methods of government have accomplished wonders, but in changing the ideals of the great mass of the people, the work has barely begun. Only the success that has attended it so far warrants the belief that the American task in the Philippines can be accomplished.

If America should withdraw at once, ten years would wipe out all trace of her occupancy other than the buildings erected. The Filipinos who would step into control of the proposed Philippine Republic have little sympathy with American methods. They have learned them, not in the schools, but from the American officials, where relations between teacher

and pupil could not be so pleasant nor impressions so lasting. The ilustrados see no necessity for popular education. They look on the rather expensive sanitary measures with some doubt. They have frequently opposed the American plan to make English the universal language of the islands. Many who now hold prominent positions in Philippine affairs assured me that in the event of the withdrawal of the Americans, English would be taught in the schools. But further inquiry revealed the fact that it would be taught only as French or German is taught in America, as an accomplishment. With the complete withdrawal of Americans, the Filipinos could do nothing else, for there is not a body of Filipino teachers able to continue the teaching of English without American aid and supervision. Neither is there, for that matter, a body of Filipino teachers able to teach Spanish. The islands would go back to its old medley of languages, with Spanish the common means of communication among the ilustrados. With that retreat would vanish all hope of making the mass of the Filipinos a self-governing people. The mestizos would be dominant and be in no danger from the common people, who are now being trained into independence of thought and action and educated into an appreciation of their rights.

A great deal has been said, both by Americans and Filipinos, about the existence of natives who are able to hold the administrative positions now held by Americans. The average Tagalog or Visaya politician can in a few minutes draft a slate which will show all the important offices, from Governor-General down, filled by Filipinos of local fame and of more or less experience in politics. In view of this claim and of the possibility of early independence for the Filipinos, it is worth while to take stock of Filipino accomplishments. Three centuries ago Spain began pouring her talent into the Philippines. At that time this meant that the Philippines was being advanced through the most powerful nation in the world and one which could be compared with any in advancement. The men sent out from Spain to the Philippines were not always of Spain's best, but in the long line of officials, governors, priests, and teachers, there were many of more than transient fame. They would compare very favourably with the officials who were sent out to govern the American colonies at the same time.

Later, as the prosperous class of mestizos grew up, their children were sent to Europe to school. Of all the peoples of the Orient, the Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Javanese, the Filipinos have had the greatest

advantages, have had an earlier and a better opportunity to grasp modern civilization. But what has been the result? In three hundred years of contact with Western civilization they have failed to accomplish as much as the American negro has accomplished in the past half century. The Filipinos are distinguished from all other Malay and all other Oriental peoples by the fact that they are Christian. They are faithful and devout Catholics and have been so for more than three hundred years, but that period has failed to produce a great Filipino priest. Under American as well as under Spanish rule, all the high places in the church are filled by aliens, and the Filipinos occupy only the minor positions as parish priests. In spite of their long Christian experience, they have never attempted missionary work among their pagan neighbours, and are instead a part of the great mission field.

The Filipinos are very musical. There is scarcely a family which does not boast of its musician, or a barrio which has not its band, often barefoot, but always accomplished. On every social occasion the bands are called out and play for hours at a time, often, apparently, for nothing more than their own enjoyment of the music. But the Philippines has never produced an instrumentalist or a vocalist of

more than local fame. The fine Constabulary Band which delighted visitors to the St. Louis Exposition and received second prize there in competition with the best bands of the world, still gives concerts on the cool green of the Manila Luneta as good as those heard in St. Louis. But the leader is a Boston negro, and no Filipino is competent to take his place.

One Filipino painter, Juan Luna, acquired a certain fame, though it is doubtful if one would ever run across his name except in a study of Philippine history. A writer, José Rizal, is famous, due equally to the activities of Americans and to his own accomplishments. But we look in vain for the name of a Filipino merchant, engineer, architect, or financier.

Even if it were possible to fill all the places now held by Americans with Filipinos, the Filipino government so constituted would not be comparable to the present American-Filipino government. The Filipinos could not supply enough physicians to carry on the very important sanitary work now in progress. The big new hospital, one of the finest in the world, would be staffed by youngsters barely out of the new American medical school. It would be impossible to find a Filipino financier to handle the finances of the government, for none has yet appeared to organize or to take charge of a Filipino bank. Filipino

veterinarians are so few that if all of them were employed by the government, there would not be enough to handle a rinderpest outbreak in a single province. The fine building of the Bureau of Science, where so many useful experiments are being carried out, would be devoted to some less useful purpose, for the Filipinos could not supply the scientists necessary to carry on the work. The road-building programme would end, because there would be no road-building engineers to survey new roads or to superintend the construction.

In no line of effort which the insular government has undertaken requiring men with special or technical training, in road building, schools, sanitation, science, or any other branch, are there any Filipinos to take the places of the Americans. As the Filipinos have never produced even a second-rate architect, engineer, financier, or merchant, is it not rather silly to talk of their administrative ability?

Before discussing the complete independence of the Philippines, we should assure ourselves that there exists an actual or potential Filipino nation. Too many people have assumed that this nation does exist and waits only for independence to spring into full life; that it has lacked only our consent to become self-governing and complete. Therein lies most of

the error that has crept into American discussion of the Philippine question. There is no Filipino nation. Instead, there are about 8,000,000 people who belong to the same race and are known collectively as Filipinos. But they do not speak the same language; they are divided into many groups which are bound together by no common traditions, ideals, or interests. It has been the work of the American administration to weld these people into one, to give them one language and through that language make them familiar with Anglo-Saxon ideals. Roads have been built, breaking down the barriers which set the hillmen against the plainsmen, or the residents of one valley against the residents of another. Through American sanitation all are being given the Heaven-sent blessing of health. Slowly the nation is building.

It should be the pride and the business of every American that this great undertaking be a success, and that the Filipino people should finally take their place among the progressive and enlightened people of the world. But the work is only begun. It would be tragic for the Filipino people and humiliating to America to stop before its success is certain.

a philippine nation

THE END

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