The Development of Self-Government in the Philippine Islands

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

by

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT
IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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PREFARATORY NOTE

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The American administration in the Philippines has not received the unbiased attention of study which it deserves, and as a consequence there is current a doubt as to its real worth. Concerning the Philippines themselves and their people, they are known as a group of groups of people more or less hostile against themselves who clamor for immediate independence. Attempts to evaluate the American rule have been subjected to vigorous restrictions for special interests. This is unfortunate for such an attitude does not reflect the American integrity in the islands and tends to becloud the facts which would otherwise give credit to the Americans and Filipinos. Realising this gross misrepresentation, the Filipinos have endeavored to correct the erroneous ideas but their good efforts failed to make themselves felt. This is due to two reasons: first, because of the big play of politics; second, because of the lack of constructive propaganda.

Within the brief compass of this monograph it is possible to limit the field of investigation within certain aspects of the American administration. In retracing
the successive steps which the Filipinos have taken to date when they assume practical self-government, the author attempted to show the following: (1) that a dependency may be successfully administered without disregarding the desires of the ruled. America has set the example; (2) that under a humane policy two races which have nothing traditionally or otherwise in common between them may be made to cooperate with each other; (3) that the success of the American rule has been made possible because of the willing cooperation of the Filipinos themselves. The main purpose is to show the spirit of the administration and structural exposition received little attention except where necessary. The monograph further attempts to show that the Filipinos' ambition for independent statehood, although very much abused for political ends, is sincerely well meant and is largely responsible for the undivided cooperation in the execution of the liberal policy of America; that underneath this aspiration is a national consciousness--the indistructible feeling of nationality--which has developed in the course of their struggles for liberty and justice.

The author must not fail to observe that, notwithstanding the apparent liberality of the American policy
and the persistent demand of the Filipino people for independence, it appears that America must insist upon the standard which she set up for the Filipinos to follow before withdrawing from the islands. The United States is pursuing a gradual but surest method of preparing the Filipinos for a true independent life. So far they have failed to gain the confidence of the American people. Under these circumstances an impartial critic would be inclined to observe and suggest that the Filipino people proceed to carry on their constructive propaganda and prove with facts that they are capable of self direction.

In the preparation of this monograph the author wishes to express his obligations to Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh for encouragement and suggestions which contributed to the realization of this undertaking. Likewise is the author obligated to Col. Chas. C. Walcutt, Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs for inspiration and valuable suggestions. The many courtesies of the staff of the Bureau of Insular Affairs Library are respectfully acknowledged. No pretensions for exhaustive treatment of the subject are made. The references have been verified.

V.D.

November 26th 1920
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT
IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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I

INTRODUCTION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY REGIME

May 1, 1898 that most memorable day when the Stars and the Stripes waved over Manila Bay and five thousand brave sons engaged in the most deadly battle the Philippines ever witnessed, marked the downfall of the Peninsular Power in the Far East and the beginning of a new era in the colonial administration. For the first time in the world’s history did a strong nation enter a war not to enlarge its enviable glory and self-aggrandizement but to sympathize with an oppressed race. The United States of America, amateur as it was in colonial administration, made up its mind to make the Philippines a partaker of those rights liberties and privileges for which she herself so heroically bled.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay accorded the United States full rights of the city of Manila. Accordingly, President McKinley issued instructions to the military authorities to conduct the affairs and to establish peace and order in the capital city. Upon the capitulation of the Spanish troops in August 13, 1898, General Merritt, commanding the forces on land, proclaimed to the people of the
Philippines the sovereignty of the United States, guaranteeing to them the respect for their established institutions and personal rights.

With the restoration of general business to peace basis several matters of importance presented themselves for solution. These were the enforcement of tariff laws which must necessarily be done as the ports were opened; the organization of public schools; the reinstitution of courts to dispose of civil matters; the establishment of local government; the problem of the Republic of Negros; and the Bates treaty with the Sultan of Sulu. Because of their importance to subsequent legislation, and to the formulation of policies in later days each of these subjects should deserve a comment.

Tariff

Under the Spanish tariff law the collection of revenues was most discouraging to trade. Duties on necessities were much larger than those on luxuries. This situation caused the creation of a board of directors to revise the tariff system with the view to encouraging trade with the world especially with the United States. Holding its sessions open to the public, merchants and importers offered their suggestions. The report of the army board was published as the "Proposed customs tariff for ports in the Philippines Archipelago, as recommended by the Philippine Commission. Suggestions and recommendations were invited by the War Department until April 15, 1901 to be considered with a view to amendments before promulgation." Copies of this act were distributed in the United States. This tariff became act No. 230 of the United States Philippine Commission passed
November 15, 1901. Five ports had already been opened by virtue of the President's order in the following order:
Manila August 20, 1898; Iloilo February 22, 1898; Cebu March 14, 1899; Zamboanga, Siassi and Jolo December 36, 1899. The customs collections after the first two years of American occupation showed encouraging signs. They amounted to $19,389,338.87. The collections from August 1898 to June 1900 were $11,483,813, twice as large as those of 1897, 127% more than the total for 1896, and nearly three times as those for 1895. The administration of coastwise was entrusted to customs officials and in order to care for patents, and trade marks including copyrights an office was created in June 1899 under the direction of Captain George P. Ahern.

Public Education

The most notable feature of the American administration in the Philippines is the system of public education. Education is a requisite without which no popular government can long exist. It is the surest salvation of a race. The American people have reason to be proud of their liberal government. Hardly three weeks had passed after the occupation of Manila when a system of public education was instituted in the Philippines. Speaking of the subject Maj-Gen. MacArthur said: "in all matters touching schools there is a fortunate coincidence of American interests and Filipino aspirations, which in this important particular come into complete and harmonious focus." While the country was at the verge of war with its ally against the common enemy Mr. George P. Anderson was superintending twenty-four schools in Manila with an average attendance of 4,500 pupils. In other towns
American soldiers took Filipino children on their laps and taught them English. The war with the Filipinos which broke out in February 1899 and persisted in bush warfare for a number of years did not seem to upset the work of the public schools or the eagerness of the Filipino parents to see their children educated. As early as March 30, 1900 the Department of Public Instruction came into being under the direction of Dr. Fred W. Atkinson. The report of the Schurman Commission in November 1900 stated that the army had opened one thousand schools in the Philippines at an expenditure of over $41,000 for books and supplies to say nothing of the many gifts which came from the various societies in the United States. The significance of the generous enterprise is even more wide-including when it is said that by September 1900 the American soldiers were teaching 2,500 Mohammedan children in the Moro land.

The Normal School which to-day is one of the pride of the Insular Government was opened during the military regime. Likewise was the Nautical School opened in December 1899 to train the Filipinos to conduct their own interisland trade. The course covered a period of three years equal to the requirements in the United States Naval Academy.

Perhaps the most interesting school at this time was the night school in Manila opened in September 3, 1900 under the initiative of the Philippine Commission. The unexpected rapid in-flow of students made it imperative to increase the number of schools. Each evening nineteen hundred students under the diligent tutorship of twenty-five instructors filled the class rooms. They were as different in age, ranging from twelve to sixty years, as they were different in occupation. Eager to learn the English
language clerks, merchants, newspaper reporters, salesmen, teachers, police, laborers, barbers, machinists, cigar makers, secretaries, janitors and even firemen passed the hours of the evenings in this resourceful manner. 

Establishing Justice

Upon the official occupation of the city of Manila in August 13, 1898 the courts had practically ceased to function. Prisons were crowded with convicts some of whom were cast into the dark cells for purely political reasons while others were waiting unnecessarily deferred trial. So defective was the Spanish system of procedure that a thorough revision of the code was imperative. For this purpose General E. S. Otis created a commission with Don Cayetano Arellano as chairman to codify the legislative enactments and royal decrees of the past century.

In the recapitulation of the Spanish troops in August 13, 1898 it was stated that "This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments and its private property of all descriptions are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army." Accordingly, General Merritt appointed a provost-marshall general to take the place of the Spanish governor of Manila. In August 22, 1898, hardly two months after the arrival of the United States forces, military commissions and provost courts were constituted in different parts of the Philippines as they came within the jurisdiction of the United States. The military commissions and provost courts dealt with cases which were not exclusively liable in the court marshall. To dispense with the cases which demanded immediate attention General Otis opened the courts which were in operation
prior to August 13 for general business. The Audiencia Territorial de Manila which was suspended in June 30, 1899 was reinstituted as the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands. 8

The report of the board to codify the laws include among others a recommendation that the judges of the supreme court be not composed of Filipinos only. This liberal recommendation received a warm reception among the military authorities, and General Otis as Military Governor of the Philippines appointed the following for the chambers of the Supreme Court: President of the Supreme Court Don Cayetano Arellano; president of the Civil Branch Don Manuel Araullo assisted by justices Don Gregorio Araneta and Lieut-Col. E. H. Crowder. Don Reymundo Milleza was appointed the president of the Criminal Branch assisted by Don Ambrosio Rianzares, Don Julio Llorente, Major R. W. Young and Captain W. E. Birkhimer. Don Florentino Torres became the attorney of the Supreme Court with Don Dionicio Chanco as his associate. 9 These were the initial appointments to responsible offices which even to-day has maintained its prestige before the public. Of the nine justices six were Filipinos and three were Americans. The president of the Supreme Court and the chairmen of the chambers were all Filipinos who had long rendered service as judges during the Spanish regime. The attorneys were all natives of the Philippines.

But the real good which the commission accomplished consisted of the revision of the procedure with a view to making it more liberal and just to the accused. The commission abolished the notoriously slow criminal procedure of Spain and instituted a speedy and public trial of the accused. The old system of commencing proceedings without first serving notice to the defendant of the
charges made against him was abolished. Under the new system the defendant is fully informed of the claim against him. He has the right to appear and defend himself at the trial which causes no unnecessary delay. In all cases he is entitled to bail which was not extended to him in the past. This much needed reform relieved the prison halls of Manila. Commenting on this particular piece of reform, Chief Justice Arellano said:

"This law, based upon the accusatory system, has abolished the inquisitorial period so derogatory of the rights of the accused, and which was the foundation of our criminal procedure; the time formerly taken up by this inquisitorial system without the right of intervention on the part of the accused, which at times would be prolonged for years, dependent upon the difficulty of investigation, has been saved; the long period of preventive punishment suffered by many persons during the long summary of examination was carried on for the purpose of investigating the commission of the crime and whether any person was guilty thereof; the new procedure provides for complete equality between the accuser and the accused, between the prosecution carried on by the government and the defense of his personal liberty and the security interposed by the defendant; a brief proceeding which becomes and is public from its initiation, fully provides all that is necessary for complete defense, and is an absolute safeguard of personal security; this undoubtedly, is the greatest benefit conferred upon the inhabitants of this country."
This reform was promulgated as General Order No. 58 April 23, 1900. With respect to provincial courts, the courts of first instance were established in the various provinces as follows: Pangasinan January 2, 1900; Cagayan and Isabela January 16, 1900; Ilocos Sur January 31, 1900; Cavite February 13, 1900; Iloilo March 27, 1900; Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Ilocos Norte and Bataan April 30, 1900; Cebu May 19, 1900; and Bohol October 17, 1900. As provinces were occupied local courts came into being, and to all superior courts like that of the island of Negros was given the authority of habeas corpus.

Another reform which should deserve comment in this connection was the regulation of marriage. During the Spanish time marriage was solemnized by the church alone. The unbearable expense which the ceremony entailed proved a detriment to morals and with the result that property descent was most difficult to determine. General Otis revoked "all laws and provisions, general and particular, and even those customary, which are in conflict with the order." It authorized the judge or court inferior to the supreme court, justice of the peace, priest or minister of the gospel to solemnize the ceremony of marriage.

Establishing Local Autonomy

The manner in which the military authorities administered the Philippine affairs in 1899 and 1900, and the way the Filipinos responded to the confidence which their new rulers conceded to them in the midst of warfare and hostilities that existed between the two races at the time, would seem like a miracle to an impartial observer. Popular government in the Philippines as far as local administration is concerned is not a product of years...
experience. In the teeth of guerilla warfare in August 8, 1899, the military headquarters issued an order outlining the political machinery of each town occupied by the American troops. The order provided for the election of president, vice-president and council. It was a sort of a townmeeting where the chief officer was elected by acclamation. He must be a native Filipino and a property holder. But for the absence of ballots the election was otherwise modern. The aldermen composing the council were elected by the inhabitants of their respective wards. Executing the duties which ordinarily fall on the offices, the officers were charged with full responsibilities for their city. The city government established police force and collected taxes and fees. It was the duty of the local government to establish and provide public education, to enforce sanitary laws and to regulate the sale of foods and intoxicants and such other duties which an ordinary city must perform. The council had the duty of passing ordinances to govern the conduct of the inhabitants, while as aldermen in their wards they had to maintain peace and order.  

This tentative form of local government was tried in the most rebellious towns of Bacoor, Imus and Cavite with imminent success. The senior army officer in the town passed upon the ordinances before they were promulgated. Encouraged by their initial success the order was applied in other towns-- Las Piñas, Paranaque, Pandacan, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Neri, San Pedro Macati and Malolos.  

Purely on his own initiative General Lawton ordered the first popular election in the Philippines. In May 7, 1899 the town of Baliwag saw the birth of popular government in the Philippine Islands. The election resulted in the triumphant victory of
Francisco Gregorio, the first officer and president elected under the American rule. At Mayoawayan a novel election took place under the direction of Major Kobbe. The voters passed the judges of election, and whispering their preferences their votes were recorded.

All these were provisional measures to meet the exigencies of the time. In January 29, 1900, the Military Governor created a commission to draw up a general framework suited for the government of cities and towns in the Philippines, and again Chief Justice Arellano was appointed chairman. Two months later the commission submitted its report and recommendation which was promulgated as General Order No. 40. Because it formed the basis for subsequent legislation a brief comment on its content may not be out of place.

According to the provisions, incorporated towns were known as municipios with the ordinary corporal rights and privileges that is, have the right to sue and be sued; to contract and be contracted with; acquire and hold real and personal property. The municipios were divided into four classes, the number of aldermen being dependent upon the size of the population. Cities of the first class had a population of at least 25,000; second class 18,000–25,000; third class 10,000–18,000; fourth class less than 10,000. First class cities were entitled to eighteen aldermen, second class fourteen, third class ten, and fourth class eight. Manila, being a special city, is not included in the classification.

The officers were composed of the alcalde, municipal lieutenant and councillors, elected by popular vote for two years. The secretary, the treasurer and the city attorney were to be elected by the council.
As chief executive the alcalde was clothed in such powers and duties which generally pertain to that office. By and with the consent of the council, he made the appointments of such officers whose election was not provided for. The alcalde enforced the ordinances and the collection of taxes, presided at public auction and ordered warrants from the treasury.

The office of the city attorney was filled by a Filipino lawyer. As adviser of the city, he represented the corporation in all its legal relations. He was required to attend the sessions of the council but did not have any vote.

The duties which fell upon the secretary and the treasurer are those ordinarily conferred upon the offices. Like all other officers of the city they were required to give a bond sufficient in the case of the treasurer to cover the estimated amount which would come under his care.

Concerning the city council, its duties were most complete. Each year the body resolved itself into committees taking charge of the police, public health, agriculture, irrigation, live stock, public works and roads and schools.

Political franchise was extended to all male citizens 23 years of age, and having resided six months immediately prior to the election in the city where the vote was intended to be polled. In addition to these requirements, each elector must belong to one of these classes: having been a municipal captain, gobernadorcillo, lieutenant or cabeza de barangay prior to August 13, 1898; tax payer of thirty pesos a year; or read, speak and write English or Spanish.

The disqualified consisted of the criminals and the insane
and feeble-minded; those who had been corrected three times for
disorderly conduct; debtors to municipal funds and those who had
pending litigation with a municipio or had a contract with city
or provincial enterprises. To do away with the old question of
church and state ecclesiastics and soldiers were barred from office
and upon petition to the secretary an officer may not be elected
for a third term.

This, in brief, was the local government in the Philippines
until the United States Philippine Commission had legislated upon
the subject. It should be noticed that local self-government was
not a gradual concession to the Filipinos. It was given to them
without previous training. The application of the law was deter­
mined by a senior officer of the United States army who would
recommend that it be applied to a certain city. Six months after
its promulgation the general order was in operation in seventy-
seven municipalities in the Philippines. 20

In January 31, 1901, the United States Philippine Commissi­
31
on passed an act providing for the government of cities and
towns in the Philippines. It was General Order No. 40 with some
improvement made upon it. The most important change made by the
commission was that relative to the extension of suffrage. Under
the new law property holders to the value of 500 pesos may also
vote. Some disqualifications were curtailed. Those barred from
voting consisted of delinquent tax payers assessed in August 13,
1898; those declared incompetent by the court; violators of alle­
giance to the United States; the criminals and the feeble-minded.
Thus, it is seen that the Philippine Commission made local govern­
ment more popular by extending the suffrage.
Public Health

The war with the United States did not only deplete the population but made public health insecure. With the attention of the medical profession concentrated in army camps the public was necessarily neglected. In the city of Manila congestion offered a fertile soil for disease and epidemics. This situation was made doubly worse by the lepers who mingled with the healthy public. Of all the hospitals which the Spaniards provided for these unfortunates only two should deserve mention—the San Lazaro in Manila and another in Nueva Caceres with a total capacity of four hundred beds.

The city health board formed with army physicians started a systematic campaign first in the arrest of lepers for the purpose of segregating them and second in establishing laboratories and opening hospitals and free dispensaries. Vaccination for small pox was rigidly enforced.22

The Short-lived Republic of Negros

Of all the provinces in the Philippines, Negros has shown to be the most forbearing and conservative. During the Spanish rule the negroseños shouldered their burden most patiently, always slow to anger and slower to raise their hand against the wrongs and injustice against which their brothers in the north had long since revolted. As if coming to the end of the cord of their good patience the peaceful negroseños rose against their rulers. In November 1898, the high tension broke down, resulting in the lowering of the Spanish flag in the island of Negros. The Spaniards left the island minus their arms never to return, and all the public responsibility and public property
came in the hands of a provisional government which the inhabitants had organized. The Spaniards changed their opinion of the people of Negros. The people who they thought were mere playthings for centuries found themselves all of a sudden in unbound freedom and liberty for which they fought single-handed. The manner in which the inhabitants maintained unqualified peace and order following the unexpected triumph perplexed the American authorities in Manila.

When this status was gained Manila had already been occupied by the United States troops. With the treaty of Paris still pending, the people of Negros did not know but that Spain might retain some of the islands in the Philippine Archipelago. The ratification of the treaty, however, gave the United States full title to all the islands. This placed the negrosenos to choose between two alternatives—whether to perfect the provisional government and run the risk of probable dissensions in the future or accept the sovereignty of the United States and rest secure. Prudent deliberation chose the latter.

Accordingly, in November 12, 1898 the congress of the republic framed a resolution and commissioned José Araneta to present it to Captain Glass at that time commanding the Charleston on the harbor, requesting him to assume the charge of the new government under the Stars and Stripes. Of course, the captain had to decline having received no such instruction and the delegate returned disappointed. While awaiting the next opportunity of requesting protection from the United States authority, the republic determined to run its affairs. Following the outbreak of hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos in Feb—
ruary 5, 1899, General Miller took possession of Iloilo in February 12th. Again the congress despatched a delegation to the general to negotiate for protection, but was advised to proceed to Manila and present its cause to General Otis, the Military Governor of the Philippines. As a result, troops were despatched to the island under the command of General Smith with instruction to frame a constitution suitable to the needs of the locality.

A committee to formulate a constitution sat in Bacolod, the seat of the republic. It composed of José Luzuriaga, president of the congress; Estanislao Yusay, its vice-president; Manuel Jaime delegate from Bacolod; Manuel Ledesma, delegate from Pontevedra; and Manuel Regalado, delegate from Binalbagan. The draft was forwarded to General Otis through the congress.

What the Filipino committee on constitution had produced may be of interest of note as bearing on their political capacity. As proposed the Republic of Negros had two governors: a military governor appointed by General Otis, and a Civil Governor elected by the voters of Negros. One was American the other a Filipino. The military governor was the chief executive endowed with full powers to enforce the law and to appoint non-elective officers. The civil governor was adviser to the military governor and presided in the deliberations of the council. Other important portfolios were the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of agriculture, the secretary of public instruction, the attorney-general and the auditor—all being appointed by the military governor. The judicial power was vested in three judges appointed by the military governor. Rather a novel
feature was the power of the council to determine the mode of procedure of the court. The legislative body or the council was composed of eight members—three from Oriental Negros, four from Occidental Negros and one delegate at large.

The qualifications of the electors in the island of Negros were even more liberal than those subsequently prescribed by the Philippine Commission in 1901. The electorate was composed of the male citizens of the island of Negros at least 21 years of age, able to speak, read and write English, Spanish or the Visayan dialect. In addition to these each elector must hold real property at the value of 500 pesos or pay rent on real property valued at 1,000 pesos. The residence requirement was one year in the island and not less than three months in the district where the elector intended to vote. Provisions were made for non-eligibles.

The constitution was proclaimed to take effect in July 22, 1899. In October 3, 1899 the first general election in the Philippines was held in the island of Negros. Of the six thousand who registered five thousand voted, electing Sr. Melecio Severino, the first Filipino governor under the United States rule. The officers took office in November 6 which happened to be the anniversary of the overthrow of the Spanish government.

Under these provisions the Republic of Negros administered the civil affairs subject to the military veto of the governor. After the elections conditions returned to normal and it is said that more planting was done that year than any time during the last twenty-five years. A model farm under the auspices of the government was an asset to the public treasury. To campaign
against locust and rinderpest agricultural societies were organized in the province. Government accounts were well audited and the public funds well guarded. Gambling was banned and cock-fighting restricted to holidays. The system of education was extended from the halls of the public schools to prisons where the convicts were taught certain trade while serving their term. Municipal governments which were instituted under the provisions of the constitution restored the cities to sanitary basis. Furthermore a commission was created to adopt measures to alleviate the impending famine on account of failure of crops from drought.

This was the short-lived Republic of Negros which attracted the attention of the authorities in Manila. It operated smoothly until the Province of Occidental Negros was established in April 30, 1901 upon the petition of the citizens.

The Moro Problem

Of no little significance to the establishment of law and order in the Philippines was the subjection of the Moros to government. During the entire period of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines the Moros maintained their own kingdom and refused to be received in the fold of civilization. In spite of the treaty of 1878 with Spain in which the Sultan pledged to enforce orderly behavior of his subjects, pillage and surprise attacks upon sister islands were of frequent occurrence. When the United States occupied the city of Manila, the Moros were a constant menace to inter-island trade.

The conditions existing at the time were conceived as a test to American temperament on the one hand and of American good will and diplomacy on the other in establishing peaceful
relations with the unwilling and foreign element of the islands. The United States could have despatched an army to the south and take possession of the vast territory through violent force. However, the Military Governor employed amicable means under the most trying conditions, and on August 20, 1899 General Bates concluded a treaty with the Sulatan of Sulu.

Among the provisions of the treaty the Sultan acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, conceding to it the right to occupy any port for garrison purposes. The Sultan agreed to lend all aid in the suppression of piracy by bringing those engaged in pillage to justice. On the part of the United States she agreed to refrain from adopting drastic measures in dealing with the subjects of the Sultan. The rights and dignities of the Sultan were to be respected and no interference in their religion and custom was to be made. The United States would give protection to the Moros in case of foreign aggression. Inter-island trade could be carried with the Moros in unlimited degree provided the Moros would carry their goods under the American flag. Under this condition their goods would be exempt from duty. Lastly, the United States agreed to pay the Sultan a monthly salary of $250 and various amounts to his datos.

The President ratified the treaty so concluded by General Bates except article ten which gave the slaves the right to purchase their freedom.

The days that followed showed that the Sultan was not abiding with the terms of the treaty. This resulted in the abrogation of the covenant in March 21, 1904. The eleven years which followed saw the Moros busiest contending with the Philippine
constabulary and with the United States army. Finally, in March 22, 1915 the Sultan relinquished his sovereignty and acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States. Thus ended the Moro problem which was a constant menace to peace during the last three hundred years. On March 22, 1915 began a new era in the history of the Moro people. Ever since not a drop of blood has been shed or a single shot been fired in the land where in previous years to slaughter was a sacred duty.

The military regime from 1898-1901 is significant in two or three respects. First, in the absence of congressional legislation and acting solely under the military power of the President, the authority of the Military Governor was broad and all-inclusive. It was made liberal and constructive. In the midst of social chaos and disorder the military authority through proclamations and general orders organized a system of education, established municipal governments based on democratic principles, instituted a system of courts and most important of all established a new code of criminal procedure. The provisional tariff which was later enacted into law regulated trade and commerce and restricted Chinese immigration. Public hygiene and sanitation was entrusted to the medical corps which conducted a campaign against disease and epidemics. These were not all, for in March 1900 the Mining Bureau came into life again to be followed in April by the Bureau of Forestry. Thus under military authority the general welfare of the Philippines
received the much needed reform and stimulus.

In the second place, from another standpoint, there is an aspect of the situation which, because the trait has been wonderfully maintained to the present day, should deserve an observation. The Filipinos showed unbound eagerness to learn and to cooperate in the execution of the liberal concessions granted to them. In the thick of war and social breakdown Filipino parents were unusually eager to see their children educated, crowding not only the day classes but also the night ones. Turning to the pages of their record in municipal administration, it is found that the Filipinos have shown extraordinary fitness to the responsibility charged to them by the authorities. Still a better reflection of their ability in times of crisis was the experience of Negros. The manner in which the islanders maintained law and order at the point of threats and dissensions surprised the military authorities.

Thirdly, it may be added here as elsewhere that the administration of Philippine affairs has been established on responsible basis. Ever since the military rule the officials in charge of the different branches of administration submitted their report not to the national headquarters in Washington but to the Military Governor. In the first years it was suggested that the various executive branches of the Philippine government be subordinated to the respective departments in the United States. This plan was especially urged with respect to the Department of Public Instruction. Had this been done the pages of Philippine history would have had a different narration to relate. Alaska represents an irresponsible type of territorial administr-
tion. The local representatives are responsible to the officials at Washington. This type of colonial administration proved a failure in French Algeria. The heads of the executive departments gave an account of their offices not to the governor of Algeria but direct to the minister of the French Government. The system was later abolished. 31

It cannot be questioned that the military regime is memorable for its liberality and kind treatment. Its beginning was the beginning of the establishment of the civil government in the Philippines. The United States troops have reason to be proud of their pioneer work in the Philippines.
II

LAWMAKING POWER: THE EVOLUTION OF THE
PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE

An efficient system of administration does not always insure the satisfaction of the governed. In the sphere of government the principle of the consent of the governed is not a thing to be disregarded. A government which ignores this fundamental right is doomed to destruction. History has shown this to be an invariable truth, and Spain, because she let her passion go its own way, was crushed as a colonial power of Europe in the Far East.

In popular government the principle that the government derives its power from the consent of the governed comes to its fairest realization when the people exercise the right to choose the officers who shall formulate the laws to rule their conduct. When the matter is considered in connection with a subject-race the franchise is far reaching in significance. To exercise it is to exercise the most sacred trust, and to the extent and manner it is used the fairmindedness and common sense of a people is judged. But it must also follow that lawmaking, to say the least, is the most important function of government, since it concerns with the practical and every day aspects of human association.

The development of the popular legislature in the Philippines and the concurrent extension of lawmaking power which fully developed in the less than twenty years is the American achievement that surprised the world. Because of its paramount importance, it should be well to observe the several steps which
led to the realization of the Philippine Legislature, the first and the only representative assembly in the Far East.

The Philippine Commission

The concession of legislative authority to Filipinos was a gradual process. It may be divided into three parts or stages: The first part began in September 1, 1900 when the United States Philippine Commission assumed the legislative functions over the Philippines. October 16, 1907 saw the beginning of the second stage. On this memorable day the Philippine Assembly composed of Filipinos popularly elected was inaugurated as the lower house of the Philippine Legislature. The Philippine Commission became the upper house composed of five Americans and three Filipinos appointed by the President. The third stage of the evolution took place in October 16, 1916 when the Philippine Senate composed of Filipinospopularly elected supplanted the appointive American-Filipino Commission. Thus, it is seen that the Philippine Commission was the first lawmaking body in the Philippines, having derived its ample powers from the military authority of the President. Some aspects of its nature and powers will be considered.

Under the authority conferred upon him by Congress to establish civil government in the Philippines until further legislation, the President created the United States Philippine Commission composed of Wm. H. Taft, chairman; Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses March 16, 1900. Formal instructions which embodied the powers of the Commission were issued in April 7, 1900. The Commission reported for duty in the Philippines early in the spring, and after familiarizing itself with the conditions in the islands and with
the matters which the military authorities had so nobly begun, the Commission announced its presence and purposes in the islands. As such it began to function September 1, 1900. An essential feature of the proclamation was the provision that the citizens of the Philippines were welcome to make any criticism or suggestion on the measures pending legislative enactments in the Commission. Copies of the bills would be distributed free and on certain days the Commission would receive such criticisms and suggestions as the public might bring. This action was prerequisite to enactment of law, and no bill was ultimately acted upon until ample time had been granted for suggestions. The executive authority continued with the military authority until after one year the inauguration of Mr. Taft as Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands.

The President's instruction defined the order in which the Commission should establish civil government in the islands. The Commission was first to establish municipalities in which Filipinos "shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control". Political training in local affairs and then to larger responsibilities in provincial affairs and ultimately in insular matters seem to be the order of political discipline designed for the Filipinos.

July 4, 1901 saw the inauguration of Mr. Taft as Civil Governor of the Philippines. On that same day President Roosevelt proclaimed peace and amnesty, pardoning all those who had participated in the insurrection. But from the standpoint of the
Filipinos the most notable step was that of September 1, 1901 when the President appointed three Filipinos to the Philippine Commission. Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera was the first President of the Federal Party which advocated early peace by accepting the sovereignty of the United States. He had accompanied the Philippine Commission in its tours through the country. The second man appointed was Sr. Benito Legarda who in previous years had rendered valuable service to the military authority. The third was Sr. Jose Luzuriaga who was very instrumental in establishing the short-lived Republic of Negros. These three Filipinos were the first to have been officially honored to formulate the policy for their country.

The Philippine Commission, while acting in the capacity of a legislative body was also the executive since it acted as the cabinet to the Civil Governor. By executive order of the President the Commission passed an act creating four executive departments of the government, and these were assigned to the members of the Commission as follows: Department of Interior, Dean C. Worcester; Department of Commerce and Police, Luke E. Wright; Department of Finance and Justice, Henry C. Ide; Department of Public Instruction, Bernard Moses. As chairman of the Commission the governor had general supervision over these departments, the civil service board and the municipal and the provincial governments.

It may be noted that the headship of the executive departments were confined to the American members of the Commission, each of whom was drawing two compensations—as members of the United States Philippine Commission and as members of the legis-
lative body of the Philippines. The Civil Governor had an aggregate salary of $15,000 and each of the American members $10,500. The Filipino members were allowed full share in the various committees formed in the commission. Out of fifteen committees, the Filipinos held the chairmanship in six. Mr Luzuriaga was chairman of the committees on agriculture and finance, and on banking and currency. Mr Legarda was chairman of the committee on taxation and revenue. Dr. Tavera was chairman of the committees on health and on municipal and provincial governments. Some one of these men sat in every other committee in the commission.

Under this form of government the Filipinos were governed until 1907. It was a government created under the authority of the President as the chief commander of the army and navy. The concession was only a partial satisfaction of the desires and aspirations of the Filipino people for wider participation in the insular government. In the years 1898 to 1901 when Dewey's victory in Manila Bay seemed to have settled down as a historical fact, there was a change of attitude in the American mind toward the Philippine problem. This may be noted briefly at this time.

During these years the people of Luzon were most dubious if not unwilling to receive the authority of the United States. Imperialistic politicians in America drunk in the triumphant victories of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay became dazzled with the glory of power. In Congress the antis found a strong opposition to contend with. About 1900 when the dogs of war had ceased to inflict havoc and terror in public mind and the American politicians came to their second sober thought, amazing
and dazzling data of the war caused a change of attitude toward the Philippine problem. For the suppression of insurrections, bush warfare and intermittent fights the United States had spent the staggering amount of $600,000,000 and had sacrificed 10,000 of her youths. Yet peace was not to be found in the Philippines. In Cuba American soldiers received the warm friendship of the Cubans; in the Philippines the Filipinos' friendship and reverence for their ally and liberator turned into hatred and enmity. The empty sleeves and wounds which returned from Cuba were badges of honor; those which came back from the battlefields of the Philippines were marks of antagonism inflicted by a people who believed they were duped. The three years 1898-1901 wrought decisive changes in Cuba to the satisfaction of the Cubans; they wrought a change of attitude toward the Philippine question in the United States, effecting the tone of orations and debates on the burning problem of the period. When in 1898 and 1899 the lust of power furnished the backbone of all the speeches that sustained that the American flag was never to be hauled down in the Philippines, in 1901 it vanished as if a cloud. It was publicly avowed then that America must enter upon the novel task of colonization on purely humanitarian grounds. She must carry the burden of a schoolmaster in the Philippines. This was the change which the years had wrought in the United States, but the fact remained that a large army had to be maintained in the Philippines for garrison purposes.

Concerning the attitude in which the Filipinos were during
these three years toward the Americans, it was not clear to
the authorities especially to the civil officials. Gravely
doubting the purposes of the United States in the Philippines,
the Filipinos had to be distrustful. Their sad experience in
many unfulfilled promises in the past necessarily placed them
in the attitude of suspicion and distrust in any foreign pled-
ge. Tired of autocracy and injustice and having lost good faith
in solemn covenants, the Filipinos were inclined to question
the integrity of the official proclamations. During the Spanish
rule deeds were sadly wanting and now that that regime was
ended the Filipinos demanded accomplishments rather than rosy
hopes embodied in bright promises. It was this dominant skep-
ticism which, in the opinion of bush fighters, justified dual
personality—friends during the day but enemies during the
night. And attendant circumstances, this method of warfare was
the last recourse: To meet the American army in the open field
would be a waste of life. So, rather than sacrifice human life
the Filipinos accepted the sovereignty of the United States, not
because they were willing but because it was wise. From Feb-
uary 1899 to June 1900, 10,700 Filipinos were killed in battle;
2,104 were wounded and about 2,000 were captured to say nothing
of the towns and provinces which were reduced to ashes. To the
military authorities, the water torture was justifiably mild, as
a means of producing confession, but to the Filipinos it was a
loud alarm for the coming of another autocracy. The thought of
it alone produced a deadly terror in the population. Notwithstanding these, rather than perish the Filipinos layed down their arms demanded the establishment of civil government and above all a definite policy from Congress. Strictly speaking, real peace was not established in the islands until 1916 when the Jones Law granted the Filipinos full control of their legislature.

The Inauguration of the Philippine Assembly

July 1, 1902 saw the enactment of the law which gave the Filipinos a feeling of partial composure. The law "temporarily to provide for the administration of civil affairs in the Philippines Islands and for other purposes" approved all the acts of the President. It approves the creation of the United States Philippine Commission, the establishment of the Civil Governor as the chief executive, and the organization of the four executive departments and bureaus. But the provision which interested the Filipinos most was that which established the Philippine Assembly or lower house composed of Filipinos elected by popular vote. The concession had certain prerequisites. Peace must exist in the islands to the satisfaction of the Philippine Commission which body would certify the same to the President of the United States. The President then would order the census to be taken and if peace continued for two years after the public-
ation of the census, the President upon the recommendation of the Commission would order the general election of the delegates to the Philippine Assembly. All these conditions were conformed to and the general election was called July 30, 1907.

The electorate was composed of all male citizens at least 33 years of age not citizens or subjects of any foreign power, and having resided in the municipality where the vote was to be cast at least six months immediately preceding the election. In addition to these each voter must belong to one of these classes: having been a municipal captain, gobernadorcillo, alcalde, lieutenant, cabeza de barangay or member of the ayuntamiento prior to August 13, 1898; a real property holder valued at 500 pesos; or pay tax of thirty pesos; or speak, write and read English and Spanish. Those disqualified from voting were composed of delinquent tax payers since August 13, 1898; violators of their allegiance to the United States; those who rose against the United States in May 1, 1898 or thereafter; those who since March 31, 1901 have lent aid to agitators against the sovereignty of the United States; the insane and the feeble minded.

Thirty-five provinces held the general election in July 30, 1907. Of the 104,906 who registered 100,493 actually voted. The little interest in public affairs which these figures showed aroused many serious criticisms of the concession which congress had made to the Filipinos. In the provincial elections in 1903 109,444 voted out of the 151277 which were qualified to vote, and in 1905 130,000 polled their votes out of 143,000 who registered. The difference in figures may be attributed to the dif-
ference in the period of registration. Whereas in 1905 the registration period was fifteen days, in 1907 it was only four days, and reluctant electors failed to register in time. In the provincial and municipal election in November 1907, 161,697 actually voted out of 171,642 who registered. 42

Delegates to the assembly must owe allegiance to the United States and at least 25 years of age.

Eighty-one delegates were elected representing the few political factions and parties which existed at that time: Nacionalista 33, Progresista 17, Inmediatista 7, Independista 4, 30 who claimed no party affiliations and one catholic. Of the eighty-one ten were between 25 and 30 years of age, a few at forty or more and the rest over thirty years of age. With respect to their educational qualifications more than half of the total number were attorneys, thirteen journalists, eight professors, nine governors under the American rule, and about half had held office in the revolutionary government. Thirty-six had the degree of Bachelor of Arts and almost all had been to college. Six had had the privilege of travel in the United States, one Emilio Gala being an alumnus of the Law College of the University of Michigan. Two had studied in Spain. All but ten were property holders, while three had public record, Dr. Dominador Gomez being the most famous. 43

Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, came to the Philippines and with all due ceremonials opened the Philippine Assembly, the first popular assembly in the Orient.
For other peoples the development of representative government is a product of hundreds of years of trial and arduous preparation. The Filipinos had attained it in nine short years. The call of Governor Smith to election of the delegates to the Philippine Assembly marked an epoch in the history of colonial administration. It placed the Filipinos' capacity for self-government on the most critical trial the world has ever seen. It placed the unprecedented policy of the United States to a crucial test. The day determined once for all that the United States must remain in the Philippines until the task so well begun was finished. Never before in the history of nations was a popular election exercised under a foreign flag. The call to election astonished America itself and afrighted the whole of Europe. It was the verdict of the first nine years of American rule.

The receipt of the President's order to general election of the delegates to the first Filipino assembly gave a general satisfaction. A Filipino daily had this headline: "Conservative Filipinos See the Fruit of their Patience and Labor for Peace in their Country". Prospective candidates, being anxious to fulfill the residence requirements vacated Manila in a hurry and started their campaigns in their respective provinces. The country was divided on two main issues—immediate independence or independence later after due preparation. The Nacionalistas were for immediate release of the Philippines from the United States while the Progressistas were for training and education first which would eventually lead to the same happy end. Two leading candidates figures out most prominently
in the campaign. Dr. Dominador Gomez, a Spaniard and most eloquent orator within the boundaries of the Philippines ran on the Nacionalista ticket, while Juan Sumulong contested him on the Nacional Progresista platform. Dr. Gomez had some public record, which, because it later became the object of criticism, should be noted here. He was the first president of the Workingmen's Union in the Philippines. In 1903 he was arrested on the charge of misappropriating the funds of the Union and for giving aid to the insurgents. He was sentenced to twenty-six months' imprisonment. Again in 1904 he was tried for treason but for lack of evidence received acquittal. While he was candidate for the assembly he undertook to secure the surrender of some noted outlaws of whom Montalon and Sakay were most famous, promising them light punishment. In a straw vote taken by the El Renacimiento Dr. Gomez was elected the most popular, most sincere and ablest, and Dr. Tavera the most astute.

All the candidates who ran for office were self-nominated. The enthusiasm displayed in these first political campaigns became a matter of grave concern both to the anti-imperialists and the imperialists in the United States and in the Philippines. Those who favored the acquisition of the Philippine Islands entertained the fear lest the concession should prove premature. The antis forecasted grave doubts as to the ability of the Filipinos to maintain popular government.

The American population in Manila took a non-partisan attitude of the election, but did not remain all of the polls. In a
non-partisan convention called by the American population of Manila Americans and Filipinos heard the planks of each party from the candidates themselves. The purpose of the convention was to ascertain to which candidate the Americans should cast their votes. It would be easy to determine their choice.

Election day brought this glaring poster: "Cast your vote for The American People's Candidate who have a sound Common Sense Platform. We do not ask for electric, urgent or immediate; Independence but Willingly Wait Until Uncle Sam Sees Fit to Grant It. Your Vote Will Be Appreciated".

The Catholics—Spaniards and Filipinos divided against themselves entered politics and boosted for their candidates on purely orthodox arguments. The friar element advocated state religion and a parochial school under the auspices of the Insular government.

After the election forecasts of the coming Philippine Assembly began to come. According to the Washington Star the candidates to the assembly were fit to the office as some Americans to the divorce court. In the opinion of Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, the Philippine Assembly was doomed to signal failure. The senator was opposed to America leaving the islands for his motto was "What we have we hold; and where we are we stay." James Bryce supported the concession to be legitimate.

While the concession to the Filipinos found ardent supporters in the United States who believed that such grant should by right be made, the American people were caused to see suf-
icient evidence which caused them to question the wisdom of the concession. First, the small number of the voters who participated in the election aroused grave doubts as to whether the Filipinos had developed interest in public affairs. It gave rise to many comments on the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves. The American mind thought that doubtlessly, the Filipinos did not yet understand even the elementary duties of citizenship. Manila, a city then of 340,000 population, and supposedly the most civilized portion of the whole archipelago, cast a meagre vote of 7,902 of which 856 were American votes. It was supposed that the failure of many electors to provide themselves with cedulaas did much to reduce the registration, further reduced by the fact that the registration period was only four days and reluctant voters failed to register. The second strong argument attacking the political grant was the election of Dr. Gomez. This result was received as a poor common sense on the part of the electorate. His election was bitterly assailed in the United States, having embittered many of the Filipinos' ardent supporters and "dreadfully disappointed" the authorities at Washington especially Mr. Taft who in the face of opposition made every effort to have the Philippine Assembly provision inserted in the law. The subject furnished an editorial target in America which flayed the policy of the United States in the Philippines. It appeared that the Filipinos' strong hope for self-government counted for naught and further efforts to attain it was futile. The Philippine Commission was not little disappointed in the outcome of the elec-
tion. When approached by some prominent Filipinos regarding the question of independence a commissioner said: "You have no more chance to secure independence in the near future than a snowball has to grow fat in hell." 49

It should be a matter of grave concern to explain why, in spite of his public record, Dr. Gomez was elected to the assembly. It is not said that some evil means had been employed which secured him the election. To be true he was recognized as the most eloquent and convincing orator in the islands and this asset alone could count for something in a people who have a special passion for oratory. Under any circumstances could it be asserted that the electorate approved of his public conduct which sent him to prison. Dr. Gomez' case was an example of what popularity might do in the world of politics. He was also considered as bold and patriotic who defied injustice and wrong against his country. The common mind little informed of the seriousness of his commitments had a sort of reverence to Dr. Gomez as they would have for a hero. Under the mental dubiousness of the time with respect to American rule such a public fame seemed to have worked a miracle in the mind of the electorate. The high tide of popularity sent Dr. Gomez to the Philippine Assembly, but by a vote of 40 to 35 he was unseated. 50

Again upon the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in October 16, 1907 public opinion revived on the question of the Filipinos. In the United States gloomy forecasts for the Filipino lawmaking body were made gloomier when it was learned that Mr. Root, Secretary of War would rather see the Filipinos in full control of their municipal and provincial govern-
ments than to grant them the privilege of legislative assembly. Some considered the concession too soon, others approved it and still there were others who believed that more could have been made. At all events those who contended against the assembly centered their argument on the election of Dr Gomez.\(^5\)

In the Philippines opposition and ridicule of the coming assembly came from the American population while the opposing parties remained more or less silent and sometimes expressed their satisfaction colored with doubt. The American element thought that the assembly would be the organ of insurrection in the islands and they watched every step which the assembly made in the course of legislation. When Guerero introduced a bill permitting the inhabitants of the Philippines to bear arms, the American papers thought another insurrection was looming in the near horizon. The Cabelenews, an American daily newspaper in Manila had this "Song of the Assembly" in its page. The chorus was this:

"How'd you like to have the place?
How'd you like to bear the mace?
How'd you like to dodge about between the bolo and the kriss?
How'd you like to see them gloat
As they cut each other's throat?
How'd you like to be the sergeant who will have to keep the peace?"\(^5\)

In like manner the same paper made a version of Acts chapter XIX verses 32,41 which describe the hopeless chaos in the congregation since some cried one thing and others
cried another, but because their cries were not heeded, they sat down and remained quiet. The Philippine Assembly would quarrel over the question of independence. The delegates would scramble over the problem but because they could not secure the audience of the authorities in Washington they would ultimately restore order. The Protestant church would place evangelization first and political concessions.

To the Filipino people the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly was the crowning achievement of the past century's struggle and forebearance beneath the oppressive yoke of autocracy and injustice. The inauguration laid the cornerstone of Filipino liberty. It was the reward of bitter tears and bloodshed in the hands of the executioner. Furthermore, the opening of the assembly encouraged well directed effort and conscientious labor for complete freedom. It strengthened Filipino nationality to an extent which the people never experienced before. It was a liberal concession, acknowledged a Filipino press which made the Filipino race a debtor to American statesmanship. Hon. Sergio Osmeña, who has been the Speaker of the lower house since 1907 commented on the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in the following words:

"The inauguration of the Philippine Assembly marks an epoch in the history of dependencies and a new era in the history of the Philippines. The peace which preceded the inauguration was due to the expectation of the people to see this body instituted. The inauguration of the assembly abolished all opposition to the United States government and cleared off the prevalent doubt as to what really the United States policy
Special Powers of the Philippine Commission

Upon the institution of the Philippine Assembly the United States Philippine Commission which up to this time has been the legislative body evolved into the upper house. Its organization was not affected in any way and as far as initiative a measure was concerned it maintained the privilege to the dissatisfaction of the Assembly. The three Filipinos in the commission retained their seats among the five Americans but they had no executive portfolios. The Civil Governor was the chairman of the Commission but had no veto.

There were two things which the assembly wished to overcome with respect to its relation with the senate. First, the fact that the Commission was an appointive body by the President it could stand on the way of progress of the Filipino people. Furthermore, the Filipino members constituted the hopeless minority having no influence in the body by virtue of their more or less honorary office. To the assembly the Commission was an obstruction, a machinery set up beside it for checking purposes. Undoubtedly this was the purpose of the retention of the Commission, but while the body has not done what it could have done, the Philippine Assembly considered it unnecessary and must be overcome in some way or other. Only one way was open: to secure a Filipino majority in the Commission.

It is not recorded that direct means have been employed to secure the majority desired, but on May 11, 1908, scarcely
one year after the election of the delegates, Congress passed an act creating a new executive department and appointed the fourth Filipino to the Commission. Hon. Gregorio Araneta, attorney general of the Philippine Islands, was appointed Secretary of Finance and Justice and to the vacancy he created in the Commission Mr. Rafael Palma was selected. The act is of significance in that it marked the entrance of Filipinos into executive responsibility under the American rule. Then there were four Filipinos and five Americans in the Senate. The democratic victory in 1913 brought the fifth Filipino to the Commission. In that year President Wilson appointed Victorino Mapa to the Commission, making its membership composed of five Filipinos and four Americans. This number remained until 1916. With the Assembly composed of Filipinos and the Commission controlled by them, and with the Civil Governor without any veto power, the American control over legislation was reduced to practically nil. The Governor could exercise control by recommending the removal of Filipino Commissioners.

The exclusive power of the Philippine Commission to originate the budget constituted the second objective of the Assembly. Appropriation bills did not originate in the Assembly but in the American-Filipino Senate, appointed by the President of the United States. The organic act further provides that in case of deadlock on the budget the appropriations for the past year would, upon the recommendation of the Governor General be the budget for the ensuing year.

The other exclusive power conferred upon the Commission by the organic act was the jurisdiction of the non-Christian tribes which occupied about one third of the area of the
Philippines.

It may be noted what effect did the fifth Filipino have on the work of the Commission of 1913. The new American members of the Commission did not arrive in Manila until the session had well started in its business. It is significant to note that this session saw the Commission author of 103 bills, a number which was never reached in previous years. The following table shows the work of the Legislature in conjunction with the American-Filipino senate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bills Introduced in the Commission</th>
<th>Bills Passed by the Commission</th>
<th>Commission Bills Enacted by the legislature</th>
<th>Bills Introduced in the Assembly</th>
<th>Bills Passed by the Assembly</th>
<th>Assembly Bills Enacted by the legislature</th>
<th>% of Commission Bills Enacted by the Legislature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910-1911</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1912</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912-1913</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-1914</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
% of Assembly bills enacted by the legislature............. 34 38 39 30

% of bills passed by either house enacted by the legislature.... 34 37 36 43 58

It appears that the addition of the fifth Filipino in the Commission stimulated harmony and cooperation between two houses as evidenced by the Commission bills which the Assembly approved. This was 73% of the Commission bills as against 35%, 35%, and 30% in previous years. More than that the deadlock on the budget which the legislature experienced during the three years preceding the appointment of the fifth Filipino has been overcome. That unfortunate discord of passing the annual appropriation has been supplanted by a spirit of cooperation.

The Work of the Philippine Assembly

Amidst discouraging redicules and seemingly plausible predictions that the first Filipino Assembly would fail, the constituted body sat October 16, 1907 to enter upon its most exacting task. On that day the Philippine Legislature passed a joint resolution to the President of the United States expressing the "profound sentiments of gratitude and high appreciation of the signal concession made to the people of the islands of participating directly in the making of the laws which shall govern them." 59

Those who rediculed the Philippine Assembly and otherwise made gloomy forecasts of its future found a disappointment in
the initial results. During the inaugural session and the special session which extended from October 16, 1907 to August 23, 1908 seventy-eight laws were enacted. Eight of these concern ed the non-christian tribes and were, therefore, the exclusive enactments of the Commission. As far as volumetric legislation is concerned the Philippine Assembly did not come to what might be expected. But it should be borne in mind that the Philippine Commission had been legislating since 1901 having passed 1800 laws. Furthermore, the Civil Code, the Penal Code, and the Commercial Code of Spain were retained in force, thus saving the Assembly an enormous task of legislation.

The legislation of the Inaugural Session bear some features which cast a favorable reflection upon the much doubted delegates. The first act passed was an appropriation of 1,000,000 pesos for the construction of schools in rural districts. This act was followed by another providing "for popular civico-educational lectures in the municipalities and principally in the barrios of the Philippine Islands." The Director of Education was assigned to the supervision of these lectures. They were to concern with "the rights and duties of a citizen, the Municipal Code and the Provincial Government Act, the organization of the central government, of knowledge or popular notions of certain common crimes and of any laws which are important in the judgement of the Director of Education, as well as of industry and commerce, especially the mining industry, manufacturing, and the breeding and care of stock, and the care and irrigation of plants and trees; and in addition, of a varied knowledge of geography and history."
For superior instruction to Municipal teachers, the legislature appropriated 35,000 pesos. The teachers were to be selected from all over the country and attend the special classes in Manila. One act set aside 75,000 pesos for the compensation of teachers in barrio schools. The general act for 1908 allowed 3,000,000 pesos for the Bureau of Education and 145,000 pesos for the Philippine Medical School.

In harmony with the law extending public schools into rural districts, the Governor General was authorized to convey insular property to provinces and municipalities to be used for public school purposes. For general education of the public the legislature created the Philippine Public Library for which the sum of 4,000 pesos was set aside. A bill framed and introduced by the Secretary of Public Instruction provided for the establishment of the University of the Philippines. It passed the Assembly without amendment and in June 18, 1908 the university was inaugurated, modelled after American plan.

Thus, of the seventy-eight laws which the legislature had passed eight concerned public education. It is a notable feature of the legislation which should speak for itself.

Another special feature of the legislation was the act which created the Agricultural Bank of the Philippines, for which the sum of 1,000,000 pesos was appropriated. While the bank received deposits from all sources, its loans must be confined to the development of agriculture. Hence no loan could be
made but to persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. For the extension of irrigation system an annual sum of 750,000 pesos was set aside and in order to exterminate the recurring epidemics which took away so many of the draft animals, the legislature appropriated the sum of 100,000 pesos. The sum of 150,000 pesos was layed aside for the purchase of land for quarantine purposes.

There were other acts which concerned public improvements such as granting franchises to public utilities. The Employers' Liability Act passed in this session should denote an adoption of modern method in handling modern problems. The act applied to all workers except agricultural and domestic employees, giving them the right to sue their negligent employer for damages not to exceed 2,500 pesos.

Aside from the bitter fight on the removal of Dr. Gomez no significant debates which delayed legislative action took place in the newly born Assembly. The act raising the per diem salary of the delegates to thirty pesos aroused some opposition from opposing parties. Another act which invited contention was that which appropriated $17,000 for the salary and expenses of a delegate to the International Conference on Navigation in St. Petersburg. The opposition was centred on the reason that the delegate would not reach the city on time.

The signal success of the legislature was a stimulus to foreign interests in the Philippines. About this time commercial organizations in Manila of which the Manila Merchants' Association was the principal commissioned Mrs Martin Egan to the United States to advertise the commercial and industrial
prospects of the Philippines, in particular and to gain the appreciation of the American people in general of what was being done in the Philippines. Mrs Egan brought with her letters from Americans and Filipinos engaged in business in the Philippines. President Roosevelt endorsed all the articles and the purposes of the mission.

Resident Commissioners in Washington

The organic act of July 1, 1902 provided that on the first meeting of the legislature and every two years thereafter it shall choose two commissioners to the United States, each house voting separately. These delegates are entitled to the same privileges as the members of the House of Representatives except the privilege of voting. They shall be the spokesmen on matters which pertain to their country. The only qualifications which the commissioners must have are that they must be bona fide electors, owing allegiance to the United States, and at least 30 years of age and able to speak, read and write the English language.

The choice of resident commissioners became a matter of controversy and much concern especially from the standpoint of the Nacionalista Party which desired to sustain its platform in the United States. The party, it should be remembered advocates immediate independence, and it believed that the choice of the right delegate spelled success in Washington. While it was in power in the legislative assembly and claiming leadership because the speaker elect is a nacionalista the independence boosters in the Assembly saw an impediment in the Commission. Composed of five Americans and three fair minded Fili-
pinos who displayed little enthusiasm on immediate independence its choice was naturally opposed by the Assembly. The first concern was the manner of appointment.

In accordance with the joint resolution adopted November 23, 1907 each house chose a delegate, the choice of one being subject to the approval of the other. The election resulted in the appointment of Hon. Benito Legarda, a national progressive and choice of the Philippine Commission from among its number, and Sr. Pablo Ocampo, a nacionalista and choice of the Philippine Assembly.

While the function of these commissioners is to give such information as Congress may desire from time to time for wise and constructive legislation of the islands, the exercise of their duties has been subjected to political pressure from home. The average citizen at home and in the United States knows the Resident Commissioners as agents for Philippine Independence. As such their success on this ultimate aim is a measure of the enthusiasm and patriotic demonstration staged in their honor upon their return to the islands.

What the First Nine Years have Wrought.

Under the most trying conditions which the United States ever experienced the first nine years have done wonders in the Philippines. The verdict of the period astonished the whole world. Men trained in colonial administration were wanting and those who dared the big Pacific were impelled by the mere spirit of adventure. The novel task was made doubly difficult by counteracting factors which held foreign capital aloft from
the Philippines. The early agitation for independence made the conditions unstable and capital had to be reluctant in developing the unexplored Philippines. Congress failed to open the United States markets to Philippine products and this alone placed the production below normal. The country has been menaced by epidemics which carried thousands to their early grave; and the rinderpest of 1907 claimed eighty per cent of the draft animals to say nothing of locusts which destroyed the crops of the year. All these made for the retard of national development. From Economic standpoint the Filipinos were unprepared to receive the liberal concession of 1907.

Hardly had the smoke from the fields of battle cleared the skies and the thundering echoes from Dewey's fleet subsided when public schools rose one after another as if in perfect peace. With a Mauser in one hand the United States troops quelled seething rebellions; and with the book in another it opened the intellects of the thousands of Filipinos of all age and walks of life who had come within the reach of the willing and faithful soldier tutors. Out of the class of people which armed itself against the sovereignty of the United States was transformed an efficient force of the Philippines Constabulary which enforced peace and order. By the good will of the senior army officers civil government supplanted military authority in towns occupied by the troops. Popular elections had been introduced in municipalities long before a suggestion of a Philippine Assembly was ever heard. The provinces came to enjoy practically a popular system of government. Of the three
executive officials in the province, two were popularly elected, and the third appointed under the civil service rule. An honest and efficient civil service system has saved the country from the malignant practice of political buccaneering; and an impartial judiciary has eliminated all the unnecessary delay and unjust procedure of the centuries. In order that proper and intelligent laws may be passed a census was taken. The benefit of free and public education was more than merely extended to the rich and the poor alike. Early in 1903 was inaugurated the sending of Filipino young men to the United States in order that they might enjoy the benefits of American institutions, then to return to their country and cooperate in the development of the good. Believing in the superimportance of the means of communication the construction of modern first class roads and bridges was much emphasized. Remote parts of the archipelago were made immediate neighbors by steamships and telegraph lines which spanned the islands. One hundred and seventeen lighthouses and one hundred and seven buoys unfailingly guided the sailors to road of safety. To encourage production the Philippine government granted a concession of 750 miles of railroad with guarantee of interest on bonds issued for the construction. The purchase of the friar lands put an end once for all the difficulties which menaced the country for centuries. Public domain was opened to the inhabitants for settlement ultimately giving them an opportunity to acquire land at the least cost. Perfect land titles eliminated disputes over possession of lands due to faulty documents. A postal system was established.
With respect to public health, the unfortunate lepers who have made public health so unsafe were gathered and isolated under the liberal direction of the government. Government laboratories have been established to study tropical diseases and to manufacture serums and vaccines.

The mediaeval city of Manila of 1898 became the Metropolis of the Orient in 1907. Three million dollars were expended for its harbors to say nothing of the $800,000 for the ports of Cebu and Iloilo. The Bridge of Spain was broadened and in addition two steel bridges rose over the Pasig River. An efficient fire department equipped with modern apparatus supplanted the antiquated bucket system.

Above all these, marking an era in the history of the Filipino nation, is the guarantee of freedom of speech and liberty of the press on condition that neither shall be used to incite disturbance. Freedom of worship and the right to peacably assemble and petition for redress have crowned the life of the Filipino race. But for these, the Filipinos would not have ceased from making immediate demands.

To the justice of all and to the salvation of the poor, an equal system of taxation in which each person carried his own burden irrespective of his station in life replaced the annoying system of taxation hedged about by discriminations to the oppression of the poor.

These are some of the results which the first nine years of American regime have wrought in the Philippines. Unprecedented in history and amidst discouraging predictions from those who pretended to know what perils to-morrow would
surely bring, the sons of Liberty and Justice braved the uncharted path in colonial administration and in nine short years planted that which with other nations took hundreds of years of trials and development, and that for which many a dependency has vainly struggled since time immemorial. The magnanimous result shocked the conservatives in America and affrighted the whole world. The nine years saw the birth of a representative government—the of democracy—in the Far East, instituted under a foreign flag, and destined to take deepest roots in the Philippines. It gave the Filipino nation the right to initiate laws, to modify or defeat measures which the American Commission might propose. By means of the Assembly, the people and the executive were brought in closer relationships.

From the standpoint of the Filipinos race the miraculous progress has been attained in such a short period not solely of American altruism and unequalled generosity, but because the Filipino nation has proved a good material to work upon. Upon the institution of the popular assembly Filipinos had already filled responsible positions. Three Filipinos were members of the Philippine Commission when the Assembly was inaugurated. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has always been a Filipino. Two associate justices in this court were Filipinos. The attorney-general was a Filipino, and all the fiscals of prosecuting attorneys outside of Manila were Filipinos. Nine judges of the Courts of First Instance, to say nothing of all the justices of the peace were all Filipinos. Provincial sec-
retaries were all Filipinos besides the thousands of minor officials in every branch of civil service. 78

Unqualified willingness of cooperation coupled by the feeling of confidence of self as being capable to assume fair responsibility, the Americans found in the Filipino people a workable material which need instruments rather than tools to carve the form of political and social architecture for which the race has bled and sacrificed.

Some Congressional Legislation:

The Jones Law

After the passage of the Philippine organic act which established the Philippine Assembly, the Philippines ceased to be a political issue in the United States. The democrats and the republicans found a common ground in the extension of self-government to the Filipinos, but one would extend it sooner than the other. As Secretary Garrison said, the Philippines have become a moral issue rather than a political one. In the Philippines, the question of independence resulted in the birth of the Nacionalista Party and the Nacionalista Party. One desires immediate release from the United States, allowing the Philippines to assume a complete statehood; while the other, not the least desiring the same end, would go through tutelage and training first before assuming such independent political life. The election of delegates to the Philippine Assembly in 1907, centred on this vital problem, and on this issue of immediate independence the Nacionalista Party
has maintained the upper hand control in the Philippine Legislature even at the present time. The Speaker of the lower house, Hon Sergio Osmeña is a champion of immediate independence for the Philippines; and coupled by the Resident Commissioner, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, now the president of the Philippine Senate, who put his best effort at Washington to secure the release of the islands, it is fair to say that all Congressional legislation further extending popular government to the Filipinos are the fruits of the labors of these two leaders—leaders of their party in particular and of the Filipino people in general. It follows therefore, that the extension of self-government to the Filipinos has always been connected with the movement for Philippine independence.

Previous to the enactment of the Jones Law the question of granting the Philippines their independence had been intertwined in Congress in the form of resolutions and other actions. Various resolutions and bills were introduced which had for their object the independence of the Philippines. A resolution introduced in the House of Representatives in December 2, 1913, authorized the President to open negotiations with the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, China and other countries to recognize the neutrality of the Philippine Islands in case the United States should establish such in the islands. In the House of Representatives, Mr. Jones of Virginia was the champion of Philippine independence. In 1913 he introduced a bill providing for the qualified inde-
pendence after July 4, 1913 for eight years, and complete independence after July 4, 1921. The bill failed in the House. In 1914, Mr. Jones presented another bill. It made no provision for definite time when the United States should withdraw from the Philippines, but its preamble speaks of the purpose: "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." To attain this, the bill continues, the powers of government must be extended to the Filipinos as much as possible in order that they may learn the lessons by actual experience. This bill passed the House October 14, 1914 but was never acted upon by the senate. The Philippine Legislature expressed its appreciation to the House of Representatives for acting upon the bill and urged the President and the senate to do likewise.

The history of the law which is now the organic law of the Philippines is of singular interest, for the amendments which were passed in the senate gave the Filipino people an unexpected bolt. Passing the House of Representatives, it was forwarded to the senate for action. The senate committee reported the bill practically new with some amendments of note.

The two principal amendments which changed the face of the bill were the Gronna amendment and the Clarke amendment. The Gronna amendment prohibited the manufacture for sale or importation of intoxicants in the Philippines. The contention against this
measure was the loss of revenues to the government, and furthermore it was considered unnecessary in a country like the Philippines where the people do not indulge in drinking. The Clarke amendment gave the Filipinos a peculiar sensation. It authorized the President to recognize the independence of the Philippines within from two to four years. The bill passed the senate by the deciding vote of the president February 4, 1916 and was transmitted to the House for action. The House of Representatives raised a strong contention against the amendments principally the Clarke amendment. After repeated amendments in the committee it passed the house May 1, 1916 with the famous amendments stricken out. In transmitting it to the senate, the house urged a joint conference. August 29, 1916, saw the enactment of the Jones bill introduced in 1914. This law became the organic act of the Philippine Islands. It gave the Filipino people a popular legislature of two houses.

Popular Legislature

For nine years the Philippine Legislature was composed of a Filipino assembly elected by the people and an American-Filipino senate appointed by the President of the United States. The senate which was also the United States Philippine Commission exercised exclusive jurisdiction over the non-Christian peoples of the islands, and for this reason these tribes were not represented in the Philippine Assembly. The Commission had also exclusive power in originating the appropriation
bills for the expenditure of the Philippine government.

Passage of laws was affected by majority vote in either house; the Governor-General having no veto power over legislative bills. It has already been pointed out that under this plan three successive deadlocks occurred in 1910-1913 on appropriation bills, and might have continued had not President Wilson appointed the fifth Filipino to the Commission, and so secured the Filipino majority in the senate. Harmony and cooperation seemed most difficult to secure and a new piece of legislation became imperative.

In August 29, 1916, nine years after the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, the Jones Act supplanted the Organic Act of July 1, 1902. It granted the Filipinos more extensive participation in their government and put an end to all the administrative and legislative discords which retarded the progress of the Philippines.

The legislative changes which the new law made placed the Philippine Legislature on the same plane as that of the United States. "General legislative powers in the Philippines, except as herein otherwise provided" were conferred on the "Philippine Legislature" which is composed of the senate and the house of representatives, both elected by the people. The United States placed under the control and administration of the Philippine government all the property and all the rights acquired from Spain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris and all other lands subsequently acquired by purchase except such
land and property which the President has designated for military or other purposes of the United States. The Philippine Legislature was given full powers to enact laws for the welfare of the inhabitants, but acts affecting land of public domain, timber and mining must at first be approved by the President of the United States before they are enforced as laws.  

The two houses of the Philippine Legislature is composed of Filipinos elected by the voters except the representatives and senators who represent the non-christian tribes. These are appointed by the Governor-General and hold their office until removed by him. The House of Representatives is composed of ninety members, an increase of nine members. The nine new members are appointed by the Governor-General to represent the non-christian peoples. Elective members of the house hold office for three years.

The Philippines were divided into twelve senatorial districts each of which elects two senators, except the twelfth district. For this district, which is composed of the Mountain Province, Baguio, Nueva Ecija and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, the Governor-General appoints two senators who hold office during his pleasure. The other twenty senators hold office for six years. In the first election in 1916, each senatorial district elected one senator for three years and another for six years.

But for the appointive senators and representatives, the Philippine Legislature would have been thoroughly popular. In place of the three common divisions—Christian, non-christians and the Moros— the Philippines consist of ninety represent-
ative districts and twelve senatorial districts. The legislature has now full control of the question of suffrage. The Philippine Commission continued to operate until January 1, 1917 when the act reorganizing the executive departments took effect. The Governor-General ceased to be the Chairman of the Commission which is now dissolved.

Qualifications of the Legislative Members

The candidate for the senate must be a qualified elector in the Philippines, over thirty years of age and must be able to read and write Spanish or English. He must have resided in the Philippines for at least two years and one year's actual residence in his district immediately preceding the election.

A candidate for the House of Representatives must be over twenty-five years of age, able to read and write English or Spanish and must be a qualified elector. He must have resided at least one year immediately preceding the election in the district.

Appointments of the senators and representatives for the non-Christian tribes are made "without the consent of the senate and without restriction as to residence."

Governor's Veto Power

Heretofore the Governor-General never had the veto power over legislative enactments. As Civil Governor from July 4, 1901 to the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, the executive was the chairman of the United States Philippine Commission in its dual capacity both as such and as the legislative
body of the Philippines. When the Philippine Assembly was instituted bills were enacted by majority vote in either house.

The Jones Law placed the Governor-General on practically the same basis with respect to the Philippine Legislature as the President of the United States with respect to Congress. Before they become law all bills and joint resolutions passed by both houses shall be presented to the Governor-General for approval. A period of twenty days is allowed the Governor to act upon the bills presented to him and failure to act after the said time will automatically validate the bills as law as if he had signed them. Two thirds vote in either house passes a bill over the Governor's veto. When such happens the Governor-General may either approve it or reject it. If he rejects it he shall transmit the same to the President of the United States for the last recourse. The President is allowed six months in which to act. If he fails to act within that time the bill becomes a law.

The Governor-General has veto power over any item or items of the appropriation but such veto shall not affect other items. If the legislature fails to pass the appropriation for the fiscal year, the items of the last appropriation shall as far as practicable be deemed appropriated until the legislature passes the budget. This provision has never been used.

Congress reserves the power to annul all laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature.
Extension of Suffrage

Of no little importance to the political education of the Filipino people is the provision of the Jones Act extending the right of suffrage to those who read and write a native dialect. Hitherto political franchise has been exercised by all male citizens twenty-one years of age, who have been resident of the Philippines for one year and in the municipality six months preceding the election, and who comprise in one of the following classes: those who are legal voters under the existing law, those who own real property to the value of 500 pesos, and those who read and write Spanish and English. Under this old law suffrage was enjoyed by 250,000 voters; under the new law the electorate was enlarged to over 750,000.

This is the result of the eighteen years of tutelage under the American rule. On October 16, 1916, in the same place when sixteen years ago the civil government received the responsibility from the military authorities, Governor-General Harrison delivered his message to the Fourth Philippine Legislature, the all-Filipino legislature elected by popular vote. It is the first truly representative ruling body ever assembled in the Philippines. Representative because among the eighty-one elective representatives sat the nine representatives of the non-christians; and among the twenty elective senators sat two senators appointive of the Governor to represent the non-christians. In recognition of the privilege extended to them, the mountain peoples of Luzon and the Moros
in the south sent their delegations to attend the inaugura-
tion of the purely Filipino legislature.

The transformation which the Jones Act has brought about
carries with it grave significance. By this act, the United
States surrendered in good faith to the Filipino people its
all important check upon its territorial possession. On the part
of the United States the law is the highest recognition of
trust and confidence in the ability of the Filipino people
to govern themselves. To the Filipinos it means untold oppor-
tunity for unlimited advancement in one hand but the gravest
responsibility ever accorded to them on the other. Represent-
ative government in the Far East ceased to be quasi as in the
years 1907 to 1916. The day on which the act was passed saw
the birth of a truly representative form of government amongst
the millions of neighbors who have been struggling for the
coveted ideal. By it the Philippines have linked the East and
the West. To be true Cuba had been only three years under the
United States when self-government was granted to her, but that
self-government was under protectorate. Great Britain extended
the franchise to the Boers before the smoke over the battle
fields had subsided, but these people had been self-governing
for fifty years.

In August 29, 1916 rose in the most fortunate Philippines
the eternal torch of Liberty and Justice to shed its benefi-
cent radiance not only to the Filipinos alone but also to the
darkened Koreans, to the struggling Irish and Polish, to the
oppressed Indian, to Indo China and Egypt where the day of
freedom has scarcely dawned.
III

THE EFFECT OF THE CLARKE AMENDMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

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Considering the Jones bill in relation to the Clarke and the Gronna amendments, it may be said that it was the most trying test to the calibre of the senate, and little did the president realize its consequences when he cast his deciding vote in favor of the bill. It was no longer a question whether the Filipinos were entitled to a wider participation in their government. This has been an established conviction of Congress. To grant this privilege is the only certain way of training the Filipinos in the art of modern government, and if it is the intention of the United States to withdraw from the islands sometime in the future, the concession becomes indispensable. The organic act of July 1, 1902 had outlived its purposes. A new piece of legislation more liberal and far reaching became imperative. Congress realized this fact and put every effort in formulating the most suitable law possible. But was the time mature when definite provision should be made for the independence of the Philippines? Apparently, to the mind of Senator Clarke conditions warranted the provision, for in the Jones bill he inserted his famous amendment providing for the recognition of Philippine independence in not less than two years nor more than four years at the discretion of
the President. Flashèd across the waters to Manila, the famous Clarke amendment placed the Filipino people at the most critical position in their history. The suddenness in which independence appeared, says a press "stunned most people and rendered them incapable of coherent conclusions and sane speculations". "Manila has been shot to pieces this week," asserts the Free Press in its editorial on "The Jones Bill and Those Sensational Amendments." "The most radical... is that of Senator Clarke of Arkansas, a democrat and president pro tempore of the senate." "On the part of the Assembly, however, and all political leaders, without regard to party, there appears to be enthusiasm and jubilation," but as the comment tells us it is because the United States pledged itself to protect the islands and secure their neutrality. As if seeing the fate of the Filipinos the Free Press of January 29, 1916, had a cartoon entitled, "Giving Jonah to the Whale" in which Uncle Sam and Congress picked up Jonah (Philippines) to throw to the whale (Japan).

Most of the Filipino papers, being organs of some party or other, made a political capital of the grave issue. In all their comments, however, there seems to be indications of fear and doubts which mingle with the loud praises for the party responsible for the achievement. According to El Ideal the Clarke amendment was in accordance with the policy that territories which give menace must be rid of. However, it advised the citizens that they "be armed with prudence and must
realize the great responsibility rests on their shoulder". The Consolidacion Nacional was not reserved in lauding the success of the Nacionalista Party, glorifying Speaker Osmeña to the skies. Of the same attitude as the El Ideal, La Vanguardia praised the United States for its courage in facing probable complications with Japan, but strongly hoped that the powers would join in neutralizing the islands. Seemingly half assured, the paper said that the Filipino people were more than ever before, prepared to meet the consequences, and "with the aid of God and men of good will" they would maintain "a free government." La Democracia, in its conservatism, entertained much apprehension, and advocated that if the Filipinos did not want independence Congress must be informed.

The passage of the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment in the senate February 4, 1916 brought the following editorial in the Philippines Free Press:

"Pain often carries with it a certain anesthesia, and, in the presence of great events, a certain numbness of the faculties, an inability to grasp the full significance of what is transpiring, frequently follows.

So is it to-day with the pregnant news which is coming over the wires from Washington. Independence heretofore little more than a vociferously expressed national aspiration, and, on occasion, a mere party shibboleth, seems now to be standing on the very threshold of the real, the actual, and to be about to assume definite shape and form. But, in its imminent pre-
sence, we are dazed and confounded, and find it almost im-
possible to visualize the circumstances it will create and
to make tangible to our mind the train of consequencies which
will follow. As a result, the air is full of wild speculations
and impossible conjectures, and the very foundations appear
to be shifting beneath our feet... a deadly chill... seems
to be passing over our business men at present as a result of
the Jones bill."

It seems that the jubilee which came in consequence of
the passage of the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment in the
senate was confined to politicians. An American paper in Manila,
The Daily Bulletin, observes that it seems as if nothing out
of the ordinary had happened. Parades and pompous demonstrations
were wanting. Rather provoking gloomy reflections was the edi-
torial of the Cablenews-American which referred to the recent
parade of the American troops in Manila. The paper said that
that would be the last time the troops appeared until they
embarked for the homeland.

To note the reaction from prominent men, it was reported
that when the Clarke amendment was pending in the senate the
Philippine Assembly cabled to Congress urging the passage of
the bill. Governor-General Harrison is said to have unreserv-
edly endorsed the bill. Mr. Osmeña, the Speaker of the Assem-
bly said on the occasion:

"Determined to become independent, our duty in these mo-
ments is not compatible with any vacillation on our part. We
should continue the campaign to the final approval of the Jones
bill, and the establishment in proper time, of those conditions
which make of Philippine independence a permanent and general good. There is no reason for alarm. On the contrary, we can and we should look to the future with calm and confident hope."

An interview with other prominent men shows that guaranteed independence, neutralization of protectorate is preferred. Hon. Vicente Singson Encarnacion, now in the Philippine Senate and Juan Villamor, Governor of Ilocos Sur, would prefer guaranteed independence. Mr. Villamor said, "I do not think there is a Filipino who would not prefer a guaranteed independence....During the first years of our life, we will undoubtedly need some one or something to shield us against external aggression." In like manner Evaristo Francisco, a shipowner and business man, would have guaranteed independence for his first choice or an autonomy like that of Canada or Australia for his second choice.

The famous Clarke amendment stimulated intelligent reaction from the young generation of the Filipino people, products of the Philippine public schools and of the universities in America. Because of the wisdom of their thoughts, and because of the logic of their reasoning which lead to uniform conclusions, and added the fact that they are non-partisan, their timely comments on the national issue should merit a special notice:

The first of these comments was by a young man from Baco-
lod, Occidental Negros, who signed a nom de plume of Nezar. To quote the writer said:

"I am not the son of a prophet, but I predict that if our political independence is granted it may benefit the hungry office seekers for a short time, but it will bring a deluge of tears for the common people and ultimately worse than tears for the politicians. I am afraid that behind the mask of patriotism of too many of our politicians there lie selfish designs...... The hope commonly entertained that independence would bring redemption would vanish at the sight of political chaos. Neither the Jones bill nor a hundred of Jones bill will bring us real independence which makes for the happiness of the mass of the people.... When the right time comes and the Filipinos are prosperous and further advanced in civilization, there will be no trouble in securing our independence, and America would be only too willing to give it. The dreams of too many of our politicos is the dream of a Caesar...... but from such a dream there will be a terrible awakening and we shall repent in sackcloth and ashes." 102

Rather than make gloomy forecasts as this article does, a young Filipino girl would encourage "hope--'for the best,'" and keep unwavering faith. In reply to the article just cited the young woman said:

"I am no daughter of a politician, nor an ardent advocate of Philippine Independence, but, being a native of the islands, most decidedly I am not an indifferent onlooker. Therefore I contend against the spirit of that prophecy. I can tolerate
a foreigner declaiming over the woes that Independence would bring to the Islands, but a countryman--never. Let their's be to predict, ours to hope, even against hope,--'for the best'. The world may smile grimly or pitifully at our most absurd dreams and impossible hopes; but they are better by far to cherish than dire prophecies and woeful fears. So, please, do not have a voice 'sad and prophetic,' but rather 'watch and pray,' and firmly believe that the righteous are never forsaken. With eyes of hope, born out of faith, I, for one, do not see or fear 'political chaos'; but, above and beyond the troubles that be, a better, greater and happier Philippines."

Mr. Luis Rivera wrote a thoughtful article entitled "A Problem of Life and Death" at this time. Mr. Rivera is a young product of American universities. He expresses fear of eternal colonization by Japan; and rather than run a risk of exploitation by a foreign power, Mr. Rivera would rather remain well contented with the present peace and prosperity under the United States.

Quite expressive of the conviction of the young generation which he represents, Mr. Bienvenido Tan struck the keynote when he delivered his speech for election to the Municipal Board of Manila. Mr. Tan is a young man of 35 years of age, and was educated in the Philippine public schools. Speaking of the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment the young lawyer said:

"I have observed that most of the people do not under-
stand the real situation in regard to the Jones bill. The politicians of the 'old school' tell the people, either intentionally or from ignorance, only about the advantages to be gotten from the Jones bill but not the responsibilities that go with it. They tell the people that with the Jones bill we shall be a free people, have less taxation, and no worry for anything. Some of the people believe that with independence taxes will be abolished.... I explained to them that just the contrary will happen— that taxes will be doubled; for the expenses then will be greater....

.... I am going to tell the people the real truth, the hard cold bitter truth, no matter what happens. I am not afraid. I have observed that if you will express an opinion contrary to independence you will be branded as unpatriotic and a traitor to the legitimate aspirations of the people. If to tell the truth I am unpatriotic, then I am unpatriotic, and dare to be so....

We may be branded as radicals, idealists and inexperienced callow youths; but we believe we understand what we are doing, and we are ready to put our ideas to the test." 105

A very sane appeal to the Filipinos politicians is an article "An Appeal to Intelligent Patriotism" by Mr. Jose L. Jalandoni. Mr. Jalandoni is a product of one of the largest universities in the United States and is now a successful young farmer. To quote in part he said:
"There are times when almost every one of us except the greedy beneficiaries becomes tired of politics, and politicians have taken advantage of this fact to seduce the more ignorant people for their own benefit. But times such as these are not for petty politics. The intelligent citizens who heretofore have not taken an active part in politics should come ahead and lead the people and show them clearly that they must either live or die in accordance with their decisions." Speaking of the Clarke amendment the young Filipino said: "I am not opposed to independence, but I believe that ample time should be allowed us, so that we can devote all our efforts and energies to the development of the vast agricultural resources of our country.... I am not questioning the capability of our people to conduct an efficient government of our own, but I believe, and I know that there is a considerable number of patriotic Filipinos who believe with me, that such a measure, because of probable foreign aggressions, will endanger the lives, liberties and properties in this country. Why, then, shall we put our very existence in jeopardy such as it will be at the will of the President? ..... Let us urge the passage of the Jones bill but protest with all our might against the Clarke amendment." "Countrymen", Jalandoni continues, "let us see clearly the issue before us. Are you ready to exchange our present condition of peace, progress and prosperity to that of danger and uncertainty? Do not let our patriotism rise from
the heart .... Let our emotions be controlled by our intellects.... Let us show the masses of our people that safe and permanent progress is the result of human forethought, that the blunders of a nation are not less deplorable and blame-worthy than those of an individual. Let us realise that the question is vital for all and as such it should be carefully considered..... The great majority of our professional and ignorant politicians are actually insisting upon independence under whatever form without calmly considering the responsibilities that it brings with it. They have flattered and seduced the people into this belief, calling us 'traitors' without stopping to ascertain that the interests of our country are dearer to our hearts than to theirs... Countrymen, it is not given to men to foretell what they shall be; but of this we may be sure, that with continuous peace, universal education and intelligent patriotism, the glorious possibilities of our country will be unlimited."106

This, in brief, was the effect of the sensational Clarke amendment upon the Filipinos. Notwithstanding the glories which the word "independence" conveys, and in spite of the fact that every Filipino, young and old would love to see his country assume and independent statehood, to be set adrift alone in the midst of greedy nations is a perilous step to take at the present time. The fear of external aggression is
dominant although at times it appears under the cloak of rosy optimism. That Speaker Osmeña himself, the spokesman of the Nacionalista Party and the recognized leader of his people, recognized this prevalent fear among the inhabitants is obvious, for he said, "There is no reason for alarm. On the contrary, we can and we should look to the future with calm and confident hope." This must be obvious enough to everyone who understands the sentiment of the Filipino people. The consensus of opinion tells us that while the Filipinos desire independence, they do not desire within so short a period as the Clarke amendment provides and be entirely free in the family of nations. That would be too sudden. Independence, if granted at all within four years must be guaranteed to be left neutral by the rest of the world.

It is of interest to note the non-partisan opinion of the young generation, or of the student body. The young people realize the seriousness of an independent statehood. They realize that mere capability for maintaining peace and order does not constitute the qualification of a nation for independence. They are unanimous in first developing the economic resources of their country in one hand and raise the standard of their civilization in the other. Then and only then, do they feel assured that independence would be a success in the Philippines. Two other points may be noted which the young people advocate: first, that the grave problem of independence
should be divorced from politics; second, that the uninformed mass of the people be educated in the pros and cons of the problem of independence. This has never been done so far, and the claim that the people want independence is based on the assumption that because their representatives and senators are for it the voters must be for it, too. It has not been taken into consideration that the electorate is not responsible for the acts of their representatives after they get into office. Uncolored by any party affiliations, the thoughtful contributions of the young generation on this national issue should command serious consideration. 107

Was independence desired? It may be asked. It was and it will remain to be desired until obtained, but not under the terms of the Clarke amendment. Independence, if it comes at all must be partial, that is, it must be left alone by other nations. If the sensational Clarke amendment produced such result as it did in the Philippines, it clearly shows that the Filipinos do not now desire it. Representative Jones and Mr. Quezon put every effort to secure a definite period to grant independence, but met a sad defeat. Mr. Quezon was said to be very much disappointed for having failed to achieve what was generally conceived to be his special mission in the United States, and it was asserted that his not returning to América as a Commissioner was due to this failure. He is to be true the most capable man for the office and his resignation
means the retardation of the national cause.

Upon the defeat of the Jones bill with the amendment in the House by a vote of 193 to 151 the Philippines Free Press said:

"There may be a perfunctory cry of protest from professional politicians about the failure of the Clarke amendment in the house of representatives; but we believe the calm and considered judgement of the thinking element among the Filipinos people, unswayed by partisan proclivities, will approve the failure. We also believe the Filipino people are to be congratulated on the action taken by the house." 108

In the opinion of the paper Congress decided that the "logical and orderly processes which have marked the work of the United States in these islands shall continue."

To the El Ideal the failure of the Clarke amendment was a "painful disappointment" but there was no reason for despair. La Democracia, however, attributed the defeat to the underhand means employed for personal gains. 109

The bill which passed Congress August 29, 1916 was still the Jones bill but with the Clarke amendment and the unnecessary Gronna amendment omitted. The victory caused quite an excitement in the Philippines. Twenty thousand paraded through a crowd of forty thousand spectators. Forty bands "competed" with each other for two solid hours, amidst standards and cries of "Long Live President Wilson"; Long Live Governor-General Harrison; "Long Live Congressman Jones"; "Long Live the United States Congress"; and "Long Live America—Magnanimous, Great and Just."
Personal tributes followed. To Governor-General Harrison and to the President of the United States were presented two silver tablets in which was inscribed the appreciation of the Filipino people "for their untiring and unselfish labors in behalf of the Jones bill." The Filipino statesmen were recipient of thousands of congratulations. To perpetuate their memory the "Quezon Gate", the "Jones Bridge", and the "Harrison Park" were baptized in their names.
The matter of promoting Filipinos to high executive and responsible positions in the insular service has been one of the burning problems during the American rule. Although not championed in political speeches this problem has been felt in the administration. That the Filipinos have always desired to conduct their own affairs is uncontrovertible. The Revolution of 1896 was the breaking point of the national conviction that in order to establish a government to the satisfaction of the Filipino people that government must be run by Filipinos themselves. Disappointed to the last degree with the good but unfulfilled promises of the Spanish authorities and worn out by indescribable wrongs and injustice of the former regime, the Filipinos were compelled to lose their trust and confidence in any avowal made to them by any foreign nation. This attitude made the Filipinos a bitter enemies of the United States. However, the hopelessness of the struggle with the superior nation forced them to lay down their arms and to accept the sovereignty of the United States, not because they welcomed the foreign commander, but because it was the wisest decision. Thus, they surrendered but their national aspiration to administer their own affairs was not the least discouraged.

Keeping this point in mind, it can readily be seen why
the desire for independence has found the fullest expression on every platform in whatever occasion, always demanding that the United States definitely state when the islands should be released, and seemingly ignoring the difficulty on the part of the United States of making such critical declaration at an early date. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly to what degree the Filipinos' sentiment of nationality had developed when the Americans took the country. Congress, however, did not see its way clear to declare in the solemn act of legislation the purpose of the United States regarding the Philippines, and in the organic act of July 1, 1902 it simply approved the President's policy and temporarily provided for the administration of civil affairs in the Philippines. Out of this failure to define the policy in the Philippines grew the peaceful movement of Filipinizing the government service. The logic of the movement is too obvious to need any explanation. If the United States will establish in the Philippines a "Government by Filipinos aided and taught by Americans" with the ultimate result of full extension of self-government later to the Filipinos, they must by right be accorded recognition in the responsible positions of the government.

The policy of Filipinization was the policy of President McKinley, endorsed by succeeding presidents but reluctantly executed by most governors of the Philippines. Mr. Taft endorsed it when he said his famous slogan, "Philippines for the Filipinos". The first Philippine Commission assured the Filipino people that "the United States is not only willing, but anxious, to establish in the Philippine Islands an enlightened
system of government under which the Philippine people may enjoy the largest measure of home rule and the amplest liberty consonant with the supreme ends of government and compatible with those obligations which the United States has assumed toward the civilized nations of the world." Specific instruction for the fulfillment of this plausible policy was given to the United States Philippine Commission of which Mr. Taft was chairman, and in which President McKinley said, "in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others," always bearing in mind "that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction.... but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands." This general policy was crystallized into law and became the standard to go by. The Civil Service Act, the fifth law enacted by the Philippine Commission requires that in the matter of appointments preference should be made to "Natives of the Philippine Islands", and to all "honorably discharged soldiers, and sailors and marines of the United States." How far must the civil service in the Philippines be American and how far Filipino has been the main question. In the
early days of American regime Mr. Taft announced that an account of the Filipinos' unfamiliarity of American methods and their inability to use the English language it was practically necessary to confine them to subordinate and ministerial positions. From the standpoint of the administration to replace Americans with Filipinos is a saving to the insular treasury, admitting that high salaries must necessarily be paid to Americans to induce them to leave their home. Those who are affected by the application of the policy make the strongest protest on the ground that "We are here to teach. It is ridiculous to teach from the pupils' seat." Branding Filipinization as a "grave mistake" and already overdone (1907) the Americans in the Philippines have always opposed the policy, on the argument that to maintain an efficient and clean administration in the Philippines Anglo Saxon energy is necessary. Early appointments by the Philippine Commission of Filipinos to local executive offices met with no mild criticism from pro-Americans.

The Trend of Filipinization

Although the Filipinization of the civil service was not carried out in the first few years as rapidly as it might be wished, record shows that under attendant conditions the progress could not have been hastened without detriment to the interests of the general welfare. The Americans in the Philippine service did not reach an appreciable number until 1903 when
there were 3,777 which constituted 51% of the entire force and
drawing an aggregate salary of 7,236,700 pesos or 76% of the
entire payroll. Of the total number 1,598 were in the insular
bureaus; 585 in the service for the city of Manila; 43 in the
judicial service, and 141 in the provinces. In the same year
there were 2,697 Filipinos or 49% of the force who did the con-
siderable part of the routine work at an aggregate salary of
2,189,376 pesos or 23% of the appropriation for salaries. The
Filipino force was apportioned as follows: 1186 in the insular
service; 738 in the service of the city of Manila; 315 in the
judicial service and 552 in the provinces. The Philippine Com-
mision was composed of five Americans and three Filipinos each
having his American or Filipino private secretary.

In 1904 the percentage of Americans in the civil service
"decreased" to 49% while that of the Filipinos increased to
51%. It would appear from the face of the data that the reduc-
tion of American force was inaugurated in 1904 but the fact is
that it increased by 16%, and the Filipinos increased by 25%.
Three fourths of the salary of the service were paid to Amer-
icans and one fourth to the Filipinos.

In 1905 the Americans constituted 45% of the government
force and the Filipinos 55%. Actually, however, the American
force increased by 3.4% against an increase of 19% of the Fili-
pinos.

This apparent decrease of Americans in the Philippine
government continued with appreciable regularity until 1913.
The increasing percentage of Filipinos was not as much due to Americans making room for them in the service as to the rapid increase of Filipino force in clerical positions.

Worthy of note in this connection is the average salary of Americans and Filipinos. In 1903 the average salary of Americans was 2,605.94 pesos a year; of Filipinos 811.76 pesos a year. Gradual increase is noted until 1915 when the average salary paid to Americans was 3,698.49 pesos and to Filipinos 998.17 pesos a year. In spite of the silent protest from the Filipinos, the Director of the Civil Service believed in 1908 that the salaries paid to the Filipinos had already reached their highest limit.

When the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated in 1907, there were 2,616 Americans or 40% of the entire service, drawing 71% of the salary appropriations. In local government and in some departments of the government especially in judicial service the Filipinos assumed control early in the American regime. The municipalities had Filipino officials ever since the beginning. The Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands had three Filipino justices one of whom was the chief justice. Of the twenty-one justices of the courts of First Instance, ten were Filipinos. The chief of the Bureau of Justice was a Filipino assisted by Filipinos and Americans; and the Court of Land Registration is represented by a Filipino and an American. All the officials of the provinces were Filipinos, elected by the voters.
The following table shows the percentage of Americans and Filipinos in permanent appointive positions in the Philippine civil service, and their salaries from 1903-1918.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number of employees</th>
<th>Percentage of Americans</th>
<th>Total salaries</th>
<th>Percentage paid to Americans</th>
<th>Average salaries to Americans: Filipinos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>5,474</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9,426,076</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>2,605.94: 811.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>6,605</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11,596,554</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>2,693.93: 868.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>7,330</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12,253,162</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>2,704.08: 322.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>6,518</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11,103,736</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3,008.13: 328.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>6,559</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11,436,091</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3,125.95: 303.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>7,056</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12,595,950</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3,225.63: 314.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>7,372</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13,052,382</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3,325.29: 326.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>7,614</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13,623,659</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3,401.00: 337.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>8,713</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14,715,289</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3,450.43: 306.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>8,986</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15,076,014</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3,524.45: 316.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>9431</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14,715,330</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3,611.75: 355.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>9,816</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14,944,320</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3,698.49: 388.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>10,455</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14,805,312</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3,686.03: 366.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>11,169</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14,361,071</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3,656.88: 369.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>10,866</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15,084,333</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3,913.46: 1,046.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gradually "decreasing" in number each year by virtue of employing more Filipinos than Americans, material reduction of American force did not take place until the democratic regime. In 1914 the percentage of Americans in the service dropped to 23 from 29 per cent in 1913. Expressed in number 633 Americans left the Philippine service in 1914 and 920 Filipinos were ushered in. While the number of separations is not unsurpassed since the beginning of the administration the number of Filipinos employed in 1914 was greater than in any other previous year. In the matter of salaries the Filipino force received 51% of the salary appropriation in 1915. In previous year most of the salary appropriation went to the American employes. Progressing by leaps and bounds, the percentage reached 76 in 1918, and for the first time in their history the Filipinos received an average salary of 1,047.79 pesos a year. By 1918, the Americans constituted only 9% of the entire force at an aggregate salary of 24% of the entire salary appropriation.

Filipinization in Local Government

In the provincial and municipal governments, the tendency has been toward intensive popular government without much reference to Filipinization, although the same result was attained. In the provinces the executive officers formerly consisted of the governor, the treasurer, the supervisor and the fiscal or prosecuting attorney. The governor, the treasurer
and the supervisor made up the provincial board, the legis-
lative body of the province. The governor is a Filipino for-
erly elected by the municipal councils but the treasurer
and the supervisor were Americans appointed by the Philippine
Commission. The supervisor was always an engineer, having
charge of public works. 124

In 1915, the provincial treasurer ceased to be a member
of the board, thus divorcing him from political duties. His
successor was called the vocal appointed by the Governor-
General from among the municipal presidents in office. 125

In February 1916 the members of the provincial board hereto-
for appointed by the Governor-General were made elective. 126

Most of the American high officials of the provinces
were assigned to non-Christian provinces. In Christian provinces
the last American official is the treasurer. Of the 38 pro-
vincial governors in 1906 29 were Filipinos and nine were
Americans. In 1914 there were only seven American governors.
All the rest were Filipinos. Before the treasurer was severed
from the provincial board there were 18 American treasurers
(1914) against 15 Filipinos. In 1916 the American treasurers
numbered twelve, and in 1917 only seven. 127

Formerly the supervision over provinces and municipal-
ities was exercised by the Governor-General through the executive
secretary. Now the power is exercised by the secretary of In-
terior through the chief of the executive bureau; both of-
ficials being Filipinos. This practically gives the Filipinos
absolute control over their non-Christian element. The policy of the central government has been to encourage self-government in provincial and municipal affairs, always refraining from intervention unless by compulsion. This policy has afforded a wholesome training for the officers. "Whereas, before they had to be guided in every turn or step, now their administration is characterized by initiative and efficient actions." 138

Filipinization of Public Schools

In educational work Filipinos have always realized that executive as well as teaching positions will gradually be transferred to them in the course of time. On the part of the administration this has been years of waiting, and conscientious effort on the part of the Filipino youths.

In 1902 there were 790 American teachers in the Philippines. This number continued to be the same for seven years when it began to decline. In 1915 there were only 488 American teachers. The period 1909 to 1915 saw the increase of Filipino teachers from 7,949 to 10,214. American teachers had to be employed in all branches of school work, assisted by Filipinos in primary grades only. In 1906 there were 82 Filipinos teaching in the Intermediate schools and 34 in the high schools. At this time they were assigned to supervising work, becoming a few years later, in the development of the industrial work as industrial work teachers and supervisors.
In the years 1907 to 1915 marvellous progress has been shown. The primary grades were practically transferred to Filipino teachers in 1914. There were, then, 7,556 Filipinos and 14 Americans in the primary grades. In the Intermediate Schools there were 833 Filipinos and 104 Americans; in the secondary 17 Filipinos and 175 Americans; in industrial work 726 Filipinos and 106 Americans. In that year there were 175 Filipino supervisors and 139 American supervisors. The close of 1915 saw 1,004 Filipinos and 92 Americans in the Intermediate Schools; and in the high schools the number increased from 17 in 1914 to 61 Filipino teachers in 1915. As supervisors the Filipinos outnumbered the Americans in the ratio of 300 to 130, and in industrial work the ratio was 713 to 87.

The most advanced step was made also in 1915 when one school division was placed in the hands of a Filipino, Mr. Camilo Osias, now assistant director of education. Mr. Osias is a product of the Philippine public schools and educated in American universities. His appointment as division superintendent marks an epoch in the Philippine educational work. In 1916 Mr. Honorio Poblador was appointed Division Superintendent. Mr. Poblador was the first Filipino to become principal of high school in the Philippines, and like Mr. Osias also a product of the Philippine public schools.

The Policy of the Democratic Party

For four Presidential elections since 1900 the Philippine problem was a leading issue in the United States. In
1900 the Democratic party made "imperialism" as the paramount issue in the campaign, and in 1904 it attacked the policy in the Philippines. In the next two campaigns which followed the democrats advocated early separation of the islands. All these were bad omens to the Republican Party which has been in the Philippines all this time. The Republicans clearly saw a countermovement in the well established policy in the Philippines. The election of President Wilson in 1913 with a democratic Congress marked the end of one policy and the beginning of another.

Upon the democratic party fell the lot of making the Philippine government one of Filipinos aided by Americans. Mr. Taft is remembered in the Philippines for his constructive work; Mr. Wright for the restoration of law and order; Mr. Smith for his democratic spirit; Mr. Ide for his currency and revenue systems; Mr. Forbes for his good roads policy and Mr. Harrison for Filipinizing the Philippine service. Of all the reforms which have been effected under the democratic regime in the Philippines the Filipinization of the insular service is most significant.

It appears that the new executives had already planned to extend to the Filipinos the widest participation in the administration before they reached the islands. Six months after his inauguration as Governor-General of the Philippines Mr. Harrison urged Congress to pass the Jones bill providing
for more autonomous form of government in which the Filipinos could have greater participation than before. The new governor believed that this change was necessary to a better understanding of the two peoples and for the good of the administration. Attendant circumstances which presented themselves to the new administration seem to justify the introduction of a more liberal policy, and the execution of these reforms has made the democratic rule in the Philippines so unpopular in American circles.

For three successive years, 1911, 1912 and 1913, the two houses of the legislature failed to agree upon the appropriations and the Governor-General was forced to declare the appropriation for 1910 operative for these years. While the Philippine Assembly or lower house was composed of Filipinos, in the Philippine Commission, the senate, which exercised the exclusive power of originating the bill, the Americans were in majority. The appointment of the fifth Filipino to the Philippine Commission in 1913 placed the Americans at minority in the legislature. The appointment wiped out all the discords between the two houses, and the untiring efforts of the Philippine Assembly to let Filipinos control their funds seemed to have received the sanction of the new administration.

As newly constituted the Philippine Commission was composed of the following: Justice Victorino Mapa of the Su-
preme Court to be Secretary of Finance and Justice; Jaime G. De Veyra, former governor of Leyte and delegate to the Assembly; Vicente Ilustre of Batangas; and Vicente Singson, delegate from Ilocos Sur. The American members were Henderson E. Martin of Kansas as Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction; Winifred T. Denison, Secretary of Interior; John L. Riggs, Secretary of Commerce and Police; and Francis B. Harrison, governor-general and chairman of the commission.

The governor and commanding general of the Moro Provinces in the south retired and the American regiments were withdrawn from the Moro land. To the vacancy thus created in the executive office Frank W. Carpenter, executive secretary was assigned. He was succeeded by Ignacio Villamor in the executive office.

The newly constituted commission seemed to have worked in harmony with the Assembly in the session of 1913. In 1914 the budget was passed for the first time in three years, thus doing away with the many points at issue. Principal among these was the vain insistence of the Filipino Assembly to exercise more control in the so-called reimbursable funds. Income producing bureaus of the government were permitted, upon the discretion of the chiefs, to expend their funds. This resulted in unbearable extravagance of the public fund. Furthermore, bureaus which received income from some departments would charge excessively in order to show favorably. By the
appropriation bill of January 1914, the income producing bureaus were required to deposit their funds in the insular treasury and at the end of the fiscal year to revert to it all unexpended money.

The Filipino control of the purse strings was a saving to the national treasury of some 19% or five million pesos of the expenditures for 1913. For three years the government expended from two to two and a half millions of pesos in excess of its funds. Bankruptcy would have resulted but for the reform by the new administration. What these reforms were may be noted at this time.

Reforms Effected by the New Legislature

The liberal spirit of the new administration produced harmony and cooperation in the legislature and quickened its action. This is shown by the fact that in 1914 the Philippine Assembly approved 72% of the bills originated in the Commission against 30% in 1913, thus surpassing the record of previous years. One hundred and one bills were enacted into law in 1914 against 69, 86, and 50 in the three years immediately preceding. A justified apprehension about the financial condition of the insular treasury compelled the legislature to adopt drastic retrenchments which made the new administration so unpopular among the pro Americans in the islands. The reform to revive the treasury was accomplished in the passage of the appropriation bill in January 31, 1914. As has already been alluded to it did away with the so called reimbursable funds, thus restricting the bureau chiefs. It reduced all salaries above 6,000 from
five to ten per cent. The bureau of navigation which out-
lived its purposes was abolished; and its functions were
allotted to the bureaus of customs and public works. This
was a saving of 400,000 pesos to the insular treasury, and
was done without depreciating the efficiency of the adminis-
tration. Other bureaus were consolidated wherever possible
for economy purposes. Those affected by the changes felt
some dissatisfaction, especially the Americans who were prac-
tically compelled to make room for Filipinos. As a result
many resigned.

The general appropriation bill for 1914 was the first
framed by the Assembly since its creation in 1907. Amended
and redrafted by the Commission, it was passed by the As-
sembly after a conference. It was a saving to the insular
treasury of some two million pesos.

Not only in this particular bill did the new legisla-
ture demonstrate its capacity for legislation. An act was
passed revising and consolidating the laws relative to in-
ternal revenue. To increase the powers of the public
utility commissioner the act creating the board of public
utility commission was amended at the indignation of the rail-
road and corporation concerns; and in order to more wise-
ly dispose of the "Friar Lands" the legislature passed an
act limiting its sale to sixteen hectares to an individual
and 1,024 hectares to a corporation. 137 For a long time each hemp concern in the Philippines had its own way of standardizing to the dissatisfaction of importers. This defect would have proved a loss to the trade of the country but for the step which the legislature took. It passed a law providing for the inspection, grading and bailing of hemp, maguey sisal and other fibers of the Philippines. 138 Of no little importance to the country in general was the act granting a franchise to the Wireless Telegraph Company of America to establish and operate in the Philippines sending and receiving stations. 139 One other act deserves a special mention. Some Americans believed that an anti slavery law was a dire need of the Philippines. A campaign against the Filipinos and particularly against the Philippine Legislature for refusing to act upon it was started in the United States. 140 Although the accusation proved to be a misconception of the Philippine Legislature, passed the act prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude and peonage in the Philippines. 141

It is not necessary to rehearse the accomplishment of the new legislature in which for the first time the Filipinos assumed a control. What has been cited leads to show that Filipinizing the responsible positions is not, after all a disaster to the interests of the Filipino people. For the first time, in nine years the unwieldy legislature which had been
working with indescribable difficulty proceeded with unqualified noiseless speed. For the first time in the history of the legislature was an annual appropriation approved so early in the session of 1914 and for the first time was not a special session necessary.

Governor Harrison's Policy

Governor Harrison's policy concerning Filipinization of the insular service is not a novelty in the American administration in the Philippines. His predecessors declared its wisdom and justice to the Filipino people. Whether the preceding governors general of the Philippines saw it or not Governor Harrison realised it early enough in his term that the Filipinos were really in earnest to have a full control of their government, and that the only means open to solve the jarrings in the governmental machinery was to recognize the just claim. The salient feature of the new regime lies in the liberal spirit of the administration.

When an administration invited the opposition of the governed it is futile to continue the policy and ignore the claim of the populace. This seems to be the case with the Filipinos when the Democratic Party came into power, and such was the case before Governor Harrison. As a result there was developed a sort of antagonism between some branches of the government and the Filipino people. In every appointment
effected in 1914 a liberal interpretation of the civil service law wherever it was concerned was observed in as far as it did no injury to the service. Four considerations governed the initial changes of 1914: first, Filipinization as the policy of the American administration; second, reduction of force for economy purposes; third, dismissals and resignations; fourth, the need of securing the unqualified cooperation of the responsible Filipino officials.

Notwithstanding the established policy of Filipinizing the Philippine service Governor Harrison found more Americans in permanent positions in July 1, 1913 than in 1907 or 1908. Of the thirty-one bureaus and offices four had a Filipino as a chief. Fully realizing that the success of a department depends upon the loyal cooperation of the bureau chiefs Gov. Harrison assigned Filipinos to the bureaus. By December 1913 eight Filipinos were placed as heads of eight executive bureaus. American assistant chiefs were replaced by Filipinos in the bureau of health, bureau of internal revenue, bureau of agriculture and bureau of prisons. In the Municipal Board of Manila the Filipinos assumed majority and likewise in the council of the city of Baguio. A Filipino was appointed city attorney for the city of Manila and for the first time in the history a Filipino became prosecuting attorney for the capital city. A majority of positions in the courts of First Instance were given to Filipinos, besides an increased
number of responsible positions in the provinces.

The practice of sending to the United States for employees to perform purely clerical positions was discontinued early in Governor Harrison's term. Governing this phase of the subject the governor-general issued an executive order directing that "when there are names on the proper eligible register of the Bureau of Civil Service no appointment shall be made to a position in the classified civil service of a person residing outside the Philippine Islands, unless, after comment by the appointing officer and the Director, the Governor General shall decide that the eligibles do not possess the technical knowledge and training or other qualifications necessary for the position sought to be filled or that the best interests of the service require the appointment of a non-resident." 143

This order seems to find justification in the data furnished by the Director of the Civil Service, stating that "on account of the increasing number of better educated Filipinos who were able to qualify in the first and second grade examinations appointing officers have almost ceased making appointments in Manila from the third (lowest) grade register of eligibles, and there has been a marked decrease in the number of eligibles appointed from this register in the provinces. For this reason the third grade examination was given only once during 1914." 144

A reform in the morale of the Americans in the civil service was found imperative. Notwithstanding the execu-
tive order which forbids government employes to make investments in the islands without permission, it has been the practice of the former administration to grant it unreservedly. The practice of government officials of investing in countries where they are sent to administer has always inevitably resulted in mere exploitation. To say nothing of the time which the business demands, the practice should not be permitted in an administration of recognized standard. Furthermore, it lends to the befogging of facts and thus corrupt the administration. To correct this pernicious tendency Governor Harrison issued the Executive Order No. 103, December 1, 1913 regulating the practice. This was followed by another order prohibiting Americans in the service from participating in American politics in the Philippines.

Observers began to pass judgements on the seemingly radical policy under the democratic administration. While the Filipino press hailed Harrison as the "Messiah who had come to liberate us from the yoke of oppression," the American press in the Philippines flayed the new administration. Basing its argument on the "experience" as the only just cause for promotion, the Manila Times condemns the preamble of the Jones law which provides for extension of the control of government to Filipinos. Voicing the American opinion, in the islands the press continues to condemn the creation of an elective senate and especially to the appointments with its consent. On the other hand Vice-Governor
Martin said, "Let the Filipinos have the jobs." Every
time an office was vacated through furlough or otherwise,
the Filipino press always took the occasion of recommending
a Filipino for the office.

Cardinal Appointments

As has already been intimated the Philippine Legislature became practically Filipinized in October 1913 upon
the appointment of Victorino Mapa as member of the Philippine Commission and as Secretary of Finance and Justice.
The vacancy he thus created in the Supreme Court was filled
by Manuie Araullo, president of the Code Committee.

Following his announced policy of giving the Filipino
people a directing control in their affairs, Governor Harrison inaugurated to usher Filipinos in the executive bureaus.
Some of the most notable so made took place in the bureau of
lands and in the bureau of health of the Department of Interior. A special situation in the bureau of lands demanded
a drastic change. The Filipino people have always been op­
posed to the selling of the friar lands in large lots to
corporations. It appears that Mr. Charles H. Sleeper, the
director of the bureau, had repeatedly made sales according
to the policy of the former administration of making large
sales. As a solution to this problem, Governor Harrison
requested the resignation of the American director and placed
Mr. Manuel Tinio, then director of the bureau of labor. The
theory was that the Filipino people should be given the con­
trol of their lands. Mr. Tinio resigned the following year
and Mr Rafael Corpus, then the solicitor general of the
Philippine government, was assigned to the position. Mr. Tinio's resignation was caused by a rumor that the officer had made illegal grants of homesteads and those who opposed the appointment spread the rumor in Manila. Informal and official investigations proved the charge unfounded. Mr. Walter E. Jones, provincial treasurer of Pangasinan, was appointed assistant chief to the bureau of lands. It is reported that Mr. Corpus succeeded in establishing good relations between Americans and Filipinos in the bureau.149

The resignation of Dr. Victor G. Heiser from the directorship of the bureau of health promoted Dr. J. D. Long, assistant director to the office, to the directorship. Dr. Vicente de Jesus for twelve years in the staff of the bureau was promoted to the assistant directorship.

By Act No. 3307 of the Philippine Legislature, the Board of Public Utility Commissioners supplanted the board of rate regulation to the satisfaction of the railroad corporations. The chairman appointed was Mariano Cui who was judge of a court of First Instance for six years. Mr. Stephen Bonsal and Mr. Clyde A. Dewitt composed the membership of the board.

Some changes were made in the bureau of justice. Upon the resignation John J. Pershing in December 1913 as governor of the Moro Province, executive secretary Frank W. Carpenter was appointed to the post. Mr. Ignacio Villamor was made executive secretary, leaving his office as attorney-general to Ramon Avancenia, of the court of First Instance. After serving seventeen months as executive secretary Mr. Vi-
llamor resigned to accept the presidency of the University of the Philippines. Solicitor-General George R. Harvey became judge of the court of First Instance and Rafael Corpus was assigned to his place.

It was always believed that the bureau of agriculture should be Filipinized faster than any other bureau for it is so closely connected with the life of the Filipino people. A decisive step toward it was made upon the appointment of Adriano Hernandez, formerly governor of Iloilo, to assistant directorship. 150

Perhaps Filipinization proceeded with unequal pace in the bureau of forestry. In 1915, 95% of the administrative force were Filipinos. Of the eleven forest districts in the Philippines nine were in the charge of Filipinos and all subordinates were under Filipinos. 151

These are some of the appointments which opened Governor Harrison's term in the Philippines with bitter criticisms from his countrymen, charging that the new administration would have granted independence to Filipinos before Congress had an opportunity to act upon the matter. 152 From January 1, to May 13, 1914 316 Americans left the Philippine service. Of these 94 were due to reduction of force for economy purposes; 210 were voluntary resignations and the rest for various reasons. In April alone 83 Filipinos were appointed to office against five Americans; 162 Filipinos were promoted against 31 Americans in different bureaus of the government. 153
During the fiscal year 1914 633 or 29\textfrac{1}{2} per cent of the American force severed from the service as follows: 478 resigned on their own volition; 127 resigned as a result of reduction of force; 18 were removed for cause and ten died. During the first eighteen months of the new administration, from January 1, 1913 to July 1, 1914 807 Filipinos were added to the Philippine service to say nothing of 113 telegraph operators in the bureau of posts. Ninety-three were called from the United States in 1914, of which 45 were teachers and the rest officers and technical experts. Importation of clerks was discontinued.

The Osmeña Retirement Act

Effecting intensive Filipinization of the Philippine service is the Osmeña Retirement Act passed in 1916. For years Filipinization of the civil service had to go on its natural course. There was no inducement by which American employees might be practically persuaded to leave their good positions in the islands. Arguing on the subject of Filipinization in 1914 Mr. Quezon, then resident Commissioner at Washington said: "The debate would then turn simply upon the abstract desirability of protecting American office holders in the Philippines. There can be no doubt as to how it would eventuate." As if officially contemplated the Osmeña Retirement Act passed February 4, 1916. Its passage was considered to be in the most opportune time. In the years 1914, 1915 and 1916, while the Philippine autonomy bill was pending in Congress, a civil pension had become a vital problem
in official circles especially among the Americans who, upon the passage of the bill, would practically be compelled to retire by virtue of the provisions of the act.

The retirement act concerns with those officers and employees who are regularly and permanently appointed to the Philippine service. Upon his own initiative an officer of this class who has rendered faithful service for at least six years may apply to the Governor-General for retirement under the provisions of the act. Application is granted subject to the discretion of the chief executive and when the exigencies of the service will permit. It must be filed before July 1, 1916. The amount of the gratuity varies from 60% of the year's salary for six years' service to one full years gratuity for ten years' service or more, payable in monthly installments. It has always been realised that the salary paid to Americans is too large for the Philippine treasury, but it was considered necessary in order to induce them to enter the Philippine service. In order to prevent the recurrence of this expensive arrangement the law provides that except in the judiciary, and except where the emergency board recommends the continuance of the office a position so vacated shall be considered abolished *ipso facto*, but if it has to be maintained the compensation shall be decreased by one third. To safeguard the Philippine treasury the act pro-
vides that an officer retired under its terms shall not be reappointed to the service of the Philippine government, and if reinstated he shall refund the gratuities granted to him and waive all claim for retirement under the provisions of the act. For three years at least his salary shall not exceed the salary paid to him when he retired.156

These are the provisions of the pension act which concerned most of the Americans in the Philippine civil service. In 1916 the Governor-General reported that "There are 500 Americans in the service not eligible for retirement under the terms of Act No. 2589 who will have rendered from three to seven years of service at the end of 1917."157 There were in July 1916 1,730 Americans in the Philippine civil service.158 The eligibles therefore numbered 1,230. The Governor-General reports that in 1916 1,064 Americans applied for retirement under the act and all but fifty were granted at a total gratuity of 1,053,357 pesos. While the policy adopted does not intend to retire Filipinos from the service unless for physical reasons sixty-one retired under the provisions of the act at a total gratuity of 66,022 pesos.159

In 1917 187 Americans and 38 Filipinos were retired at a total amount of 1,928,517 pesos; and in January 1918 there were still 440 Americans who were entitled to leave the service under the act.160
Whether the Retirement act was merely an expression of liberality on the part of the Philippine government with its faithful servants, or one of its many reforms toward economy, the dominant result is the Filipinization of the civil service. The act was passed in the most opportune time. Attendant circumstances at the time encouraged many Americans to take advantage of the act. First, an account of the war into which the United States was the verge of entering, the Americans in the Philippines were eagerly expecting to receive the call to the colors. To leave the Philippine service under the provision of the act was but a sound economic committance. Secondly, the agitation for independence in connection with the Jones bill which was pending in Congress contributed very largely to the uncertainty of American officials in the Philippine Government. So, many tendered their resignations. As a direct consequence, Filipinos increased to 10,866 in 1918, a net increase of 3,000 since the passage of the act. The number of Americans dwindled from 1,730 in 1916 to 948 in 1918. Expressed in percentage, 23% of the American employees resigned in 1916, 33% in 1917 and 41% in 1918.161

**Transfer to Federal Service**

Another measure adopted in the new administration which tended to encourage American separation from the Philippine service was the privilege of transfer from service in the is -
lands to similar positions in the Federal service. In previous years Americans who separated from the Philippine service had to seek other positions because the places they left had been filled. It would be but just to faithful service in the Philippines to place the returning officials in Federal service. In 1914 President Wilson modified the rule of civil service. The three years' service which by contract must be rendered in the Philippines was reduced to two years and in case of separation from the island service due to Filipinization or otherwise reduction of American force, an employe, through the agency of the Bureau of Insular Affairs would be reinstated in a similar position in the United States, although sometimes at a considerably less entrance salary.

A Common Aspiration

From the standpoint of the administration, the policy of placing Filipinos in the civil service is supported by two considerations: first, it is justice to the Filipino people who are entitled to a directing voice in their government; second, it is an economy to the treasury. From the standpoint of the Filipino people as a whole the policy bears other significance than those just enumerated. In order to fully appreciate the cause of the Filipino people of which the peaceful movement for Filipinizing the government is an expression, it is essential to first portray to what degree the Filipinos had reached as a people upon American occupation and then to relate their attitude toward the American rule.
It is to be regretted that the Filipinos have never gained the full sympathy of the American people. The general attitude of the American people to the Filipinos has never changed one whit since Dewey's victory in Manila Bay. This is not entirely the fault of the credulous American public for the Philippines have been grossly misrepresented to it. Furthermore, in the midst of colossal problems which this vast commonwealth brings to its ruling authority the Philippines is but an insignificant atom. It occupied the remote attention of Congress. The American people have not fully realised that the Filipinos, although broken into "tribes" seemingly diverse from each other, have, under the oppression of the Spaniards developed a national spirit of an appreciable degree. This spirit has been expressed in many ways: in the Revolution against Spain in which the Filipino people decided to run their own government; in the war against the United States; and in the so called guerilla warfare. Of late the national feeling has been expressed in the aspiration to gain the fullest control of the administrative affairs. A direct avowal against the American rule may not have been made, and the Filipinos may have appeared well contented with what has been conceded to them, but in their hearts they yearn for a Filipino government. The mere thought of a Filipino nation generates a pride which every Filipino old and young loves to cherish; and although an American protectorate
may have been declared by a few, the Filipinos have remained to aspire together toward a common end. Every American who has been in the islands has found that although a Filipino may not favor immediate independence he is easily led to defend his people as a united people who desire for statehood in the future. This feeling cannot be crushed: it gains deeper roots every day, as the civilization of the Filipino people advances. It is this feeling and national confidence which in the opinion of the generals in 1900 made the Filipinos friends during the day but bitter enemies during the night. American officials have acknowledged that had it not been for the concession of a Filipino Assembly in 1902, the bush warfare would have continued; and strictly speaking peace has not been attained in the islands until 1916 when Congress granted the Filipino senate.

On this subject of national "opposition" against the American rule the military and the civil officers in the Philippines have differed since 1900. By virtue of their occupation the military authorities realised the unity of the Filipino people in the early days of American regime, amounting always to the desire for a government by Filipinos. In an interview with a prominent Filipino who was neither a politician nor a soldier but a man of property and of culture, an army official relates his experience. Referring to the rights of the Filipino people to a separate statehood the
Filipino rose and in the most emphatic gesture exclaimed:

"I am not a Spaniard, I am not an American, I am not a Filipino--what am I."\textsuperscript{163} This statement, declared the officer, expressed the yearning of the ten million Filipinos in 1901. That yearning it must be added has not waned the least. Untold sacrifice has been made to it; precious lives have been dedicated to the national sentiment and it could not be ignored. The lessons learned from the extreme sacrifice which the Filipino hero made in 1896 will forever tie the Filipino people into one people undivided in their national purpose. It is this feeling of national pride, and not the supposition that he was an agitator, which made Mabini refuse to take an oath of allegiance to the United States, and it is this same pride which made Pio del Pilar violate his oath of allegiance. While in exile in the island of Guam Mabini said, "I cannot give up to the idea that others shall legislate for me and my people and in so doing govern us. It is better for me to die in exile than to prostitute my conscience."\textsuperscript{164} Without exception of Aguinaldo, Mabini is the ablest who stood in defense of the Filipinos as a people. This statement meets with the approval and the united support of the Filipinos to-day.

Whether the Filipinos will be able to maintain a stable government of their own or not remains yet to be seen, but the fact remains that they yearn for a Philippine government by
the Filipinos. It is this yearning which is behind the move­
ment of Filipinizing the Philippine government service.

Economic Prejudice

Underneath all the considerations which have heretofor
been made on the delicate subject of Filipinization is a feel­
ing on the part of the Filipinos that they have been subject­
ed to unnecessary discrimination in the matter of compensation.
A Filipino press expressed this feeling when it declared that
while the Americans get "fabulous salaries the Filipinos get
the crumbs." Despite their prolonged training in civil
service, the Filipinos have always been in subordinate po­
sitions, making the situation, says a press, one of burlesque
and a "painful contradiction for those who have faith in
the improvement promised." It appears that despite the uni­
form rule of civil service there is one set of rules govern­
ing the appointment of Americans and another set govern­ing
the appointment of Filipinos. Although a Filipino may have
passed the same civil service examination as the American
their salaries are most unequal. The situation appears to be
made doubly unjust to Filipino employes when Americans are
promoted rapidly, and subjecting the good merits of the Fili­
pinos to most exacting vigor. Each year each American bureau
chief submits a large estimate of expenditures and creates
superior offices for Americans and only inferior ones for Filipinos. What is the secret of the Philippine administration, murmur the Filipinos in the service. Is it based on the theory that "birds must be fed"? Such thoughts as these present themselves to the mind of the Filipino people. The problem becomes the topic of private discussions--on the way from the office; and at the table.

A glance over the table presented elsewhere in this chapter should support the statements. This is one of the many things which made the Filipino people present formal petitions for reform. On the occasion of his official visit to the Philippine Islands in 1910 Secretary of War Dickenson received numerous petitions from the citizens among which were the following: eight petitions for an elective senate; six petitions for Filipinization of the civil service; two petitions for a Filipino Vice-Governor; two petitions for equalization of salaries between Americans and Filipinos; and two petitions for an equal number of Americans and Filipinos as secretaries. These petitions were presented to the Secretary at public hearings where the citizens presented their claims. Municipal councils, municipal presidents, provincial boards and prominent citizens were the sponsors of the several petitions.

The political education and training of the Filipinos
rests in the hands of the Governor-General. As the representative of the America he can either be liberal on this phase or withholding as he may decide to do. The interpretation of the civil service rule may be made strict or liberal as the Governor chooses. In other words the governor may put a new spirit in the administration.

Second to the Jones Act which granted the Filipino people a full control of their legislature, Filipinization should be counted a salient feature in the democratic administration in the Philippines. The changes in staff which ordinarily follows the victory of a party coupled by the passage of the Jones Act in 1916 which guarantees Filipinization of the civil service; and added to all these the reforms which the legislature effected, have made the democratic administration in the Philippine Islands very unpopular among the Americans who have been in the Philippine service since 1900. Laying aside all other claims, the Philippines have not seen any reason for regret in the democratic administration.

Through the peaceful process of Filipinization the Filipinos have attained practical independence. Except the Governor-General the high American officials in the Philippines to-day hold non-political positions, that is to say positions which cause them to pay no interest in politics. When before the Philippine government was one of Americans aided by Filipinos, to-day it is a government of Filipinos and by Filipinos advised by a few Americans.
 Those who have followed the conditions in the Philippines during the last twelve years must have realised that the organic act of July 1, 1902 has outlived its purposes. The popularly elected Filipino assembly and the appointive American-Filipino Commission worked together for only three short years, and then followed the irreconcilable deadlocks for three successive years. Had not President Wilson appointed the fifth Filipino to the Commission and so secured a Filipino majority untold difficulties would have ensued.

The framework created by the organic act of July 1, 1902 was most peculiar under the bicameral system. The Philippine Commission, was appointed by the President of the United States and responsible to him. As the senate of the legislature it had the exclusive power of drafting the appropriation bill. The Filipino members were more or less honorary for they held no portfolio. The four executive departments were distributed among the American members of the Commission. Furthermore, the Commission had exclusive power over the non-Christian provinces which constitute one third of the Philippine Archipelago. The Philippine Assembly was popularly elected and was a Filipino body. As such it was responsi-
ble to the Filipino people whom it represented. In spite of this it had no power to appropriate the funds of the people, or any jurisdiction over certain portions of the Philippine Islands.

Under this anomaly, it may be seen why discord was almost inevitable, especially when it is taken into consideration that the assembly has persistently made efforts to take over the financial initiative in matters of drafting the budget. By its expressed provisions, the Jones Act of August 29, 1916, eliminated all probable disagreements. Its preamble is worthy of notice:

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

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

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the
exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence...

The preamble is significant in two respects: first, it embodies the definite purpose of the United States in the Philippines; second, it declares in the most solemn words the heretofore well accepted policy of extending to the Filipino people the responsibility of their domestic affairs. From the standpoint of the Filipino people the preamble is of greatest moment, claiming supremacy and importance, in the opinion of others, over the provision granting an elective senate. While the bill was pending in Congress the point of contention between the American and Filipino press in the Philippines was the preamble. Since the establishment of the civil government in 1902, the United States has not declared its purpose in the islands. The administration was provisional as expressed in the organic act "Temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of the civil government". That this uncertainty proved an economic loss to the islands by keeping capital away that might develop the resources of the country has been admitted. This is one of the reasons why the Filipino people through their popular assem-
bly have always insisted on some specific statement from Congress, but unfortunately reaction was not to be seen for a long time.

The preamble is significant in that it extends to the Filipino people the responsibility of their domestic affairs in order that they may as soon as possible fit themselves for complete independence. In other words, it is the policy of Filipinization of the Philippine service expressed in law. This provision was a source of great satisfaction to the Filipino people.

**Important Features of the Jones Act**

From the standpoint of administration the organic act is perhaps the best piece of legislation which Congress has ever drafted. The first advantage to be noted is the broad delegation of powers to the Philippine Legislature. The general legislative powers are conferred upon the Philippine Legislature, which upon its discretion may alter or amend any law from time to time. As the law making body of the country, it may legislate upon the properties and rights acquired by the United States in the Philippines. Restrictions are laid concerning the laws on tariff, public lands, immigration and currency. These laws must be approved by the President before they can be enforced. Furthermore, no duties
on exports from the Philippines may be levied. All expenses which may be incurred by the administration of affairs must be paid by the Philippine treasury except those expenses which the United States incurred for defenses and works for the exclusive use of the army and navy. The Philippine Legislature has power to fix the salaries of the officials and may increase or decrease them as the need may demand, but the salaries of the Secretary of Public Instruction, of the justices of the Supreme Court, of the Auditor, of the deputy auditor, and of the Governor-General shall not be changed.

Most important of all, the much coveted power of framing the budget was given to the Filipinos. However, the provision that in case of failure of the legislature to pass the appropriation, the budget for the year immediately preceding shall become operative has been retained. Furthermore, in the matter of appointments the Philippine senate has the voice with the Governor-General. Exceptions to this rule are the appointments of the Secretary of Public Instruction who is provided for in the law, and the representatives and senators to represent the non-christian tribes. The government of the Philippines reserves the power to use the right of eminent domain. It may grant franchise to companies and corporations with the understanding that the Congress has the power to alter or annul the franchise. Except where it is express-
ly provided the laws enacted by Congress shall not apply in the Philippine Islands.  

Parliamentary-Presidental System

To further confer exclusive power upon the local government, the organic act provides that the Philippine Legislature may, by appropriate legislation, reorganize the executive departments as instituted by the act of July 1, 1902, to suit its peculiar needs. The Department of Public Instruction and the Department of Interior shall not be abolished. The changes affected under this provision placed the Philippine government in the roll of modern governments. The Philippines made an improvement upon the irresponsible system of its tutor, the United States.

Accordingly in November 18, 1916, the Philippine Legislature passed an act providing for six executive departments in place of four. These are the Department of Public Instruction, the Department of Finance, the Department of Justice, the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, and the Department of Commerce and Communications. Formerly, there were four departments—interior, commerce and police, finance and justice, and public instruction. Except the Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, all the executive secretaries must be citizens of the Philippine Islands.
thirty years of age and must have resided in the islands for three consecutive years prior to the appointment. 176

An act passed December 14, 1916 fixed the salaries of officials and employes in the civil service, and since it provides for salaries for Filipino personnel the law is considered as of some importance. 177

During the debate on the bill reorganizing the executive departments two salient issues dominated: first, how to coordinate the executive and the legislative branches of government thereby establishing an efficient and responsible type of government; second, how best to secure economy to the treasury without impairing upon the work of the administration. As suggested in the organic act the presidential system would seem to be intended. Experience has shown that this type of administrative organization creates separate powers and therefore irresponsible and unwieldy. In the Philippines the Governor-General appoints the heads of the departments by and with the consent of the Philippine senate. The vice-governor is by law the secretary of Public Instruction. Under this arrangement the chief executive, by virtue of his exclusive power to appoint representatives and senators for the non-Christian territories could appoint every secretary of the executive department members of the legislature. With this exclusive privilege, coupled by the broad powers
which the organic law confers upon him, the governor could practically have absolute control over the entire domestic affairs of the Philippines. The legislature thought that some provision should be made to overcome this theoretical absolutism, and so inserted the clause providing that the "Secretaries may be called, and shall be entitled to be heard, by either of the two Houses of the Legislature, for the purpose of reporting on matters pertaining to their Departments, unless the public interest shall require otherwise and the Governor-General shall so state in writing." Willful refusal to appear or give testimony when summoned by either House entails punishment for contempt. With respect to the preparation of the budget the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations may require any information from any bureau or official in the government. 

In this manner the two departments of the government have been linked together. This is no less true even in the case of the chief executive, for the secretaries of the departments constitute his cabinet. The organic act provides that positions created by the legislature can not be filled by members of the legislature. The Department of Interior is not its creation, and senator Rafael Palma was appointed the secretary of the department. When it is taken into account that the law provides that each year each head of the depart -
ment shall submit to the Governor-General an estimate of expenditures and an annual report of the department, the importance of adopting the parliamentary system makes itself apparent. Since the adoption of the plan appropriation bills have passed the legislature with the least delay. For instance, the budget for 1919 passed the legislature one week after it was introduced in the House. 181 The provision of calling the secretary of a department to appear before the legislature was applied in 1919 when Secretary of Finance Barretto was summoned before the House to explain certain items of the budget. 182

The proposed plan of the new government to reduce the general expenses of the administration met with criticism especially from the American press in Manila. The increase of the departments from four to six invited the charge of extravagance, aggravating it by the charge of spoils system in the creation of the office of undersecretary in each department. 183 Formerly, the secretaries of each of the four departments received 18,000 pesos each or a total of 75,000 pesos in all. In addition to this each received 9,000 pesos as commissioners. After the passage of the law fixing the salaries of officials each secretary, except the secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, received 12,000 pesos a year; and each undersecretary 7,500 pesos per anum making a total of 117,000 pesos per year. 184
The Council of State: Its Administrative Significance

An organ added to the administrative machinery of the Philippine government which has promoted harmony of action between the legislative and the executive branches is the Council of State. For about two years the secretaries of the departments constituted the informal cabinet of the governor-general. This informal relations proved beneficial to the administration, but it was later conceived that they could be made more effective by recognizing the body officially and at the same time by permitting the legislature to participate. Accordingly, in October 16, 1918 the governor-general issued an executive order creating the Council of State as his official advisory board "to aid and advise the Governor-General on matters of public importance, said Council to consist of such persons as may be from time to time appointed and summoned by the Governor-General. There shall be a president and a vice-president of the Council, the president ex officio being the Governor-General and the vice-president such member of the Council as may be elected by the Council." In November 27th the executive proclaimed the membership of the council to be composed of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the president of the senate, and the six secretaries of the departments. In its first meeting the
Council of State elected Speaker Osmeña as vice-president. While some made a political victory out of the creation of the body and others saw in it autocracy looming in the Philippine horizon, the Council of State has proved an indispensable asset to the good and efficient administration of the Philippine affairs. It can readily be seen that the Council is an immense improvement upon the parliamentary system contemplated in the act reorganizing the executive departments. It is in fact the application of the preamble to the Jones law, not to mention Governor Harrison's policy that in order to secure a stable government in the Philippines, the Filipinos must be given a directing voice in their affairs. If the informal cabinet served as the factor in creating harmony between the legislature and the executive, the Council of State promoted that harmony. Judging the significance of the council from its composition the governor's action should be credited for its wisdom and practicability. The importance of giving a portfolio to the president of the senate and the Speaker of the House in the cabinet is too obvious to need any further comment. But for their addition the composition of the unofficial cabinet did not otherwise change. The Council of State has facilitated administrative and legislative procedure at the disappointment of sceptical observers. It has proved an invaluable asset to the government and so far has been responsible for some constructive
piece of legislation. Meeting regularly at least once a week, the two departments—the legislative and the executive—of government cannot but work together. The presence of the Speaker of the House and of the president of the senate, is indispensable to facilitate legislative action on what the Council may decide. It serves as a link between the executive and the legislative bodies. Through the Council unnecessary jarrings commonly attendant to the discord between the two branches have been eliminated. Its good results are seen in the formulation of the budget, the most delicate function which for three successive years put the Philippine government at stake. To-day, decision on it is reached in the meeting of the Council of State, and when the budget is presented by the Governor-General in the form of recommendation it is practically in finished form, and the legislature has been more or less acquainted with the items. The budget for 1919 passed the legislature one week after it was considered in the House, and only minor amendments had to be made.189

Besides facilitating budget making, the Council of State has shown its usefulness in other ways. It has been sponsor of many enactments among which is the appropriation of 30,000,000 pesos for elementary education and of the 300,000 pesos to send Filipinos to the United States to qualify themselves for civil service in the Philippines. These bills were framed in the Council of State and received the sanction of
the legislature. The charge that the Council would encroach upon the inherent prerogatives of the legislature found no encouragement.

Another of temporary existence may be mentioned in passing, as it shows to what extent the Filipinos have been permitted to formulate the policy of their country. During the prosecution of the war in which the Filipinos demonstrated their unqualified loyalty to the United States, the Governor-General fully recognized the Filipinos' share. Upon the recommendation of the Council of National Defense, the governor created the Council of Defense for the Philippines to advise him on measures concerning the safeguarding of public opinion and for the mobilization of resources in the prosecution of the war. A few days after its organization in August 1, 1918 the Council was enlarged. Among the important additions were the Speaker of the House and the president of the senate.

In the Philippines the legislature and the executive work in perfect harmony.

Budget System Established

A piece of reform which bears every significance upon the administration of Philippine government is the adoption of a sound budget system. According to the organic act the governor-general "shall submit within ten days of the opening of the session of the Philippine Legislature a budget
of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the annual appropriation bill.\(^{192}\) The method heretofor observed in framing the bill was that each bureau prepared an estimate of the receipts and expenditures not for the head of the department but for the Executive Secretary on behalf of the Governor-General. The result should be obvious. Each bureau tried to get as big an appropriation as possible ignoring, if not ignorant, of the receipts of the insular treasury. In 1916 the governor reported that the expenditures for 1913 exceeded the revenues by 7,196,483 pesos and those for 1914 exceeded the revenues by 2,941,118.81 pesos. \(^{193}\)

It is apparent that a thorough financial reform was in demand. Accordingly, an order was promulgated prescribing a new procedure of budget making as much as it did not impair the purposes of the organic act. The new system was inaugurated in 1917. Each bureau chief was requested to prepare an estimate of the receipts and expenditures for his bureau to be submitted to the head of the department. This arrangement brought the bureau chief and the head of the department for the first time to discuss the items of the bill together. Then each department head submitted the bill to the Secretary of Finance who in turn, with the impartial and independent aid of the Insular Auditor, goes over the different bills
and compared them with the estimated receipts of the government for the fiscal year. Before submitting the entire bill to the legislature, it was thoroughly discussed in the cabinet meeting where the Secretary of Finance offered his amendments. Once agreed by the cabinet it was submitted to the governor-general for transmittal to the legislature. The practice, however, has been to let the Secretary of Finance appear before the joint session of the legislature on behalf of the chief executive. This practice seems to be appropriate for the Secretary of Finance is the responsible man to clarify any ambiguity arising out of any item. In 1917 he appeared first before the House of Representatives and then before the senate to answer the different questions. It is interesting to note that the budget for 1917 was enacted as it was approved in the cabinet meeting.

The adoption of the budget system is a beneficent reform in the government of the Philippine Islands. It has established a sound financial policy in which the responsibility is placed where it should be. It has separated the budget making from the general function of legislation. At any time during the consideration of the bill in the House, in the senate, or in the Committee on Appropriations, the secretary of a department may be summoned to explain the items concerning his particular department. In this way the heads of the departments
are made responsible to the legislature. It has abolished buccaneering with the funds of the people. But most important of all it established a common understanding among the departments of the government, thereby eliminating unnecessary friction and delay. With the Governor-General, the executive secretaries, the Speaker of the House, and the president of the senate participating in the discussion over government matters, unity and coordination of action is secured. Through the power of the legislature to summon an official for testimony no department or bureau escapes publicity, one thing which could not be attained in previous years. The budget system adopted in 1917 is an achievement in the Philippine administration.

The Policy with the Non-Christian Tribes

The territories inhabited by the Mohammedan and pagan tribes of the Philippines have been under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Philippine Commission until the passage of the Jones Act. The territories comprise about 45,153 square miles or forty per cent of the entire area of the Philippine Islands with a population of about a million people.

By act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, the control of these territories was turned over to the Philippine
Legislature, but "There is hereby established a bureau, to be known as the bureau of non-Christian tribes, which said bureau shall be embraced in one of the executive departments to be designated by the Governor-General, and shall have general supervision over the public affairs of the inhabitants of the territory represented in the legislature by appointive senators and representatives." 196

Pursuant to this provision the legislature passed act No. 2666 which placed the bureau under the department of interior and act No. 2674 provided for the administration of the bureau. This law was later re-enacted in the Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands, 1917, which is the organic law of the entire archipelago. Frank W. Carpenter, governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu was appointed Director of the bureau, with the assistance of an undersecretary and special agents to the non-Christian people who reside among the civilized element. According to law "It shall be the duty of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to continue the work for advancement and liberty in favor of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos and foster by all adequate means and in a systematical, rapid and complete manner, the moral, material, economic, social, and political development of those regions, always bearing in view the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between and com-
complete fusion of all the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the province of the Archipelago.\textsuperscript{197}

The two senators appointed to represent the non-Christian tribes in the upper house were Juaquin D. Luna, Mountain Province; and Hadji Butu Abdul Baki, representing Mindanao and Sulu. In the House of Representatives five Christians, two Mohammedans and two pagans represent the nonchristians. These are Juan Carinó, Rafael Bulayungan, Pedro Aunario, all from the Mountain Province; Wenceslao Valera, Datu Piang, Pablo Lorenzo, Teodoro Palma Gil, Datu Benito, Isidro Vamenta, representing Mindanao and Sulu.\textsuperscript{198}

The uncivilized tribes in the Philippines have been accorded a representation in the Philippine Legislature, a privilege heretofore unknown to them. The purpose of the government is to extend to them civilizing opportunities which will ultimately bring about complete fusion with their Christian brothers. Accentuation of energies has been directed to public education, to the development of their natural resources, to sanitation and public works.

The education extended to the non-Christian tribes is also vocational. In the primary grades the pupils are trained in agriculture, and schools along the coast villages give emphasis upon the development of marine products, not only sea foods but industry in shells, pearls and sponges.
The grandeur of the program and the enormity of the task in these wilds are realised when it is considered that roads and bridges are penetrating the hearts of the isolations of the centuries. The socializing influence of public works can not be overestimated.

The government has even seen further than mere extending the ordinary curricula to the non-christian tribes. It is selecting the talents of these peoples with the view of developing them. Recently scholarships have been established in household industries, in nursing, in agriculture, in arts and trade and commerce. The uncivilized have broken down the barriers of the centuries and have gone forth even to the United States in search of further training. The Philippine government is making a permanent investment which insures profit by encouraging these young people to prepare themselves to serve their own people.

In 1917 the Philippine government passed an appropriation of 100,000 pesos to aid such inhabitants in Luzon and the Visayas who might desire to immigrate to the southern islands either to acquire land or to seek employment. Over five thousand were transported to Mindanao on government vessels in the same year and more are awaiting accommodation. This program will not only develop the resources of the south but will bring the two elements of Filipino people to-
gether as they never have been and thus abolish the tribal differences of the ages.

The surrender of the non-Christian tribes to civilization and their acceptance of authorities other than their Sultan marks the turning point of the Moro people. Since time immemorial the religious officials of Mindanao and Sulu have been looked upon as the instruments to affect economic and social development. Naturally, any usurpation of these privileges and rights by the impartial and strange government is taken as a pernicious sign. This part of the Moro problem has always been complex and delicate which has caused the retardation of the complete submission to the sovereignty of the United States. The passage of the Jones law guaranteeing independence to the Philippine Islands aroused a suspicion in the Mohammedan islands. Fearing that an independent Philippines meant an encroachment upon their religion and their social practices, Hadji Abdulla Nuño circulated a protest among his people. The movement reached the authorities in Manila and Hadji Nuño and his followers were summoned, and the Governor-General explained to them the real situation to the satisfaction of the Moro people. When the Philippine Legislature was inaugurated in 1916 a delegation headed by the Sultan of Sulu presented a memorial to the Governor-General for the legislature in which the datus
expressed their gratitude for the material benefits and political privileges afforded to them, and for the liberal treatment by the government in matters of public education, health and public works; and trusting that their relationships with their Christian brothers may be strengthened. The Mohammedan senator, Hadji Butu and representatives, Datu Piang and Datu Benito, were permitted to take oath on the Koran. This extraordinary concession received complete satisfaction on the part of the Moros. 203

The present policy of the Philippine government toward the Non-Christian tribes has been presented in brief. It is a continuation of the enterprise so nobly and so heroically begun and carried out by Dean C. Worcester who for twelve years was the secretary of the department of Interior. To him and to his faithful and conscientious force must be given the credit for the conditions now existing in the non-Christian territories. It cannot be argued that heretofore the Filipinos never knew their Mohammedan and pagan brothers: they had no sympathy with them and much less ever thought of establishing a peaceful relation with them. The noble work of Jeff D. Gallman, who for a thousand times risked his life in the effort to establish friendship with the head hunters; of Walter F. Hale, who converted the tattooed Kalinggas into ef-
fecient soldiers to maintain peace and order; of Bryant, who braved the wilds of Nueva Vizcaya in search of friends; of Samuel E. Kane who spanned the remote villages with trails is the salvation of the pagan people and the establishment of peace and everlasting unity of the Filipino people. Furthermore, to William G. Pack who, although weakened by illness, found a constant pleasure in his task; to E. Y. Miller, governor of Palawan; to Lieutenant Olney Bondurant, who while burning with malaria fever, engaged himself in the battle with the Moros; and to Captain Frederick Johnson, faithful unto the end, must be given the tribute of original and unselfish achievement. They were the pioneers who braved the untrodden path of the south where no man before ever dared to set his foot. They pushed the southern frontier of the Philippine Islands as far south as it could go. These faithful servants established the trails of civilization into the very core of the wilds of Luzon and Mindanao. The conversion of the non-christian tribes is a monumental achievement of the American people in the Philippines, and it is to be hoped that the pagan peoples in particular and the Filipino people in general may pay an everlasting tribute to the service of these heroes.

The significance of the conversion of the uncivilized
peoples to orderly life is all-embracing. Politically, it means unqualified solidarity of the Filipino people who legitimately desire an independent personality among the family of nations. The realization of the aim of the government is a sure guaranty of everlasting peace heretofore never known between the two elements of the Philippine population. Economically, the fusion of the christian and the non-christian Filipinos places the Philippines on the right road to economic and industrial development. The action of the government to encourage immigration to Mindanao is indeed laudable and should command every honest support. The island itself, second in size to Luzon, can produce sufficient food stuffs to supply the whole Philippines and export besides. Forest and marine products abound in abundance but how could these be utilized if the Mohammedan population were bitter foes to the Filipinos? The pioneer work of the American heroes is at once realised. The hostilities of the past are past and have become a record of history.

With constant faithfulness it is the purpose of the Philippine government to raise the non-christians to the level of their christian fellows. It is expected that the Bureau of the Non-christian Tribes will be abolished and then organize the southern and northern provinces as regular provinces under one law. This aim is being realised every day
The provisions of the Jones law governing the non-Christian tribes are an excellent reflection of the Congress of the United States. By placing the people under a special bureau and by making the senators and representatives appointive, Congress has excluded the affairs of the non-Christians from politics. It is a solemn guarantee to the heroes that the task they so nobly began will be carried on.

The relations which to-day exist between the Moros and the Igorots on the one hand and the Filipinos on the other was never known before, and much less dreamed of. Through contact and through the peaceful achievement of a common education the social and psychological abyss which the centuries have established between the two groups is narrowing itself at an almost incredible speed.

Checks and Balances

A brief statement of the system of checks and balances in the Philippine government should be made. Upon the broad powers of the Philippine Legislature Congress reserves the ultimate power of annulling the laws enacted by the local government. The local government may enact laws on every phase of any subject but laws enacted on tariff, immigration, public lands and currency must first be approved by the President before they can be enforced. No duties on exports
from the Philippines may be levied by the legislature, and the national indebtedness must not exceed $15,000,000 exclusive of the friar lands. No province or municipality may incur a liability exceeding seven per cent of its tax valuation.

Over the power to create or abolish executive departments Congress made a very essential provision: that the Department of Public Instruction with the Vice-Governor as its secretary shall remain and to include the bureau of education and the bureau of health. Likewise the Department of Interior must continue but its bureaus may be reorganized. The bureau of the non-Christian tribes is a creation of Congress although the formulation of policy is left with the local government.

Very much condemned by the American press in Manila is the power of the Philippine senate to approve the appointments made by the governor-general. Critics laid their fear on political buccaneering in the matter of appointments. Fortunately, this matter is transacted in the meeting of the Council of State which takes charge of all promotions and appointments to offices, and the senate simply stamps its approval.

Formerly the Governor-General was also the chairman of the Philippine Commission, the former senate of the Philip-
pine legislature. Upon the institution of the Filipino senate this position was dissolved. His powers, however, are extraordinarily broad. He is the "supreme executive power" in the Philippine government with the general supervision over all the executive departments and bureaus, including the ordinary veto power over legislation and over items in the appropriation bills. As representative of the United States and as the appointee of the President, the Governor-General shall execute the laws of the United States applicable to the islands, and the laws passed by the Philippine Legislature. His military powers may mobilize the local army and militia; suspend the writ of habeas corpus and call upon the army and navy of the United States. With his power to appoint officers the Governor-General may place the appointive senators and representatives as heads of the departments and thus control the affairs of the government. This is however, counterbalanced by the power of the senate to approve the appointments and by the power of the legislature to compel testimony from any official. The governor-General may grant pardons, remit fines and forfeitures. He may establish a uniform system of accounting with the auditor, and all claims against the auditor must be made to him. Each year the Governor-General shall receive the reports of the
departments and bureaus of the government, and shall make a report on the Philippines to the Secretary of War.

Over and against the broad powers of the governor-general are those of the President of the United States. Being his appointee the governor is responsible to him. The Governor-General may perform the military powers of the President in the Philippines should occasion arise but such action must at once be reported to the President. All laws passed by the Philippine Legislature affecting tariff, immigration, public land and currency must be approved by the President before going into effect.

Entirely favorable to the Philippines is the matter connected with the Resident Commissioners at Washington. These officials are elected by the Philippine Legislature and must be responsible to that body. However, their compensation is paid from the treasury of the United States, and except the privilege of voting in the House the Commissioners are on equal footing with the representatives in Congress. The creation of the office of the Resident Commissioners arises from the good will and liberality of America. It is not recorded that the Congress has ever directed or supervised the officers in Washington, in fact in the case of the Philippine Resident Commissioners, their best effort has been directed to securing legislation for the independence of the Philippines.
The Philippine judiciary has been left untouched. The judicial system is composed of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, the Courts of First Instance, and the justice of the peace courts. The Supreme Court has remained aloof the other two departments of the government and has maintained its prestige. Its justices, being appointed by the President and their compensation fixed in the organic act, the Supreme Court is an independent body, more so than the Supreme Court of the United States.

Hardly can a law be enacted for a territory more perfect than the Jones law. The arrangement prevents any encroachment of powers. It would be of interest to note some of the safeguards against politics. in the functions which should remain excluded from the probable corruptions of politics. The provision concerning the department of public instruction is a practical guarantee that the work of education must continue in spite of any changes which may be adopted. The law provides that the Vice-Governor-General will continue to be its secretary and to embrace the bureau of education and the bureau of health. The grouping of education and health under one department is indeed a very wise provision. The fact that the Secretary of Public Instruction is appointed by the President at certain compensation the officer is practically excluded from any local interest. The Philippine Legislature could not exercise any restraint
on this department except by refusing to appropriate funds for its support.

In like manner is this feature true with the auditing of finance. The Insular Auditor and the deputy auditor are appointed by the President of the United States at stated compensation which the Philippine Legislature cannot alter. This plan is a guarantee of the independence of the financial system of the Philippine government. The auditors are responsible to the President and not to the Filipino people.
The story of the development of the Filipinos' feeling of nationality is tragic, spanning from the beginning to the end with endurance founded upon hopes that sometime in the future they must see the dawn of the new day. The policy Spain adopted in the Philippines and the means which she used to gain her end was one of religious selfishness and oppression. Desirous to perpetuate the catholic faith, the Spaniards were deceived by the idea that by keeping the Filipinos ignorant of the outside world she could carry out her program with the least counterforce. They realised that knowledge is power, and rather than sacrifice their religious ambition, it must be frustrated. So, for three hundred and thirty years the Philippines were purposely kept out of the world's influence. Trade with Japan was much restricted, and Chinese immigration was absolutely prohibited. In this manner, the Spaniards succeeded to absorb the echoes of the struggles of the other people for freedom. The gallant fight of America against the oppression of Great Britain never reached the Filipinos who were laboring under similar conditions. Of the American Indians battling single handed for a place in their native land they heard not; neither of
the repeated revolts of the Spanish colonies in America.

But this was not all, for the Spaniards refused to teach certain things. The Filipino who learned to pray and gaze into the heavens for the salvation of his soul should learn to read, but to learn the Spanish language he must not, lest he should become independent and search for knowledge himself. Nor could he use any book for the ecclesiastical body of censors passed on all printed matter. The Filipinos suffered exile in their own country for three centuries. They did not know even their country; but they knew that they were carrying a burden which must be thrown off at some appropriate time.

The Opening of the Suez Canal:

First Martyrs

Time brings about changes in spite of man's selfish efforts to withhold them. The opening of the Suez Canal made the Cape of Good Hope a matter of memory in the world of trade and commerce. China, which had been closed for centuries, unlocked her doors to the world. The momentous event placed the Spaniards in the Philippines at an overwhelming dilemma-- whether to open the Philippines and be in keeping with the progressive world or ignore the compelling influence
of the transformation and lose honor among the civilized world. The Spaniards chose the first.

To the Filipino people the opening of the Suez Canal marked a signal stage in their history. It opened to them the road for a systematic movement for reform. They began to reflect and their primal reflections blossomed into a formal petition to the Courts of Spain and Rome to recover the Filipino secular parishes which the government had taken from them to give to the friars. The church evaded the legitimate claim by charging Father Burgos, the initiator, of agitation for revolt; and that the removal of the friars from the parishes meant the collapse of the whole religious structure in the Philippines. But when a people reaches the end of their endurance and determines to affect a reform of their national condition, the suppression of one movement spells the eruption of another elsewhere each time adopting a more drastic means. While the petition was arbitrarily pending in the mysterious operation of the church and state, the workers at the Cavite arsenal mutinied. The friars suspected that they must be back of the petition and ordered their arrest. No other trials in history proceeded with more mysteriousness. Executions in despatch; and a comment on them entailed the penalty of death. Father Burgos and two other secular priests, Father Gomez and Father Zamora gave their lives in the scaffold.
The friars, in so executing Father Burgos, desired to instill a profound fear in the heart of the Filipino people, believing that through fear the movement for reform might be checked. But alas, just the contrary happened; for the wrongs and injustice which filled the father's mysterious trial set the heart of the Filipino people aflame. It made them braver still and more determined. The mask of ignorance which hid the light of day for three hundred years was rent. On February 17, 1872 Father Burgos gave his life so that his people might gain theirs.

The Movement for Propaganda

Under these crucial times when the church became the dictator of the officials in the government and even of the Spanish minister; and when personal enemies of the friars became the enemies of the government in which pretension they were delivered to the civil guard for execution, the Filipinos believed that they must conduct a propaganda which would reach the utmost parts of the Philippine Archipelago not only to expose the wrongs and injustice but also to educate so that the reform movement might secure the undivided support of the mass. Supported by a few well-to-do Filipinos who were known as propagandistas, the ardent patriots published La Solidaridad first under the editorship of Graciano Lopez-
Jaéna and subsequently under the direction of Marcelo H. del Pilar. The weekly sought the following reforms: (1) the abolition of the military form of government; and the establishment of the civil government in which the arbitrary powers of the Governor-General shall be limited by a constitution; (2) the protection of the rights and liberties of the Filipino people; (3) representation of the Philippines in the Cortes of Spain; (4) the establishment of a merit system upon which the offices shall be filled; (5) the expulsion of the friars or the return of the parishes to secular priests. In reply to these demands the friars contested that the Filipinos were not entitled to such concessions because they were indolent and their education was hopelessly defective. The Filipinos returned and said that if their education was defective, their teachers made it so, upon which the friars answered that "the liberties of the Peninsular had cost the Spaniards their precious blood." A challenge to Filipino patriotism! Notwithstanding this, the Filipinos believed that they must first educate the common mass in the nature and justness of their cause. To affect this end the propaganda must continue.

Conspicuous among the loyal supporters of La Solidaridad was Dr. Jose Rizal y Mercado, the Filipino scholar and hero. He had written many articles for the paper but realizing that
it did not produce the desired result, he severed his relations in order that he might enter upon a more profound enterprise with the same end in view. He directed his loyal talents to writing novels which his people might read and thus be guided to orderly action. The first novel he produced was the "Noli Me Tangere" (Social Cancer). The gist is here reproduced:

The hero of the Filipino drama is Ibarra, the only son of a wealthy family in Manila in whose veins ran a mixture of Spanish and Filipino blood. Having had the privilege of education abroad, Ibarra was looked upon by his people as the instrument with which to secure reforms for his country. But unfortunately he did not understand the needs of his people for when approached by a citizen called Elias for aid to secure the construction of a schoolhouse, Ibarra contended that the people were not ready for such improvement or any other. The request was later renewed upon him this time by his sweetheart—personifying the Philippines—the only daughter of a friar in the city. The girl promised to marry him on condition that he built a schoolhouse. To Ibarra this was the least request that could be made to a devoted and wealthy lover, and the building was rushed with all the encouragement of executive authorities. But the betrothal found an impediment in the father who denounced the engagement of his daughter
to a man who would not kiss his hand and pay such other respects which the public is wont to do for a divine representative. He arranged the marriage of his daughter to a friar. Madly enraged by this news, Ibarra with the aid of force planned an attack upon the convent, to assassinate the friar lover and to carry his sweetheart away. The plan was executed but the friar was not to be found. Arrests began and many of Ibarra's men fell in the hands of the cruel civil guard. Some in order to escape torture committed suicide. Ibarra himself was being pursued by the guard. The faithful Elias fled with him. He induced Ibarra to go abroad and live on his gems and other treasures which he put away for him. To save Ibarra from the pursuing guards, Elias managed to have them pursue him instead and so gave his life for the liberator.

The story is continued in the second novel which followed—*El Filibusterismo*—(The Reign of Greed). Ibarra amassed wealth abroad and under an assumed name became an intimate friend of the Governor of Cuba. Through the influence of wealth Ibarra succeeded to secure the transfer of his friend to the Philippine Islands. Ibarra returned to the Philippines again to avenge the wrong done upon his personal affairs. He planned another plot. He was to give a recep-
tion to all the friars and officials in the city and during the occasion the building was to be blown up. But an accomplice betrayed him and the plot was discovered. In his hurried flight Ibarra received a mortal wound, finding shelter in the house of a parish priest Florentino, who explained to Ibarra his mistake.

Abounding in a wealth of details to portray the picturesque life of the Filipino people made bitter by the injustice of the friars, the novels tried to set up a standard for Filipino patriots. A social reform, in order to succeed, must not be colored by personal ambition as was the example of Ibarra. A patriot finds an example in the selfless Elias who gave his life for the impersonal cause.

These novels cost Rizal his dear life. The story was not read for its publication was suppressed. The friars did not read it for it was a filibuster.

La Liga Filipina

In 1892 Rizal convoked a secret meeting to organize the Liga Filipina. Before an assemblage of men representing all walks of life he read the rules and regulations which he had drawn. These were unanimously adopted. The ultimate end of the league was the independence of the Philippines from Spain through the following means: promotion of culture
by means of study; the encouragement of material development by stimulating industry; unqualified support of the La Solidaridad as a means of propagating knowledge especially advanced political ideas; and free assemblage to discuss matters of public importance. It was also provided that as soon as conditions warranted the Filipino people would rise in armed rebellion for the independence of the Philippines. During that occasion those who witnessed the birth of the society declared their unqualified allegiance and support. Their ceremony was peculiar. Before a human skull every man most solemnly took his oath to support the league and the cause for which it stood, and after kissing the skull each signed the document with his own blood obtained by making an incision in the arm. The skull symbolized death, which to the initiated meant that they were willing to give their life. Membership of the league incurred the duty of propaganda by every means possible. It was absolute denial of self and blind obedience to the superiors. Above all every member must exercise impenetrable silence under penalty of death.

This was the organization which Rizal had organized before his deportation to Dapitan. Through mismanagement of its funds the league was dissolved. It was re-established later by its ardent supporters, but was dissolved again to
be followed by the famous Katipunan.

The Katipunan

La Liga Filipina was dissolved after the deportation of Dr. Rizal to Dapitan. It was reorganized later by Andres Bonifacio, Domingo Franco and others. As instituted then the purpose of the league was to collect funds for the support of La Solidaridad and otherwise support the organ in order to maintain the propaganda for the cause of the Philippines. But doubts as to its good results, enhanced by the threats and risks under which the few loyal patriots labored, the league was dissolved to be succeeded by the Ang Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan Mga Anak nang Bayan (The Sovereign Worshipful Association of the Sons of the Soil), under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio.

Within a year the membership of the Katipunan had extended from all over Manila to Cavite and Bulacan. The society was organized for its movement for reform under secrecy. In August 1896 the Diario de Manila discovered that its employes were members of some secret society. Without any preliminary investigation sweeping arrests of the suspects were started not even excluding the Freemasons. Believing that the movement must be engineered by the educated class further arrests were made. Sentences were swift as they
were secret and barbarous tortures were employed to extract
confession, while many were smothered in the dark cell. It
was during this time when Dr. Rizal was executed, the ver­
dict which intensified the bitterness of the Filipino people
toward the Spaniards, and which made the opposition to the
wrongs and injustice more united and national. The execution
was based on no evidence but on mere suspicion that had it
not been for Rizal's novels and articles in La Solidaridad
the Filipino people would not have dreamed of any political
reform.

Andres Bonifacio was compelled to take to the mountains
with his staff and there organized an army against the civil
guard that was pursuing him. Under the command of Captain
Emilio Aguinaldo the Katipuneros were able to maintain their
post. This struggle marks the beginning of the Philippine
Revolution in which 35,000 armed Spaniards proved inferior
to the imperfectly organized Filipino troops with not more
than six hundred rifles. The war was quelled by the Treaty
of Biac-na-bato concluded December 14, 1897, in which Gov­
ernor-General Primo de Rivera agreed to pay $400,000 to
Aguinaldo provided he and his staff would leave for Singapore.
Furthermore, the Spanish government agreed to execute the
following: to expel the friars and reinstitute the lands held
by them in the towns; to recognize the Filipino clergy; to
recognize religious freedom, freedom of the press and equality of persons; to abolish the deportation of Filipinos and to allow representation in the Cortes of Spain.

Whatever significance may be attributed to the Liga Filipina or to the Katipunan it must be admitted that the society marked the birth of an idea rather than of an institution. The Katipunan was an offshoot of the Liga Filipina and while it differed somewhat from its mother society it was organized to support the principles which the league had advanced. The changes that were affected were due to the new conditions of the time. The father of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio was a profound student of history. Those who were well acquainted with the reformer testify that Bonifacio would pass many a night reading and his mind was so influenced that he was sometimes called the Filipino Don Quijote. He read much on the French revolution and naturally his reforms were aimed at a Philippine Commune equal to that of the French.

Not only was the Katipunan the birth of the Filipinos' aspiration for a unified nationality, but also the origin of that national symbol which today flies beside the Stars and Stripes—the Tricolor of the Filipino people. Pantaleon Torres, a prominent katipunero relates that the Filipino flag originated from the symbol of the Katipunan. The insig-
nia of the society was a triangle signifying the three di-
visions of the Philippine Archipelago--Luzon, Visayas and
Mindanao. Where the rising sun now is used to be a K sig-
nifying the Katipunan surrounded by sixteen sun rays which
represented the Supreme Council of sixteen members. The red
white and blue was adopted from the French tri-color.

During its life from 1892-1896 the Katipunan experienced
repeated extinction at one time and rebirth at another. Each
time it revived it assumed a somewhat different aspect ac-
cording to conditions, but it maintained its political nature.
Reinstituted in 1906 it dwindled away to extinction. The
organ has vanished but the idea is stronger than ever. It will
not rise again for its need is past but its tradition has
lodged in the soul of every Filipino. By virtue of the Ka-
tipunan the Filipino people seemingly divided into groups
have found a common cause for which they have offered their
best.

The Pratt-Aguinaldo Alliance:

The Lost Cause

During the war in Cuba there were in Singapore a num-
ber of Filipino political exiles who were eagerly watching
the development of events especially with regard to the pro-
bable conflict between the "Great North American Republic"
and Spain. Here developed the tacit alliance between the United States Consul Spencer Pratt at Singapore and General Emilio Aguinaldo—the historical incident which will forever be remembered in the annals of the Philippine history. The events leading to the fatal alliance will be read with eagerness and ardor.

General Aguinaldo arrived in Singapore April 31, 1898 incidentally the day when the United States declared war with Spain to liberate the oppressed Cuba. Only two days had elapsed when Mr. Pratt learned of Aguinaldo sojourning incognito in Singapore, and "Being aware of the great prestige of General Aguinaldo with the insurgents, and that no one, either at home or abroad, could exert over them the same influence and control that he could, I determined at once to see him." A "secret interview" was arranged in which Mr. Howard W. Bray, "Aguinaldo's Englishman" who left the islands on account of the revolution, acted as the interpreter. What transpired in the interview is well portrayed in the columns of The Singapore Free Press of May 4, 1898. To quote:

"During the conference, at which Mr. Bray acted as interpreter, General Aguinaldo explained to the American consul-general, Mr. Pratt, the incidents and objects of the late rebellion, and described the present disturbed state of the
country. General Aguinaldo then proceeded to detail the nature of the cooperation he could give, in which he, in the event of American forces from the squadron landing and taking possession of Manila, would guarantee to maintain order and discipline among the native troops and inhabitants in the humane way in which he had hitherto conducted the war, and prevent them from committing outrages on defenseless Spaniards beyond the inevitable in fair and honorable warfare. He further declared his ability to establish a proper and responsible government on liberal principles, and would be willing to accept the same terms for the country as the United States intend giving Cuba.

General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines, where internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advisers. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba. The ports of the Philippines would be free to the trade of the world... complete reform of the present corrupt judicature.... the right of public meeting.... general religious toleration.... abolition and expulsion of the tyrannical religious fraternities who have laid such strong hands on every branch of civil administration.... Full provision... for the exploitation of the natural resources and wealth of the country
by roads and railways.... The preservation of public safety and order.....

The consul-general of the United States, coinciding with the general views expressed during the discussion, telegraphed to Admiral Dewey thus:

"Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with Commodore for general cooperation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph" to which Admiral Dewey replied, "Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible."  

Mr. Pratt had a busy time securing transportation for Aguinaldo and his staff under assumed names, but being compelled to remove his squadron from neutral waters, Admiral Dewey departed before the party could arrive. It was not until May 16, 1898 when Mr. Wildman, United States Consul at Hongkong succeeded to put Aguinaldo on board the McCulloch for Manila, arriving there three days later.

It is now proper to consider what the Filipinos themselves were engaged in and in what frame of mind they were all this time. Before Admiral Dewey had arrived in Manila Bay the Filipinos at Singapore forwarded a manifesto to Manila with this heading: "AMERICAS ALLIES"-- THE MANIFESTO OF THE FILIPINOS." To quote the manifesto said:

"COMPATRIOTS: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach...."
The Americans not from mercenary motives but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend this protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever relations with Spain, owing to the tyranny this nation is exercising in Cuba.....

At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail for the Philippines.

We.... are very much afraid that you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow your own brains out than fire a shot or treat as enemies those who are your liberators....

Take note, the Americans will attack by sea.... we insurgents must attack by land......

There, where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers.

Our unworthy names are as nothing, but one and all of us invoke the name of the patriot our country has seen, in the sure and certain hope that his spirit will be with us in those moments and guide us to victory—our immortal Jose Rizal."213

How the Filipinos took to this proclamation was described by Mr Oscar F. Williams, American consul in Manila, in his letter to the State Department on May 13, 1898. It said:
"To aid you, if possible, permit me to give assurance of the friendliness of the Philippine natives to our country and to me as its representative...... I last week went on shore at Cavite with British consul, in his launch, to show the destruction wrought by our fleet. As soon as the natives found me out, they crowded around me, hats off, shouting, "Viva los Americanos," thronged about me by hundreds to shake either hand, even several at a time, men, women, and children striving to get even a finger to shake. So I moved half a mile, shaking continuously with both hands..."314

Mr. Pratt himself testified the same thing in his letter to Secretary Day on June 2, 1898, although he seemed to have some personal motive as will be noted in the following quotation:

"Considering the enthusiastic manner General Aguinaldo has been received by the natives and the confidence with which he already appears to have inspired Admiral Dewey, it will be admitted, I think, that I did not overrate his importance and that I have materially assisted the cause of the United States in the Philippines in securing his cooperation."315

The attitude of mind in which Aguinaldo and his staff were in upon landing in Manila may be shown by some corres-
pondence with the American representatives, always bearing in mind what had transpired in the "secret interview". On June 11, 1898 Mr. Pratt wrote Aguinaldo:

"I wrote fully to Admiral Dewey concerning you, and to the American people have pointed out that you and you alone were equal to the occasion."

From Consul-General Wildman at Hongkong Aguinaldo received this message dated June 25th:

"I have vouched for your honesty and earnestness of purpose to the President of the United States and to our people, and they are ready to extend their hand to you as a brother and aid you in every laudible ambition. I give you my assurance that you can always call upon me to act as your champion should any try to slander your name.

Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering, and not for the love of conquest or the hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feelings toward the Filipinos. Whatever the final disposition toward the conquered territory may be, you can trust the United States that justice and honor will control all their dealings with you."\(^{216}\)

A diplomatic encouragement for Aguinaldo as if to say, "Go to it, my man, and lick the Spaniards while the army is rushed across the Pacific", carefully refraining from

\*Italics mine
discouraging Aguinaldo to further entertain his hopes.

Thirty thousand strong hailed Aguinaldo when he landed in Cavite. Five days later Consul Williams reported to Secretary Day that "37,000 insurgents stand ready to aid the United States forces, and General Aguinaldo’s headquarters were this A.M. at 7 o’clock surrounded by 500 to 1,000 men eager to enlist. I was there at that hour and saw the men."317

Such was the attitude of mind of the Filipino people and their enthusiasm in cooperation with the United States. Their expectations were indeed obvious as to the disposition of the Philippines. They received all the diplomatic encouragement of the American consuls. To turn to Admiral Dewey to whom Aguinaldo was sent.

It is unfortunate that the Admiral was not summoned to account for this mishap until a long time had elapsed, and thus permitting the memories of the years to vanish. Four years later before the reverend senate committee Admiral Dewey appeared to verify the information which had come to the senate pertaining to Aguinaldo and the revolution. The Admiral began thus:

"Aguinaldo came to see me. I said, 'Well, now, go ashore there, we have got our force at the arsenal at Cavite, go ashore and start your army.' He came back in the course of a few hours and said, 'I want to leave here; I want to go to Japan.' I said, 'Don't give it up, Don Emilio.' I wanted his help you know. He did not sleep ashore that night; he
slept on board the ship. The next morning he went on shore, still inside my lines, and began recruiting men."  

The senate committee wanted to know the exact relations which existed between Aguinaldo and Mr. Pratt. It is rather curious to note that the Admiral repeatedly said; "I did not attach any importance to it."  

A member of the committee seemed to have sensed this when we read:  

"Admiral Dewey: 'I do not think it makes any difference what my opinion is on these things.'  

Senator Patterson: 'There is no man whose opinion goes further with the country than yours does, Admiral, and therefore I think you ought to be prudent in expressing your view.'  

Senator Beveridge (Acting chairman): 'The chairman will not permit any member to lecture Admiral Dewey on his prudence or his imprudence.'  

Senator Patterson: 'I was not lecturing him.'  

Senator Beveridge: 'Yes, you said he ought to be prudent.'  

Senator Patterson: 'And I think it was well enough to suggest those things.' "  

Admiral Dewey declared that he had used the Filipinos as
the Federal troops used the Negroes during the Civil War, upon which Senator Patterson replied that the Negroes were slaves and the Filipinos were expecting freedom. The Admiral testified that the Filipinos were slaves, too, who looked upon him as their liberator. Could this be a probable conception under the attendant circumstances? And why did the Admiral express that "these people (Filipinos) are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races," and adding later, "Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion"? Would a representative of a powerful nation make an alliance with slaves? Admiral Dewey could not certainly align Filipino aspirations with the freedom of the slaves.

While the United States troops were speeding across the Pacific the Filipino troops kept the Spaniards hemmed within the Walled City at ever shortening rations. "Under our guns", and united in the thought of "Cuba libre", the Filipinos "whipped the Spaniards battle after battle." Every Filipino that fell was a life laid for an American. "He (Aguinaldo) was most obedient", declared the Admiral before the committee. "Up to the time the army came he did everything I requested." The general expression was, "We intend to whip the Spaniards and set you free."
pinoes captured thousands of Spaniards and Admiral Dewey turned over to Aguinaldo his prisoners for care. Under these circumstances the Admiral could not attach no importance to the cause of the Filipino people. Furthermore, "He (Aguinaldo) has been very closely watched by Admiral Dewey, Consul Williams, and his own junta.... in Hongkong...." and Consul Williams wrote Secretary Day August 4, 1898:

"It has been my study to keep on pleasant terms with General Aguinaldo for ultimate objects. By so doing I have avoided certain troubles and aided our forces. Admiral Dewey says I have planted the seeds of cordial cooperation." \(^{225}\)

But man forgets and Admiral Dewey did "not remember having said that." \(^{226}\)

A reader of the proceedings of the senate committee receives two impressions: either Admiral Dewey could not remember, for it was four years ago; or he was reserved in his statement. So it is surprising that the situation did not get any clearer, and has remained so to the present time. It will never be clarified to the complete satisfaction of future historians.

While the Filipino forces were thick in battle, the climax of the story was transpiring in Singapore. The Filipinos in Singapore paid their respects to Consul Pratt after
the victories of Aguinaldo. What took place in the occasion is well portrayed in the Singapore Free Press of June 9, 1898 and in the Straits Times of the same date, copies of which Mr. Pratt forwarded to the State Department "with duplicates for the press should you consider their publication desirable."

A little after five in the afternoon says the press representatives of the Filipino residents in Singapore waited upon Consul-General Mr. Pratt at his residence in Raffles Hotel. Their purpose was to present an address congratulating the consul on the success of the Americans and to express their gratitude for the protection which the United States gave them toward their national cause. Among the prominent people present were W.G. St. Clair, editor of the Singapore Free Press, and Mr A. Reid, editor of the Straits Times. Wearing the badge of the Liga Filipina which Aguinaldo had presented him, Mr. Pratt appeared before the delegation. Mr. Bray, also wearing the badge, presented the delegation to the consul and Dr. Santos, the spokesman of the Filipinos, began to address the American representative thus:

"Sir: The Filipino colony resident in this port, composed of representatives of all social classes, have come to present their respects to you as the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American Republic, in order to ex-
press our eternal gratitude for the moral and material protection extended by Admiral Dewey to our trusted leader Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, who has been driven to take up arms in the name of 8,000,000 Filipinos in defense of those very principles of justice and liberty, of which your country is the foremost champion.

Our countrymen, at home, and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our native land, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy, will efficaciously second the program arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States.

Our warmest thanks are especially due to you, sir, personally, for having been the first to cultivate relations with General Aguinaldo and arrange for his cooperation with Admiral Dewey, thus supporting our aspirations which time and subsequent actions have developed and caused to meet with the applause and approbation of your nation...."

After listening to the address Mr. Pratt also speaking in French replied:

"Gentlemen, the honor you have conferred upon me is so unexpected that I cannot find appropriate words with which to thank you and with which to reply.... Rest assured, though,
that I fully understand and sincerely appreciate the motives that have prompted your present action and that your words, which have sunk deep in my heart, shall be faithfully repeated to the President, to Admiral Dewey, and to the American people—from whom I am sure that they will meet with full and generous response. A little over a month ago the world resounded with the praises of Admiral Dewey and his fellow-officers and men for a glorious victory won by the American Asiatic Squadron in the Bay of Manila. Now we have the news of the brilliant achievements of your own distinguished leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, cooperating on land with the Americans at sea. You have just reason to be proud of what has been and is being accomplished by General Emilio Aguinaldo and your fellow-countrymen under his command. When six weeks ago I learned that General Aguinaldo had arrived incognito in Singapore, I immediately sought him out. An hour's interview convinced me that he was the man for the occasion; and having communicated with Admiral Dewey, I accordingly arranged for him to join the latter, which he did, at Cavite. The rest you know.

I am thankful to have been the means, though incidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey, which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventful outcome will be all that
can be desired for the happiness and the welfare of the Filipinos..."

After Mr. Pratt's speech Dr. Santos addressing his Paisanos made some complimentary remarks about the keen foresight of the consul. He further expressed his desire to have an American flag as a token of the patriotic occasion. Gladly complying with the request Mr. Pratt presented the flag saying:

"This flag was borne in battle, and is the emblem of that liberty that you are seeking to attain. Its red stripes represent the blood that was shed for the cause; the white represents the purity of the motive; the blue field stands for the azure of the sky; the stars are the free and independent States of the Union. Take the flag and keep it as a souvenir of the occasion."

Dr. Santos received it most reverently and waving it amidst cheers said to Mr. Pratt it would be preserved for future generation to look upon.

Amidst successive vivas the assemblage drank for the President of the United States, for Consul-General Pratt, for Admiral Dewey, for General Aguinaldo, and for England, the 'nation hospitaliere', after which the consul retired to listen to the serenade of the Filipino band.

Mr. Pratt kept the State Department informed by cable
which was followed by correspondence. The first news the Consul received from the State Department was "Avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine insurgents", to which he replied "No intention negotiate. Left that Dewey who desired Aguinaldo come."

These telegraphic exchanges were dated June 17th and the State Department was sending a letter to the Consul regarding his telegraphic communications, but when he received this no one knows. Furthermore, these exchanges took place after the patriotic demonstration for Mr. Pratt when things had developed to the highest point. Among other things the official letter said:

"To obtain the unconditional personal assistance of General Aguinaldo in the expedition to Manila was proper, if in so doing he was not induced to form hopes which might not be practicable to gratify." 228

Obviously, the State Department was not aware of the events which were developing on the other side of the sea, and did not find reason for doubt of Mr. Pratt's dealings until the receipt of the Straits Times which described the patriotic rally for Mr. Pratt. Shocked by the speeches the Department wrote Mr. Pratt:

"The extract communicated by you from the Straits Times of the 9th of June has occasioned a feeling of disquietude and a doubt as to whether some of your acts may not have
borne a significance and produced an impression which this government would be compelled to regret.

The address presented to you by the twenty-five or thirty Filipinos who gathered about the consulate discloses an understanding on their part that the object of Admiral Dewey was to support the cause of General Aguinaldo, and that the ultimate object of our action is to secure the independence of the Philippines 'under the protection of the United States.'

Your address does not repel this implication, and it moreover represents that General Aguinaldo was 'sought out by you', whereas it has been the understanding of the Department that you received him only upon the request of a British subject named Bray who formerly lived in the Philippines. Your further reference to General Aguinaldo as 'the man for the occasion' and to your 'bringing about' the 'arrangement' between 'General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey which has resulted so happily', also represents the matter in a light which causes apprehension lest your action may have laid ground for future complications.

For these reasons the Department has not caused the article to be given to the press, lest it might seem thereby to lend a sanction to views the expression of which it had not authorized."239

The fear of the State Department for "future complications" was like a prophecy. It is not the purpose of this
monograph to recall the blunders of the past and thus re-vive the profound disappointment and the unspeakable bitterness which overwhelmed the Filipino people in 1898. In the light of these documents the war between the Americans and the Filipinos was not a part of the American-Spanish war. It was a separate war by itself especially instigated by the Consul General Spencer Pratt. The misunderstanding was indeed unfortunate as it was unnecessary, but the Filipinos could not be blamed for taking the stand they took. The Filipinos felt they were tricked, deceived duped and deprived of their legitimate and natural rights and liberties of which "the United States of the North is a foremost champion"; and all had to happen because of Mr. Pratt seeking Aguinaldo. How one man can change the history of a nation.

230 The Filipinos fought for the Americans; and when the troops arrived in June the war was over. Considering the long distance which was made doubly long by the notoriously slow mail, the authorities at Washington were unavoidably kept ignorant of the details of the events across the waters until they had developed too far. It seems however that in one instance, especially because it took place after the collapse of Mr. Pratt, the State Department could have gone a step further in its instruction to Consul Williams in Manila.
On the same day that the State Department of State was reading the story of the Filipinos' visit to Mr. Pratt at Singapore, Consul Williams in Manila was writing to Secretary Day, describing the successive victories of Aguinaldo's forces. Among other things the consul said, "Last Sunday, 12th, they held a council to form a provisional government. I was urged to attend but thought best to decline." In reply to this the Department wrote, "Your course, while maintaining amicable relations with the insurgents, in abstaining from any participation in their adoption of their so-called provisional government, is approved." Having fully understood the real situation why did not the State Department go a step more in the instruction, and possibly discourage Aguinaldo from entertaining his hopes? This letter was dated August 4, 1898 and the war with the Filipinos did not break until February.

When the United States troops landed in Cavite General Aguinaldo had already promulgated declaration that the Philippines were independent and forwarded a copy to Admiral Dewey who sent it to the Department without reading it. The reaction of some other official who was not connected in the alliance may throw some light on the contested subject. When General Anderson called on Aguinaldo in company with Admi-
eral Dewey, the Filipino chief asked him whether "the United States of the North" had recognized the independence of the Philippines.232 "I am not quite sure", General Anderson continues, "as to the form of the question, whether it was 'had' or 'would'. In either form it was embarrassing." But because he was "trying to contract with the Filipinos for horses, carts, fuel and forage", General Anderson evaded the question to the displeasure of Aguinaldo. The Filipino general then remarked, "I have studied attentively the Constitution of the United States and I find in it no authority for colonies, and I have no fear." Add to this Admiral Dewey's statement himself to Aguinaldo that "we were honorable and having plenty of land, desired no colonies", and the reason for the war is seen. General Anderson continues to say:

"Whether Admiral Dewey, Consuls Pratt, Wildman, and Williams did or did not give Aguinaldo assurances that the Philippine government would be recognized, the Filipinos certainly thought so, probably inferring this from their acts rather than their statement."

The common saying was "We intend to free you from Spain." Whatever these might mean the Filipinos felt assured that their program would receive the recognition of the United States. It may be observed that if General Anderson had perceived the situation a few days after his arrival how could
Admiral Dewey afford to repeat, "I did not attach any importance to it."? "I wanted his (Aguinaldo's) help, you know." This "ultimate object" seemed to have drowned the consideration of other things; and this was just what hurt the Filipinos. Admiral Dewey desired Aguinaldo to whip the Spaniards so that the United States army could "march in". They did "march in" for the Filipino troops kept the common enemy bottled up in the Walled City.

General Anderson relates an incident which because of its singularity may deserve a mention. At a banquet given by the Filipino officers to the American officials in the city of Manila, toasts and speeches were given by the army and navy officials. One of them said that the United States had come not to make the Filipinos slaves but freemen. A singular spectacle followed. All the Filipinos rose to their feet and Buencamino, raising his glass of wine said, "We wish to be baptized in that sentiment." So saying every one poured his wine over his head.

Then came General Merritt, a man who was more of a soldier than a diplomat, with instruction to avoid the Filipinos. Conditions changed as if overnight. The general instead of temporizing things to evade further ill feeling deliberately ignored the Filipinos and turned a deaf ear to their cause. The general not only refused the cooperation of the Filipino
forces but ordered the Filipinos to remove from the city of Manila. Had General Merritt exercised the least diplomacy with the Filipinos, the American occupation of the Philippines would have been spotless.

The opening of hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos in February 5, 1899 added a chapter to the history of the Filipino people. It changed the destiny of the ten million Filipinos, for what might have been their story had America left the islands with themselves as could have been done under the circumstances? But Consul Pratt had arranged it and the war broke out. To those who fought for them the American soldiers turned their guns and slaughtered them by the thousands. The homes that received them were reduced to ashes, and province after province was devastated. The mere statement of the facts is sufficient.

A question has been raised as to whether the Philippine Republic which General Aguinaldo organized had really the support of the Filipino people. Rather than rely upon the opinion of a Filipino General MacArthur says on this phase of the problem:

"When I first started in against these rebels, I believed that Aguinaldo's troops represented only a faction. I did not like to believe that the whole population on Luzon—the native population, that is—were opposed to us and our offers
of aid and good government. But after having come this far, after having occupied several towns and cities in succession, and having been brought much in contact with both insurrectos and amigos, I have been reluctantly compelled to believe that the Filipino masses are loyal and devoted to Aguinaldo and the government which he heads."

The fact that Aguinaldo was dictator did not necessarily mean that he imposed his authority upon an unwilling people. A dictatorship happens in every revolution. What he might have done had his Philippine Republic been recognized is another question, but in one instance Aguinaldo said that as soon as peace was established he would resign the temporarily assumed authority.

Speculations as to the right disposition of the Philippines began to come even before the United States army had left the port of San Francisco. One day in June Aguinaldo came across the *Singapore Times* for May 5th in which was an article intimating that the United States would retain the islands until the war was over, and then if Spain failed to pay the indemnity to sell them to Great Britain. Aguinaldo communicated at once to the President of the United States through his friend, Mr. Bray in Singapore. It appears, however, that something mysterious had happened to the corres-
ondence, for in forwarding it Mr. Bray noted that an enclosed telegram and "other documents" had "been extracted from the cover during transit." Whatever those "other documents" might be which Mr. Bray never found, Aguinaldo's letter was a strong protest against the proposed disposal of the Philippines.

On the other hand the London Spectator urged that the United States retain the islands in order to maintain the "balance of power" in the Far East. England had already too much and Germany must not be encouraged in her designs upon China. Russia must be kept away from Australia, and things must be so as to keep Russia and France apart. It could not be conceived, sustained the Spectator that a pagan nation like Japan should rule a Christian people like the Filipinos. As to the maintenance of peace and order, the Spectator would recommend five thousand Negro troops for the Philippines.

It is needless to say that the proposal aroused the opposition of the Filipino people especially because of the suggestion that Negro troops should be stationed to keep peace and order. Had this recommendation been acted upon, the American occupation of the Philippines would have been more than sensational.

Mr. Bray saw the article, and replying it urged neither
the sale of the islands nor their occupation by the United States, but an independent Philippines under American protectorate. 235

Now the opinion of an American authority—Consul Williams of Manila. Two days after the United States army had landed in Cavite Consul Williams forwarded a special correspondence to Secretary Day, urging American immigration to the Philippines. Mr. Williams urged an influx of 10,000 ambitious Americans representing all trades and occupations that year for all "can live well, become enriched, and patriotically assist your representatives in the establishment and maintenance of republican government." 236

The signing of the Treaty of Paris December 10, 1898 closed the Spanish-American War. The Filipinos lost the cause which they thought they would surely gain under the fraternal aid of the United States. They were destined to undergo another period of tutelage and make their way to independent statehood through industry and progressive peaceful means. The dark era ended and the epoch of free ideas and liberalism began.

Rizal's Legacy

A consideration of the Filipinos' struggle for freedom under the oppressive yoke of Spain must remain incomplete
without reference to the unselfish labors of the most revered Filipino hero—Dr. Jose Rizal.

Under arbitrary government wherein the freedom of speech was totally repressed to criticize the government brought the doom of a critic. Rizal was one of those few Filipinos of his time who desired to see a better governed Philippines. Having been educated in Europe and having had the privilege of travel all over the world, Rizal saw the backwardness of his country. His wish was to raise the Filipino people to a higher plane through progressive and timely action of the Spanish government. He was the severest critic the Philippines have ever produced, but his criticism was honest and well meant. As he said a criticism is to a government as a symptom to a disease is to an individual. It is a fair warning which calls for immediate action. This was Rizal's attitude toward the Spanish government and he directed his efforts to calling the attention of the authorities, and because he spoke thus he was executed against the tide of unspoken public opposition. This is the core of Rizal's heroism.

Rizal's labors were directed to the independence of the Philippines. This was the ultimate object of the Liga Filipina which he organized; "But I place as prior condition
the education of the people". This was his theory and when he wrote he had this idea dominant in mind. In *Noli Me Tangere* Rizal said that he was speaking *not* to the people of his time but to the coming generation. When the Philippines were seething with revolution Rizal was charged of being the instigator. Replying to this he wrote to his "Countrymen" saying:

"I have given proofs that I am one of the most anxious for the liberties of our country, and I am still desirous of them. But I place as a prior condition the education of the people, that by means of instruction and industry our country may have an individuality of its own and make itself worthy of these liberties. I have recommended in my writings the study of civic virtues, without which there is no redemption." 237

A propaganda which has for its slogan the progress and development of a people through peaceful means should entail no dangerous results. In spite of this the Spanish government decreed that Rizal was a filibuster and must be executed. The Filipinos to-day are blessed with the bill of rights which guarantee their personal liberties; that no person shall be deprived of life or liberty without due process of law; that in all cases the accused must be accorded speedy and public trial; that he be informed of the accusation made
against him and have a compulsory process of obtaining a counsel in his favor. Not one of these was granted to Rizal. The fundamental principle that the accused is presumed innocent until proved guilty was not even recognized, for before the victim had arrived the sentence was practically decided. The court room was full of his enemies clamoring for his execution. So, in December 30, 1896 Jose Rizal stood before a firing squad and received the fatal bullet which took away the most unselfish life that ever lived. Because of its gross injustice, the Filipino people were driven to desperation. Instead of inculcating fear as the Spaniards thought they would, the Filipinos became all the more united in their hatred and bitterness against the wrongs committed before their very eyes.

Thus fell the most consecrated hero of the Filipino people. The man is no more but his spirit lives in every Filipino heart, nay, it is the North Star which guides to the future Philippine Republic. Ever since his days the growth of free and liberal ideas has been the dominant feature in the history of the Philippines. Rizal accomplished the one supreme need of the Filipino people. Of his disunited countrymen he produced a common patriotism and a spirit of nationality which have made the Filipinos determine to set their foot on the right road to progress and devel-
opment. His prize poem, "To the Philippine Youth" had "Growth" for a theme. This theory has found a responsive cord in the young generation of to-day. Progress through education is the slogan of the Filipino youth and to that extent he supports Rizal's ideal with all vigor and loyalty. Rizal taught the youths that self-respect and self-control were prerequisites to a freer and more wisely governed country. Every day brightens the hope of the Filipino people.

The Filipinos look forward to the day when their Philippines shall be to the Orient as England to Europe or the United States to the Americas; and judging from the trend of the Philippine civilization to-day all evidences are in their favor. Occidental liberalism and institutions, the object of the world's glory, are being inculcated in the Philippines. These are bound to be the future ideals of the Oriental Republic. Especially is the situation very encouraging when to-day public free education is the national pride of the Filipino people. The Filipinos are aware that they will gain much by learning, for instance, the most universal language— the English language.

August 13, 1898 the Spanish flag was lowered in the Philippines to be supplanted by the Stars and Stripes, the emblem of adversity and liberalism. The Filipino people not unmindful of Rizal's statement that "those of you who
lived to see the dawn of the new day should not be forgetful of those who fell during the night", dedicated the first number of the Filipino papers issued under the American flag to Rizal. December 30th is a legal holiday in the Philippines when the Filipino people pay tribute to the man who died that they might live.

The lessons which they learned by experience are the national heritage of the Filipino people. The regime of Spain has made them resentful and bitter against any wrong and injustice committed by a government. These will never occur again in the Philippines. The Filipinos have sacrificed to many precious lives to resign from their ideal. In less than twenty years they have made strides which surprised the whole world. Their ambition fires them and they are forging ahead under the government of liberal ideas.
VII
THE AMERICAN STANDARD IN THE
PHILIPPINES

Retracing somewhat the successive steps which the Filipinos have taken during the last twenty-three years shows how they have developed. The American policy in the Philippines is a challenge to the world to show that a deviation from the seemingly established path of colonial administration is not necessarily detrimental to the interests of the conquered and much less to the purposes of the sovereign.

The American rule in the Philippines shows three salient features which should be worthy of notice: first, that under proper methods and standard two races entirely different from each other can enter into a partnership and work together as if one; second, the Philippine administration is a reflection of the spirit of America, America in its ambitious youth and utmost national pride; third, that the Philippine policy has been a success because of the willing cooperation of the Filipino people.

The Americans and the Filipinos are two distinct races which were foreign to each other until the Spanish-American War which brought the two peoples face to face. Except perhaps in the catholic religion, their civilization has nothing
in common. Each live under opposite climatic conditions; each have different temperaments with ideas and traditions most dissimilar. Yet their partnership has worked with the least friction. This aspect alone should command the admiration of the world in general, and of that class of people in particular which has made charges that the administration of the Philippine affairs is a total failure. It is not quite possible to state the reason for this harmony which stands unparalleled in the history of colonization. This much may be said that those who have been in contact with Filipinos in experiences where their opportunities are equally recognized will agree with the writer that of all Orientals the Filipinos are most assimilable and come nearest to the Americans. Laying aside the American sympathetic attitude for his "brown brother", they soon find a common ground. To be true the Filipinos are Catholic as many Americans are but where the church and state are divorced its consideration exerts no influence and may become negligible. Some have attributed the extraordinary harmony of the two peoples to the fact that the Filipino people are to a degree civilized in European medievalism which places them at an advantage over the rest of the Oriental peoples. This argument may have some bearing on the controversy but what about England in India or in Egypt? England has been in these countries for ages, and yet these people find
the least reason, if at all, for appreciating the British policy. It may be that the Filipinos are a peculiar people to adapt themselves to new conditions, as it has been supposed, but the writer is inclined to believe that any people can adapt itself to a new situation especially if it is superior to theirs if it is given to them to adapt to. It all depends upon how much is conceded and if England for instance had intended to Anglicize her colonies as the United States did her territories they would undoubtedly have established a sympathetic relationship which would grow closer as time rolled by. The cooperation has been very possible because America is human. She carried out her policy but not unmindful of the aspirations and desires of the Filipino people. For this reason America deserves the everlasting gratitude of the Filipinos, of the Porto Ricans and of the Cubans. As some has said America has conquered with ideas where others have failed with swords.

Perhaps there is no other people in the world who is so proud of its ideals, institutions and systems as the American people. There are more in America than any where else who are willing to lay down their lives for the defense of their tradition. Proud of their ideals the Americans braved to push the western frontier to its westward limit, and expanded the vast country as far north and as far south as it
could be made to go. This is the spirit which dared to girdle the vast area of America with steel, piercing the rocky obstructions and reaching from one side of the valley to the other. This is the strong and bold spirit which raised the artereal channels overhead; it is the spirit which bored subways and built over them massive structures which defy the skies. The ambition of young America is made manifest in a multitude of ways.

With respect to her colonies it is of significant to note that America Americanizes wherever she goes. She has Americanized the Hawaiian Islands; she carried the same spirit to the Porto Ricans and in less than a quarter of a century she established an Oriental America in the Philippines. America is the only country which offers her social systems to the territories and teaches her traditions to all those she comes in contact with and in this peaceful way extend an invitation to join the fraternal fellowship and mutual understanding. This has been abroad; it is emphasized at home among the millions who hail from all quarters of the globe. They are taught the traditions of America so that they, too, may enjoy the blessings of liberty which make for progress and self-development. The public schools of America are the backbone of American loyalty and patriotism, molding the life of the workable millions to the standard of American
citizenship. The public schools work upon the young; the Americanization movement works upon the old. Such a spirit should command the unqualified support of patriotic Americans who wish to see the pride and tradition of America maintained against the oncoming millions. America is the only country which allows repeated rebirth. The other countries of the world depend upon the multiplication of their subjects for the growth of their political population. Education as the basis of representative government is being emphasized in the Philippines. In her external obligations and policies America is alone in the humane motive. The several wars America entered have been actuated by human motives. "In the name of humanity and on behalf of civilization the war in Cuba must stop" is an oft repeated saying in the Philippines. The interventions in Mexico were all caused by inhuman cruelties. The United States entered the World War to make "democracy safe for the world".

The spirit of America has been made manifest in the Philippines in several ways. Three may be noticed: first, in the material development of the country; second, in the educational system; third, in the popular participation in government.

Those who have watched the progress of the Philippines along material lines must have realized the enormous changes
which have transpired during the last decade. To be true the resources of the Philippines have not been exploited as much as could be desired but never before did the Filipino people see a more progressive era. The spirit of American progressivism is apparent in many ways—in the improved means of communication including railroads, paved roads, telephone and telegraph lines; in public works of all kinds, in modern means of sanitation and especially in the popularity of goods and articles "Made in America". This phase is so apparent to the casual observer that it would not be overstressing to say that as the United States of to-day is not the same United States in 1898, so the Philippines of to-day are not the same Philippines before the Spanish-American War. In that year the United States layed aside its policy of isolation: in that year the Philippine Islands opened their doors for the western civilization. It cannot be disputed that the Americans have offered to the Filipinos better than they have ever known. The multitude of public and permanent improvements which the Americans genius has achieved in the Philippines will remain as a source of inspiration to the Filipino youth.

In the second place America Americanized the Filipinos through the public schools. The Filipinos have learned for certain that education alone enlightens people. Little do
the American people perhaps realise that through the Philip-
pine public schools the Filipinos learn the institutions,
customs and traditions of America. Through this peaceful
means the Filipinos learn of the "land of the free and the
home of the brave." They study the struggles under the Bri-
tish oppression, read of their aspirations for independent
statehood and of the marvellous progress which the Americans
have achieved during the last century which has placed them
as one of the sovereigns of the world. "Whatever you want
done by the State put it in schools" was a principle announced
by a German statesman. America conquered through schools
and the Filipinos are realising that but for the schools
democracy would be a failure in the Philippines. It goes
without saying that the Filipinos have been most responsive
and appreciative to the effect that they, too, are all the
more inspired of becoming a strong nation in the Far East.

Text books written by American authors and literature
by American talent have made for the rapid Americanization
of the Filipino people. Because of the public schools seventy
per cent of the Philippine population above ten years of
age have been saved from illiteracy. In two decades the En-
GLISH language has overshadowed the Spanish, reducing the old
language to an insignificant value as an instrument of com-
munication. The knowledge of the English language is a nation-
al asset of universal significance to the Filipino people. Its mastery will qualify them not only for the world of commerce but also for a membership in the family of nations.

Thirdly, the Americans have extended to the Filipino people what they fought for in 1896. They have individual liberty with its inherent privilege of participation in the government. A government created by the people and maintained by the people is least felt but not least effective. For this reason it coincides with human character. It is an established opinion that the liberal spirit on the part of the United States explains the success of the American regime in the Philippines. The Filipino people gratefully acknowledge the concession which they never saw before.

The manner in which the Filipinos were given the privilege of shaping their own government has been intensive as well as extensive. Even in the first days of military rule local governments were organized on principles of popular government. Nine years after the destruction of the Spanish fleet was inaugurated the Philippine Assembly composed of Filipinos and elected by Filipinos; and nine years later the Philippine Legislature became popularly elected. Added to this the gradual promotion of Filipinos to appointive positions, a process popularly known as the Filipinization of the insular service, and it is not too much to say
that in eighteen short years the government of the Philippine Islands transpired from one of Americans with the cooperation of the Filipinos to one of Filipinos with the aid of Americans.

To an impartial observer the magnitude and significance of such a policy is far reaching. The mere idea that every individual is an indispensable part of the great Commonwealth, the sum total of whose support make for the maintenance of society is an enviable blessing to be cherished by every man. This is one of the outstanding attractions of the United States to the peoples on the other side of the ocean. Arbitrary rule can be endured for some time, but never all the time. The Israelites endured making bricks without straw for four hundred years; the Filipinos endured arbitrary taxation for three hundred and thirty years. Time has brought the verdict. Kingdoms and empires are disappearing one after another. They were a necessary stage in the human development, but their terms have expired and there is now transpiring a form of law and justice which comes closest to human conscience and sentiment. Like a home the best government is where discipline is least felt.

The policy of England in her colonies and that of the United States in the Philippines show very decisive contrasts. In the first place, England never intended to An-
glicize her many colonies. It seems that the scores of years in Egypt, the century in the Malay States and the three hundred years in India have failed to impart the English language to over one per cent of the population. These countries have refused the social systems of Great Britain. Obviously, the main object of the British government is to develop the material resources of her colonies and stimulate commerce to the highest degree. At the same time it is hoped that the inhabitants will be more contented as they become more productive and progressive. In this respect, the United States has yet to learn from England. The exploitation of the Philippine resources has been retarded for two reasons: first, because of the constant agitation for independence and the failure of the United States to define its policy until in 1916. This fact kept conditions rather unstable. The second reason is because of a certain class interests which controlled the majority in Congress for a decade.

A question may arise whether a European government may thrive in Asia. To be true there are obstructions on the way; for instance there are dynasties to be broken down besides numerous castes which tend to oppose liberal government. But in return it may be said that the Filipinos never saw a republican form of government before and yet they have carried it out to a signal success. The American policy in the
Philippines will weaken the prestige of England in her colonies by inspiring the colonial inhabitants to attain the same era of liberal ideas and progressivism as the Filipinos now do enjoy.

The third feature of the American administration in the Philippines which must not fail observation is that the administration has been made possible because of the willing cooperation of the Filipino people. This is recognized by the officials who have to do with the Philippine affairs and stands indisputable. No policy can be put into execution upon an unwilling people. The Filipinos are ambitious and because they are they have given every assistance to the American authorities in order to hasten the realization of their ambition.

Within the last eight years occasional charges have been made to the effect that the Philippines have been hopelessly neglected. These charges are either the after effects of the changes which followed the democratic victory in 1913 or an evidence of party loyalty if not party prejudice. Indeed the extension of self-government has been hastened during the last eight years to the affright of the conservative factions in the United States. The passage of the Jones law in 1916 was considered a radical step which almost staggered the Republican policy in the Philippines for sixteen years. From 1898 to 1916 the administration of the Philippine affairs has been provisional under no definite policy embodied in
law. The Filipinos took things for granted on the basis of official diplomacy on the part of American officials in the islands. The Jones law provided among other things the Filipinization of the Philippine service. It gave the Filipino people the elective senate with all the ordinary prerogatives of the body especially the power to approve the appointments of the Governor-General. The Philippine Legislature was given the broadest powers, including the power to reorganize the executive departments which were now under the Filipinos themselves. Lastly, the law promised the recognition of Philippine independence as soon as a stable government shall be established therein.

These provisions shocked the more or less conservative factions in the United States who believed that the work of the first sixteen years was shattered to pieces. The Filipinos know that such provisions were not forthcoming for a decade under the Republican rule. A question may arise whether such concessions under the passing Democratic Party were little too rapid for the safety and interests of the Filipino people. This remains to be seen, but it may be stated that so far there has not been any evidence to the effect.

The Republican victory in the last general election raises two questions in regard to the administration and policy in the Philippines within the next four years.
Bearing in mind the fact that throughout the Democratic administration in the Philippines the Republicans pitilessly condemned the policy of Filipinization of the civil service, will the next Republican Governor-General restore the old order of American superiors and Filipino subordinates in the offices or is he going to continue the liberalism of the passing party in this respect? This is a very serious aspect of the Philippine administration for the change can not be affected without the strong opposition of the majority of the Filipino people. The policy of Filipinizing the Philippine service is officialized in the Jones law but its execution rests with the Governor-General. From this standpoint the problem of making the change according to the Republican theory of administration hinges on the chief executive. It is to be hoped that whatever changes may be made or proposed will be affected in the most amicable way and to the interests of the Filipino people as it should always be. After the liberalism of the democratic administration the Republican Party will find a task in the Philippines.

The other aspect of the democratic regime which has always been held as an unnecessary mistake by the opponent is the power of the Philippine senate to approve the appointments made by the Governor-General. This raises the second question, viz will the Republicans strike this provision out
of the Jones law? If the new administration decides to return to the old order of appointing Americans to the Executive Departments this action must be indispensable or the Governor will meet with the determined opposition of the Senate. Of these two aspects of the problem this much may be said that the Filipinos are determined to remain where they now are and any attempt to change their position which has the effect of throwing them back will create friction. They have gone too far to return and retrace their steps. The continuity of the peace and progress of the Philippines will depend upon the diplomatic tact of the next Republican Governor-General of the Philippines.

There is no doubt that foreign capital will be more encouraged to flow into the Philippines under the Republican rule than under the Democratic regime. Within the last three years capital entered the islands in the most unprecedented way, but it is supposed that it was because independence was not forthcoming as it seemed in 1915, and since the Republicans were bound to return and under their administration independence is much less possible to be realised, capital felt safe to enter the islands. If this plausible opinion proves true, and it seems to be in accordance with American inclination then the Philippines will see the banner period of economic development under the Republican Party. This
much is encouraging and the Filipinos will be most benefited.

The triumph of the Republican Party will throw the prospect for independence for at least four years. While it will stimulate the more well directed effort of propaganda the Filipino people can not help but feel that they are like a foot ball which is kicked from one end of the field to the other and arrive no where. It seems that the national progress of the Filipinos will have to be the mean or the resultant mean of the two mighty Republican and Democratic forces which pull in opposite directions. This is the attendant experience of dependency. It is at the mercy of party prejudices. A structure which one party builds rises only to be crushed down by the other.

The American Attitude Toward Independence

It is not within the compass of this monograph to discuss the readiness or the unreadiness of the Filipinos for independence, the burning subject which, in spite of its nobleness of purpose has been much mutilated by political corruptions. However, it seems urgent to at least draw an estimate of how the pressing problem stands in the mind of the average American citizen in the United States. Therefore an impartial presentation of the general attitude of
the American toward the subject of Philippine independence seems desirable at this point.

It is now an established purpose that the United States will sometime in the future withdraw from the Philippine Islands and recognize their political independence. This promise has been embodied into law which guarantees that independence will be conceded to the Filipinos as soon as a stable government can be established therein. On the theory that law is a solemn expression of public opinion the Jones Law of August 29, 1916 offers the most typical example.

The political history of the Central and South American Republics, not excluding Mexico and the Philippines led the world to question whether the Latin races have the genius for political independence. The rise of arbitrary dictatorship in Central and South America and in Mexico has created an opinion in the United States which only time and good works can redeem. The sister republics in the south seem to have regained their reputation; and it remains for the Mexicans and the Filipinos to do likewise in the most earnest way. To the American people Mexico and the Philippines are first degree political cousins if not brothers of the same Spanish parentage for they seem to have identical political temperaments, indeed the popular opinion is that when in-
dependence is granted to the Filipinos Mexico will be duplicated in the Far East. It is indeed unfortunate that such an opinion should be entertained in the United States, but the history of the Philippine Revolution seems to have justified the westerners to nourish the attitude of mind as they have. It chiefly concerns General Emilio Aguinaldo the first President of the short lived Philippine Republic, whose power as a dictator developed in the following manner. 239

At the meeting of the Katipuneros in San Fernando de Malabon, March 12, 1897, Don Emilio Aguinaldo then commanding captain of a battalion against Spain was elected President of the Central Government which would have charge of the revolution against Spain. Andres Bonifacio, the organizer of the society of Katipunan was elected the Director of the Department of Interior, but offended because some opposed his nomination he left the hall in disgust saying that as the organizer of the society he refused to recognize the actions taken at the meeting. He and his two brothers betook themselves to the mountains. Aguinaldo despatched two companies to arrest the brothers. In the fight which ensued one of the brothers was killed and Andres, himself wounded was captured with his brother to be shot later.
There is yet to be found an impartial critic and witness of this event who could assign a justifiable reason for Aguinaldo's act. This was the beginning of the rise of his personal ambition which earned him the title of insurgent leader and arbitrary dictator to stain the spotless and legitimate aspirations of the Filipino people. Furthermore, during the war with the Americans and at the time when the general's services and intellectual faculties were most needed Aguinaldo eliminated General Luna in the most treacherous manner; simply because Aguinaldo thought his colleague was trying to replace him. This committal ruined the statesmanship and valor of the Filipino people in the eyes of the Americans, compelling them to believe that the aspiration for independence is a class agitation in the cloak of unselfish patriotism.

The reforms which were demanded of Spain were unquestionably the crystallization of the honorable aspiration of the Filipino race for a freer life. But when personal ambition disguised in patriotic clothes dominates, a cause however praiseworthy and noble becomes corrupt to the contempt and disgust of the world. Such is the result, the unaimed result of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and of the war with the Americans in 1899. The execution of Andres Bonifacio...
shows Aguinaldo overwhelmingly ambitious for personal power. Upon this very weakness the enemies of the stern but loyal General Luna concentrated their selfish efforts. By employing the men whom General Luna had punished for discipline Aguinaldo crushed the morale of the Filipino force. Andres Bonifacio used to say that we should fear history. The Philippine revolution failed because it was maldirected. In his reliable and trustworthy colleague in the person of General Luna Aguinaldo saw a rival who tried to snatch his power away from him. It is not realised in the Philippines that Aguinaldo's arbitrary acts during the war followed later in 1907 by the election of Dr. Gomez to the Philippine Assembly have led the American people to question the ability and the genius of the Filipinos for popular government. This distrust bears its heavy weight on the movement for self-government and the immediate consequence is that the question of independence worthy of consideration as it is has received not only scant attention in the United States but also the strong suspicion that it is a movement engineered by a few of Aguinaldo's type and temperament. For this reason it has failed to acquire the dignity of a great popular agitation. Added to this the apparent backwardness and the destituteness of the Filipinos
and the sincere agitation for self-government loses its prestige. The Filipinos have not yet gained the confidence of the American people, indeed their most highly esteemed statesmen are aligned with the famous Villa of Mexico.

There are other aspects of the independence movement which should command the earnest consideration of every citizen of the Philippine Islands. First, the movement has been hopelessly corrupted in politics. Those who watch Philippine politics must have realized how campaign speeches are enlivened by the appeal of independence. Championed on the stump and in every occasion the independence propaganda has assumed the aspect of partisan agitation. The Filipino press supports the natural aspiration of the people and it has not been slow to make political capital of every issue which may relate to the problem. The independence movement should be divorced from politics. By its nature and character, it is the national aspiration which should command the earnest discrimination of every Filipino citizen.

The second phase of the movement which must not be overlooked is the fact that ever since the American rule the Nacionalista Party has been the sponsor of the agitation. To that extent it seems to an impartial observer like a class agitation.

Thirdly, there has not been any systematic attempt if
at all to educate the Filipino people on the issue of independence. According to American standard the great mass should be educated on all phases of the issue and the fact that the legislature which is elected by the people endorses the movement does not necessarily reflect the desire of the acquiescent public. This is a very essential aspect of the issue which the Filipino leaders have overlooked in the campaign for independence. To the American people who will pass their opinion on the subject this need is indispensable before any favorable consideration can be entertained, and until a popular vote is taken the American people will continue to nourish the idea that the agitation for independence is a class agitation.

The passage of the Jones law promising independence as soon as a stable government shall be established therein has been a source of encouragement. It has encouraged and stimulated a more organized propaganda for independence in America than ever before. Worthy of note in the propaganda is the fact that the Filipino press has been confining its argument for the issue on the legal aspect; and that America must fulfill her promise. In the opinion of the Filipino press "America is On Trial" to redeem her word. However, to the American mind the promise is discretionary, giving it
a wide range of discrimination. It is believed that on the contrary it falls on the lot of the Filipino people to demonstrate the best in every respect of national existence in order to convince America that they are prepared to receive the duties and the responsibilities of an independent nation; that a perfect governmental machinery which operates without loud jarrings does not necessarily guarantee perfect peace and order in time of crisis. In other words, the American people believe that political independence is only a partial fulfillment of the required condition for a stable government, and the Filipinos must also overcome the apparent backwardness which arrests every eye. The Americans believe that the Filipinos have developed wonderfully politically, that as far as this phase is concerned they are far ahead of Cuba when the independence was conceded to it. But according to American standard they must develop economically for economic development and independence is the measure of efficient government and prosperous people.

This is the general attitude toward the Filipinos with respect to their aspiration for self-government in America and it is the attitude which is redeemable by time and facts only. In regard to conceding independence the Democrats and the Republicans have practically identical policies although
the former are more inclined to grant it sooner than the latter's policy. This is supported by the fact that during the democratic administration the Filipinos became practically independent as has already been shown. Whatever the aspiration of the Filipinos may be the United States has set up a high standard for them. As an official once said, the apple is high and the Filipinos must climb for it and not merely shake it into their hat. While the President of the United States Mr. Taft said: "We should endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence." In 1913 Governor-General Harrison conveyed this message of President Wilson to the Filipino people:

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and permanent interests of the Islands will permit. After each step taken, experience will guide us to the next."

The Republican platform for 1930 made no provision
concerning the Philippines and the Democratic platform again restated the well established policy which every person has committed to memory that Philippine independence will be granted "without unnecessary delay." These testimonies tend to show that America is determined to pursue the process of gradual evolution, that she is reluctant to leave her task unfinished. The Republican Party has never been disposed to grant the Filipinos their freedom, and coupled with this the fact that in the United States the Philippine problem is like a drop in the bucket the prospect for the realization of the Filipinos' aspiration does not appear bright. The term which begins in March has before it colossal problems to solve and unless the Filipinos win the attention of the new Congress the cause is bound to be drowned.

America's Pride in the Philippines

Perhaps it is not fully realised in the United States that the Filipino people, notwithstanding their constant agitation for independence which has given the impression of dissatisfaction, are indebted to the American people for what is in the Philippines today. The Philippines have metamorphosed during the last twenty-three years to the extent that the Philippines of today are no longer the Philippines of yesterday. The Americans who question the ad-
ministration in the Philippines should find reason to take pride in the public improvements which have been effected during their regime. In place of narrow roads which at times became impassable stretch today broad and well kept highways which shortened the distance from one town to another. The Philippines take pride in the seven thousand miles of the best macadamized roads in the world. Modern bridges span the rivers and dales where before feeble structures made traffic so insecure. In the provincial capitals large and concrete buildings have replaced the wooden ones to house the ever increasing business of the government. Added to these the many modern school houses which have arisen since the American administration and still continue to rise one after another to accommodate the eager youths to get an education, and there is every reason for encouragement. The Philippines are making a place in the world's trade. Steam has shortened the world's girdle to Manila and has likewise made inter-island traffic most common. Isolation is no longer tolerated in the Philippines. Port works have been expanded and lighthouses erected to direct sailors to paths of safety. The opening of the islands alone makes for a more united Filipino race and adds to the solidarity of the ambitious people.

Under the American rule the Philippines have entered into government ownership of the railroads. The government
has been operating the railroad at a profit much larger than the private owner ever gained. The Philippine National Bank established in 1916 increased its total assets from 11,800,000 pesos to 210,942,000 pesos in 1918. It is practically owned by the Filipino people through their government which furnished over half the capital. The National Development Company and the National Hemp Company were created by the government and largely capitalized by it in 1919 to exploit and develop the natural resources of the islands especially the hemp industry. The Government of the Philippines opened the richest island of Mindanao to settlers, labor and capital. The development of this island spells the economic growth of the Philippines.

Public health is to-day far safer than it was twenty years ago. The Philippines are adopting modern methods in sanitation. One of the best equipped hospitals in the world and the model hospital in the Far East is found in Manila in the Philippine General Hospital.

The Filipino people take a superlative pride in their educational system and its accomplishment. The genuine enterprise saved seventy per cent of the population above ten years of age from illiteracy. The appropriation of fifteen million dollars in 1918 will extend primary education to the most remote places which have not been reached so far.
There are universities and colleges in the Philippines but the largest and most modern is the University of the Philipp­ines which was organized in 1908. It has the colleges of liberal arts, education, medicine, law, agriculture, engine­ering, veterinary science, besides the schools of pharmacy, dentistry, forestry, fine arts and music. The Far East looks upon the Philippines as model in educating the Oriental peoples.

Perhaps claiming perfection over all these social improve­ments is the political development of the Filipino people during the last two decades. During this period the Filipinos have perfected a governmental machinery which is adapted to the temper and peculiar conditions of the country. Indeed the Filipinos believe they have a better structure and more workable government than the United States, their teacher and their tutor. As has been demonstrated the Philippines have adopted a budget system, something which the United States has never known. The Parliamentary system has done away with the irresponsibility inherent in the presidential system. This is an improvement which the Filipinos are proud of.

The political life of the Filipinos to-day is a paradise compared with their previous condition under the Spanish regime. Well protected by law the Filipinos to-day live under
conditions which they never knew before. Their inalienable rights and liberties are not made the concern of the government. No law shall be passed which shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that every person is guaranteed equal protection of the laws. In the Philippines Americans and Filipinos come before the same court and are judged under the same law. The bill of rights enumerated in the organic law protects the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the freedom of religion. Once for all the church and state have been separated. All these make for a freer and more secure public life which have been realised under the American regime. Needless to say that the conversion of the non-Christian tribes to accept the government marks the beginning to the unification of the Filipino people.

That the Filipino people remain gratefully indebted to the United States is unquestionable. The Philippines will be the life ally of the United States. With the ever increasing spirit of nationality among the Filipino people reinforced by their ardent ambition for independent statehood, the Philippines are bound to become the America in miniature.

America conquered with wisdom and ideals where others have failed with force and compulsion.
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35 War Department Report, 1901, Vol I, Pt 8, p 18; Act No. 332 of the United States Philippine Commission

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37 See Aguinaldo-Pratt Alliance, Chapter VI

38 See Senator Hoar's speech in the Senate, May 22, 1903
The delegates to the Assembly were apportioned as follows: Albay 3; Ambos Camarines 3, Antique 1, Bataan 1, Batangas 3, Bohol 3, Bulacan 2, Cagayan 2, Capiz 3, Cavite 1, Cebu 7, Ilocos Norte 2, Ilocos Sur 3, Iloilo 5, Isabela 1, La Laguna 2, La Union 2, Leyte 4, Manila 2, Mindoro 1, Misamis 3, Nueva Ecija 1, Occidental Negros 3, Oriental Negros 2, Palawan 1, Pampanga 2, Pangasinan 5, Rizal 2, Romblon 1, Samar 3, Sorsogon 2, Surigao 1, Tayabas 2, Zambales 1. Total 81, one delegate for every 90,000 population or major fraction thereof. Official Gazette Feb. 13, 1907, pp 110, 111
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45 The Independent, Vol 63, p 303
46 The Cablenews, March 38, 1907, p 4; May 1, p 4; May 21, p 8; June 6, p 1; June 7, p 4; June 8, p 4; June 20, p 5; June 25, pp 1,5; July 30, p 5;
47 The Cablenews, June 19, 1907, p 3; June 23, p 4; June 25, p 4; June 28, p 4; July 3, p 4
48 The Cablenews, June 1, 1907, pp 1, 5; June 2, p 3
49 The Cablenews, August 16, 1907, p 4
50 The Independent, Vol 64, p 388
51 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1907, Pt 1, p 324; Elliot's The Philippines, Vol II, Preface and p 11; The Independent, Vol 63, p 354; The Outlook, Vol 87, pp 363, 364, 879
52 The Cablenews, Sept. 6, 1907, p 4
53 The Cablenews, Sept. 13, 1907, p 4; October 10, p 1
54 Editorial of the El Ideal (Iloilo) quoted in the Cablenews-American, (Manila), Oct, 25, 1907 p 3
55 The Outlook, Vol 88, p 179
56 *War Department* report, 1901, Vol I, Pt 1, pp 63, 64; Vol VIII, p 5; 1914, Vol III, p 3 See Harrison's *Message to the Philippine Legislature*, Oct. 6, 1913 and the President's message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1913

57 The Cooper Act of 1905 changed the title of the Civil Governor to Governor-General

58 Speeches of Manuel Quezon, House of Representatives, Sept. 26, to October 14, 1914, p 36

59 *Official Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1907, p 778

60 Acts Nos. 1808, 1816, 1817, 1822, 1823, 1833, 1876, 1877, 1878

61 Act No. 1801

62 Act No. 1829, sec. 3

63 Acts Nos. 1857, 1866

64 Act No. 1873

65 Act No. 1813

66 Act No. 1849

67 Act No. 1870

68 Act No. 1865

69 Acts Nos. 1837, 1854, 1855

70 Act No. 1874

71 Act No. 1803

72 Act No. 1820

73 *The Outlook*, Vol 90, p 450
74 Changed to three years. United States Compiled Statutes, 1918, sec. 3815.
75 United States Statutes at large, Vol 32, Pt 1, p 694.
76 Official Gazette, December 11, 1907, p 1068; War Department Report, 1908, Vol 7, p 8; The Independent, Vol 64, p 358.
78 Ide's The Philippine Assembly, in The Independent, Vol 63, p 599.
81 House Resolution 22143.
83 Senate Document 381, December 10, 1915, 64th Congress, 1st Sess.
84 S 381, January 24, 1916, 64th Congress, 1st Sess. See also Hitchcock amendment to the Clarke amendment which Mr Hitchcock introduced in Jan. 39, 1916

85 S 381, 64th Congress, 1st Session, in the House of Representatives Feb. 8, 1916 Report No. 499; Public No. 240, S 381, 64th Congress Secs. 9, 12

86 Public No. 240, Secs. 14, 16
87 Public No. 240, secs. 13, 14, 16
88 Public No. 240, sec. 19
89 Public No. 240, sec. 15; Future Political Status of the People of the Philippine Islands, Senate Report No. 18, 64th Congress, 1st sess., Dec. 17, 1915, pp 2, 3
90 Philippines Free Press, January 23, 1916, p 11
91 Philippines Free Press, January 22, 1916, p 8
92 Philippines Free Press, Jan. 29, 1916, p 11
93 Philippines Free Press, Jan. 29, 1916, p 1
94 Quoted in the Philippines Free Press, Jan. 29, 1916 p 17; Feb. 12, p 17
95 Quoted in the Philippines Free Press, Jan. 17, 1916, p 17
96 Quoted in the Philippines Free Press, Jan 29, 1916 p 17; Feb. 13, p 17
97 Quoted in the Philippines Free Press, Feb. 13, 1916, p 17
100 "Determinados a ser independientes, nuestro deber en estos momentos no es compatible con ninguna vacilación de nuestra parte. Debemos proseguir la campaña hasta la aprobación final del bill Jones, y el establecimiento, a su debido tiempo, de aquellas condiciones que hagan la independencia filipina un bien general y permanente. No hay ningún motivo actual de alarma. Por el contrario podemos y debemos mirar el porvenir con serenidad y confiada esperanza."

Philippines Free Press, Feb. 12, 1916, p 17; Mar. 11, p 17


102 Philippines Free Press, March 11, 1916, p 20
103 Philippines Free Press, Feb. 5, 1916
107 Philippines Free Press, April 8, 1916, p 5

107 At this time a talented Filipino student in the United States drew a cartoon (unpublished) representing Japan as a reptile having already devoured China, Korea and Formosa, and set to uncoil upon the Filipino who jubilantly carried his papers of independence from Uncle Sam
When Mr. Jones died the Philippine Legislature appropriated $30,000 for a monument over his grave.

House Document 1261, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, p 45

Proclamation of the First Philippine Commission "To the People of the Philippine Islands"

Instruction to the Taft Commission April 7, 1900

Act No. 5 of the United States Philippine Commission, sec. 19

Taft's speech at the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in the Cabelnews-American, Oct. 17, 1907, p 12

Cabelnews, Aug. 10, 1907, p 4

Senate Document 331, Vol 23, Pt 1, 1901-1903, p 64

Second Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board, 1902, pp 68-75

Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board, 1904, p 87; 1905, p 753
Gov. Smith's Message to the First Philippine Legislature, in the Cabelnews-American, Oct. 18, 1907, p 13

Compiled from the Report of the Philippine Commission, 1907, Pt 1, p 79; Special Report of the Secretary of War, Dickenson, 1910, pp 17-19; Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service, p 15

No data for 1906

Middle of Fiscal year July 1

Senate Document 331, Vol 23, Pt 1, pp 9, 10

Act No. 2501 See also Act No. 2566

Act No. 2586

Report of the Governor-General, 1916, p 113; 1917 pp 13, 32; Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906, Pt 1, p 155; Report of the Executive Secretary, March 1, 1914, p 25 (MS)

Report of the Governor-General, 1918, p 37


Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, pp 12, 13

See table in Chapter II p...

Act No. 2319

Act No. 2308

Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, p 13;
In the April, 1913 number of the National Humane Review an article was published entitled, "Human Slavery Still Exists under the United States Flag". The article was chiefly made up of a letter from Mr. Dean C. Worcester, secretary of interior in the Philippines, to the President of the American Humane Association, Dr. William O. Stillman. Mr. Worcester, basing his charge on the decisions of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, sustained that the Philippine Assembly proved its incapacity to legislate on modern humane problem by refusing to pass a bill punishing slavery in the islands.

Mr. Worcester found no sympathizers among the American people in the Philippines. In reply to the article Justice James F. Tracey, who wrote the opinion of the court on the supposed slavery question said the custom of selling children was practiced by the Igorots but in fact it was nothing more than a contract for services. The custom could not be consi-
dered involuntary servitude for it required the consent or sufferance of the parents or guardian. Justice Tracey's opinion was that the custom was like "an indenturing of children, in accordance with custom, unprotected by statutory safeguards." The refusal of the Philippine Assembly to enact the law can plainly be understood. The term slavery is not understood in the Philippines as it is in the United States, and if it ever existed in the islands at all the Assembly did not believe it was known among the civilized portions of the country and was confined among the Non-Christian tribes which are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Philippine Commission of which Mr. Worcester is a member. The power of regulating the evil practice therefore rested on the Philippine Commission in general and upon Mr. Worcester in particular because he was the secretary of interior which had charge of the non-Christian tribes.

Mr. Justice Tracey flatly denied the charge of "Slaves Even in Manila", sustaining that he was "too well aware of Mr. Worcester's skill as a seasoned controversialist to believe that he has ventured upon a specific assertion without holding some proof of it in reserve." Concluding his reply Mr. Justice Tracey said:

"I may be permitted to say that while not one of those who think Philippine independence is timely or tenable thing
to-day, I deplore the creation of a public opinion in this country based on misconception of a subject that truly needs all the light that can be shed on it by men holding official places."

See Mr Justice Tracey's letter quoted by Mr. Quezon in his speeches in the House of Representatives from September 26 to October 14, 1914, pp 50, 51

141 Act No. 2300
142 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, pp 12-14
143 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, p 38
144 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, p 38
145 Official Gazette, December 17, 1913, pp 2201, 2202
146 The Manila Times, Feb. 28, 1915, p 4; Mar. 26, p 7; Sept. 20, p 4
147 The Manila Times, March 28, 1915, p 1; See April 23, p 1; Sept. 25, p 4
148 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, p 23
149 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, pp 18, 19, 28
150 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914, pp 17, 18, 23, 23
151 The Manila Times, Feb. 28, 1915, p 8
This phrase was uttered by a man who has been in the United States senate for sixteen years. Referring to the intention of the United States in the Philippines, the senator told the author that the United States would never let the islands go, first because of the love of power, second, because of "the theory that birds must be fed."

_The Manila American_, July 15, 1902, p 4
_Quoted in the Cablenews_, May 22, 1907, p 4
Petition of the Nacionalista Party in Special Report of Secretary Dickenson for 1910, p 80. For the same cause the Progresista Party joined in a petition to the Secretary. See p 85.

167 The Manila Times, June 28, 1915, p 1
168 Special Report of Secretary of War Dickenson, 1910, Appendix A B D. See also pp 45, 56, 57; For testimonies bearing on the subject see Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900, Vol I, pp 342, 644; Senate Document 187, 57th Congress, 1st Sess. p 3

169 Public No. 240, 64th Congress
170 Public No. 340, secs. 7-9
171 Public No. 240, secs. 10, 11
172 Public No. 340, secs. 4, 29
173 Public No. 340, sec. 19
174 Public No. 340, secs. 5, 28
175 Act No. 2666
176 Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands, 1917, sec. 78
177 Act No. 2668
178 Act No. 2666
179 Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands, 1917, secs. 101, 102, 580
180 Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1917, p 8

181 The Manila Times, Dec. 7, 1918, p 1; Dec. 21, p 1
182 The Manila Times, Dec. 4, 1919, p 1
183 The Manila Times, Nov. 4, 1916, p 4; Nov. 9, p 11
184 Act No. 2668
185 The Manila Times, Oct. 16, 1918, p 2
186 Executive Order No. 37, Oct. 16, 1918
187 Executive Order No. 47, Nov. 27, 1918
188 The Manila Times, Oct. 17, 1918, p 9; Dec. 14, p 4; Dec. 18, p 9
189 The Manila Times, Dec. 13, 1918, p 1; Dec. 31, p 1; Nov. 7, 1919, p 4; Nov. 9, p 4; Nov. 16, p 4
190 Act No. 2785; The Manila Times, Dec. 14, 1918, p 4
191 Executive Order No. 25, August 1, 1918, and No. 28, August 17, 1918

192 Public No. 340, sec. 31
194 Report of the Governor-General, 1917, pp 104, 105
195 Report of the Governor-General, 1917, pp 54, 55;

Worcester's The Philippines Past and Present, Vol II, p 1,000. The Philippine Census for 1919 has 500,000 for the non-christians
The Public Land Law of the Philippines took effect by virtue of the President to act before the expiration of six months.

On November 30, 1919, the Filipinos of Manila celebrated the birth of Andres Bonifacio, and a brass tablet was placed in the house where the first meeting of the Katipunan was held. The following was the inscription:

"The Filipino People

Through the durability of this metal
Consecrate and perpetuate

The historical value of this house,
Cradle of the popular revindications,
Where on July 6, 1892,"
Was born to fight and triumph
Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio
The highest and most respectable association
Of the sons of the soil,
The "KATIPUNAN"

208 Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900, Vol I, p 170

209 The oath adopted in 1906 was as follows:
"By the name of the Supreme Bathala and in presence of his image and of all the brethren of the K K K as well as of the sons of the country I swear from the innermost of my heart to love and obey everything that is set forth in the doctrine of the K K K of the sons of the country that has been read to me and which I find to be unquestionable. I promise and swear to observe, obey and follow the United States of America and that I will never foreswear myself.

And in testimony of this oath and promise, I sign it with the blood drawn from my breast and over my heart."
210 Cablenews-American, Sept. 1, 1907, p 3

211 Senate Document 62, Pt 2, 55th Congress, 3rd Sess. p 341

212 Senate Document 62, Pt 2, p 345

213 Senate Document 62, Pt 2, p 342

214 Senate Document 62, Pt 2, p 346
In his book, The Filipino Martyrs, chapter V, Sheridan, Richard, B.M.P., an eye witness of the happenings during the year assigns the negotiation with Aguinaldo to Admiral Dewey. Consul Pratt caused the misunderstanding and Admiral Dewey complicated it.
TO THE PHILIPPINE YOUTH

Theme: Growth

(Translated by Charles Derbyshire)

Hold high thy brow serene,
O youth, where now you stand;
Let the bright sheen
Of your grace be seen,
Fair hope of my fatherland!

Come now, thou genius grand,
And bring down inspiration;
With thy mighty hand
Swifter than the wind's volation,
Raise the eager mind to higher station.

Come down with pleasing light
Of art and science to the fight,
O youth, and there untie,
The chains that heavy lie
Your spirit free to blight.
See how in flaming zone
Amid the shadows thrown,
The Spaniards holy land
A crown's resplendent hand
Proffers to this Indian land.

Thou who now wouldst rise
Of wings of rich emprise,
Seeking from Olympian skies
Songs of sweetest strain,
Softer than embrosial rain;

Thou whose voice devine
Rivals Philimel's refrain,
And with varied line
Through the night benign
Frees mortality from pain;

Thou who by sharp strife
Wakest the mind to life;
And the memory bright
Of thy genius' light
Makest immortal in its strength
And thou in accents clear
Of Phoebus, to Appelles dear;
Or by the brushes' magic art
Takest from nature's store a part,
To fix it on the simple canvas length;

Go forth and then the sacred fire
Of thy genius to the laurel may aspire;
To spread around the fame,
And in victory acclaim,
Through wider spheres the human name.

Day, O happy day,
Fair Filipinas for thy land!
So bless the power today
That places in thy way
This favor and this fortune grand.

239 See Mabini's The Rise and Fall of the Philippine Revolution
240 See Harrison's article in the Reconstruction, June 1920; The Modern Review, (Calcutta) Mar. 1919, p 388; The Manila Times, Nov. 2, 1919, pp 1, 4