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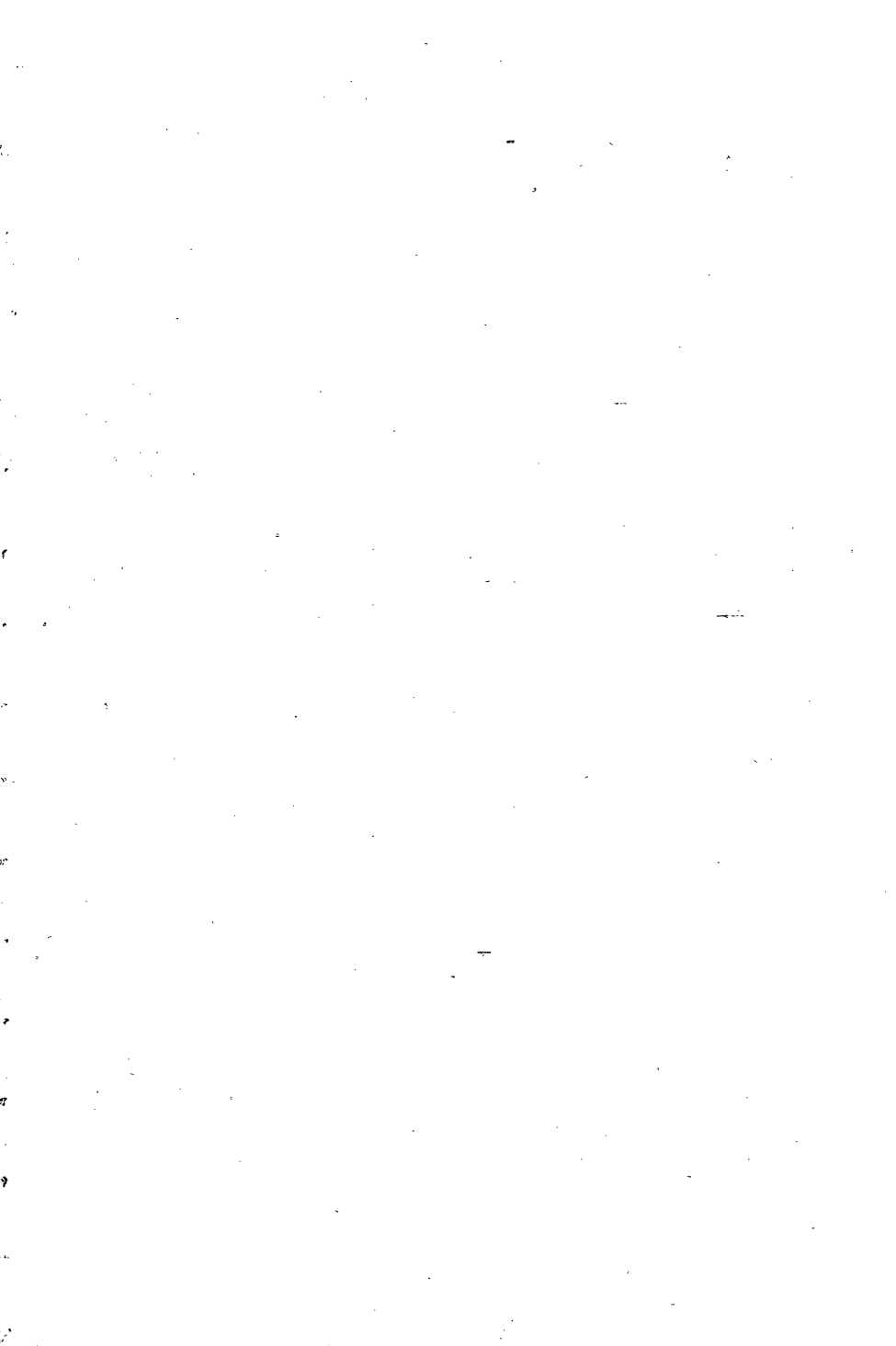
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THE EFFECT IN THE PHILIPPINES OF THE SENATE "ORGANIC ACT"

By J. A. Robertson, Washington, D. C.

Since the signing of the treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, momentous events and developments of vast importance in the history of the Philippine Islands have taken place. Upon the signing of the treaty, it became incumbent upon the government of the United States to organize and maintain an orderly government in the Philippines. The execution of this was rendered especially difficult because the people who had been in revolt against Spain now transferred their revolt against the United States. This made necessary a military campaign against the insurgents and the establishment of a military government.

In January, 1899, President McKinley appointed a commission of four members representing the military, naval, and civil branches of the government to study conditions in the Philippines. The report of that commission was made in January, 1900. Shortly after the return of the first commission, a second commission was sent to the islands with instructions to take over from the military government to as great an extent as possible all matters of a strictly civil nature. The instructions specifically stated that the government which was to be established "is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippines," but laid special emphasis on the paramount authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands. On March 2, 1901, the Spooner amendment authorized the president to establish and maintain a temporary civil government until such time as congress should provide otherwise. Accordingly, on June 21, 1901, the president, by means of an executive order transmitted

through the secretary of war, organized the machinery for a civil government in the Philippine Islands, which was to date from July 4, 1901, with the appointment of a civil governor who was to relieve the military governor on September 6, of the same year.

On July 1, 1902, Congress passed what is generally spoken of as the organic act, by which a temporary government was provided for the Philippine Islands until Congress might provide otherwise. That act, with various amendments, is still the organic law of the Philippine Islands. It provided for the three phases of civil government, executive, legislative, and judicial, gave a bill of rights to the people, defined Philippine citizenship, laid down certain principles in regard to public lands and public utilities, and provided for the popular election of a Philippine Assembly two years after the islands should be completely pacified and the publication of the census.

In accordance with the organic act, the Philippine Assembly was constituted in 1907, and since that time that body has been the lower house of the Philippine Legislature, with the Philippine Commission as the upper house. The latter has retained sole control of the so-called wild peoples and of the Moros. For all other legislation the two houses act jointly. At present five of the nine members of the Philippine Commission are Filipinos, while the lower house has been composed entirely of Filipinos from the start.

Since 1898, some of the members of each house of the Congress of the United States have favored practical autonomy or even independence (either absolute or in a guaranteed form of some sort) for the Philippine Islands. To these men, influenced by different considerations, the organic act has not been sufficiently broad, and at an early date, measures were introduced into Congress which had as their object the independence of the Philippines. At various times resolutions providing for neutrality by the various powers were introduced into the House of Representatives, of which the following of December 2, 1912, is a fair example:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the purpose of the United States to cease exercising sovereignty over the Philippine Islands as soon as may be with justice to them and honor to the United States, and that it is the preference of the United States to accomplish this purpose by establishing an independent government in said islands: that in pursuance of such purpose and preference the President is respectfully requested to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the Governments of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and China, and such other governments as he may deem wise, with a view of effecting a joint treaty with such governments, by which it shall be provided that an independent government in the Philippine Islands, when established by the United States, shall be recognized and preserved; that pending the establishment of such independent Philippine government, the Philippine Islands shall be neutral territory; that such Philippine government, when established, shall agree that it will maintain equality of trade relations toward all the signatory powers, and that in the event of war between any of the nations of the earth, it shall be neutral; that such concessions as may be made by the United States in the establishment of such independent government shall be recognized by all the signatory powers.

Various independence measures, designed to supplant the organic act of 1902, have been introduced into the House, the most important of which have been championed by Mr. Jones, representative from Virginia. Those bills defended by Mr. Jones have been usually known as the Jones bill. One of these bills which was introduced in 1912, provided for a period of qualified independence of eight years after July 4, 1913, and full and complete independence after July 4, 1921; and laid down a system of government by which the Filipinos were to be governed with the bill as their constitution. This bill failing to pass the House, Mr. Jones introduced a modified bill in 1914, which had many resemblances to that of 1912, but a number of differences as well. It made no definite provision for independence at any stated time, but declared in general terms in the preamble that it was "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein" and that this should be done by giving as much of the powers of gov-

ernment to the Filipinos as possible, in order to fit them sooner for independence by actual experience.

This act was passed by the House in October, 1914. Early in 1915, it was reported from the Senate committee with various amendments, which in many respects made it an entirely new bill, although the groundwork of the act as passed by the House was retained. More emphasis was laid upon control by the United States, and it was made clear that independence would be granted only "when, in the judgment of the people of the United States, the people of the Philippine Islands shall have fitted themselves therefor." The Senate bill with several amendments was passed by the deciding vote of the vice-president of the United States in February, 1916. The amendments made an entirely different bill from the one that had left the committee room under the sanction of Senator Hitchcock, chairman of the Senate committee on the Philippines. The amended bill was considered by the House and was rejected by a decisive vote on May 1, 1916. This leaves the matter exactly where it was before the passage of the amended bill by the Senate, or in an even less favorable condition and it seems unlikely that any further action will be taken during the present session of Congress.

The two amendments of most moment in the Senate bill are the following:

Sec. 3, [clause 16]. That no intoxicating drink or drug shall be manufactured for sale or gift, imported for sale or gift, or sold or offered for sale or gift for use as a beverage, but this shall not apply to or include the native wines and beverages commonly known as vino, tuba, basi, and tapuy. (The succeeding clause fixes a penalty for violation of this prohibition.)

Sec. 34. The President is hereby authorized and directed to withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippines, and he shall on behalf of the United States fully recognize the independence of the said Philippines as a separate and self-governing nation and acknowledge the authority and control over the same of the government instituted by the people thereof, and full power to take the several steps necessary to institute such government is hereby conferred upon the said Philippines acting by and through governmental agencies created by this

Act. This transfer of possession, sovereignty, and governmental control shall be completed and become absolute not less than two years nor more than four years from the date of the approval of this act, under the terms and in the manner hereinafter prescribed: *Provided*, That if the President, prior to the expiration of the said period of four years, shall find that the condition of the internal or external affairs of said Philippines in respect to the stability or efficiency of the proposed government thereof is such as to warrant him in so doing, he is hereby further authorized, by proclamation duly made and published, to extend the said time to and including the date of the final adjournment of the session of Congress which shall convene next after the date of the expiration of the said period of four years, and thus afford the Congress an opportunity in its discretion to further consider the situation in the said Philippines; but any such extension of time by the President shall not otherwise suspend or nullify the operative force of this act, unless the Congress shall hereafter so direct. For the purpose of a complete and prompt compliance with this direction, the President is hereby invested with full power and authority to make such orders and regulations and to enter into such negotiations with the authorities of said Philippines or others as may be necessary to finally settle and adjust all property rights and other relations as between the United States and said Philippines, and to cause to be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded all of the personal and property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States and of other countries resident or engaged in business in said Philippines or having property interests therein. In any such settlement or adjustment, so made in respect to the rights and property of the United States as against the said Philippines the President may reserve or acquire such lands and rights and privileges appertaining thereto as may, in his judgment, be required by the United States for naval bases and coaling stations within the territory of said Philippines.

The first of the above amendments is known as the Gronna and the second as the Clarke amendment, from their sponsors. Each one, especially the second, came as a great surprise. The bill seemed in a fair way to pass in the form in which it had come from the Senate committee and was quite generally regarded as a good measure. The inclusion of these two amendments changed its complexion entirely. The first removed a considerable source of revenue. The second changed a bill in which the sovereignty of the United States was a chief feature to an obligation to grant absolute independence within from two to four years. The first amendment should have been passed as at first re-

ported as a complete prohibition measure or not introduced at all. As it was passed it introduced a great element of unfairness into American legislation. Its sponsor may not have known that the vino which was excepted, along with other native liquors, from the general prohibition is one of the deadliest beverages that can be imagined and that its effect mentally and physically when it is taken to excess are much worse than any form of imported liquor. Its sponsor may not have known likewise that the Filipinos are much more abstemious than most other peoples, although the same can not be said of the wild peoples of the hill regions who are not properly called Filipinos. Speaking of this amendment, the Filipino newspaper *La Vanguardia* quite aptly says that the country neither wanted nor needed such a capricious piece of legislation, but something more substantial which would lift it out of the eternal indefiniteness and vagueness in which its people were living. The amendment is declared to be a joke at the expense of 8,000,000 Filipinos who scarcely ever indulge in a bottle of wine.

The second amendment was held to be a breakdown in the high American ideals that had ruled in the Philippines, and to be unfair to both the Philippines and the United States. It enunciated a "scuttle" policy that boded little good to the Filipinos and jeopardized their whole political future. The House on its reconsideration of the matter, notwithstanding the half-hearted recommendation of the majority report of the House committee on the Philippines, rejected this policy, and needed legislation that was looked for eagerly by many Filipinos and Americans failed because of the Clarke amendment.

The preceding brief summary of the Philippine question in the United States has seemed necessary before taking up the real matter of this paper, namely, the effect on the Filipinos of the passage by the Senate of the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment. This effect will be brought out mainly by means of editorials and notices that appeared in the Manila newspapers. No American newspaper has been

considered, except the weekly *Free Press* which is published with both English and Spanish sections, and in this only articles written by Filipinos or comments taken from the Filipino papers are used. The constant aim has been to get as near to the real public opinion of the Filipinos as possible. In Manila, the newspapers, *El Ideal* and *La Vanguardia* are known as ardent supporters of the native party in power, the *Nacionalista*, which has always stood for independence. The papers *La Democracia* and *La Consolidacion Nacional* are respectively the supporters of the *Progresista* party and a party which has split from the *Nacionalista* and is known generally as the third party. Hence it must be premised that politics must enter somewhat into any views that each party might bring forward. It should be noted that each party has declared for independence, so that the main difference between them is that the ones have offices which the others want. It has been impossible to get hold of any papers from the provinces, although some outside reports are found in an article by a Filipino in the *Free Press*. The Manila papers, however, will be found to voice fairly accurately the feeling of the newspaper world at large.

The desire for independence by the Filipinos must be premised. This is a natural desire and meets with greater sympathy from the people of the United States than from any other people on the face of the earth. It is true also that the politician has fostered this desire on the part of his constituents. He has been able to create a cry for independence among the peasant class which probably would not have been uttered without his efforts, at least with the intensity which it has acquired, while among all classes his influence has tended to keep the question to the front. The peasants, on the whole, are a steady going, reliable class, but easily worked upon by those of the upper classes or by those in authority, partly because of certain elements of the primitive social structure of the people which still have a decided force, and partly because of their ignorance. Once aroused, they must be reckoned with, as the Spanish

found during the revolution against them, and indeed, as the Americans themselves discovered soon after the cession of the islands by Spain. The desire for independence is a natural corollary to human existence, and it is not to be wondered that the average educated and intelligent Filipino is imbued with it. One of the brightest of the young Filipinos of today, Maximo Kalaw, said recently in an address in Washington:

The independence idea grew by leaps and bounds. The school-boy, with his hard-learned English greets the American visitor with a petition for independence. The spellbinder moves the masses with drastic plans for political emancipation; for political parties in the Philippines are built primarily on programs for independence.

Some Filipinos have advocated absolute independence, either immediately or in the near future; some desire, for a time at least, a neutralized form of government; some a protectorate under the United States, and still others an independence guaranteed by the United States; while a few avowedly favor permanent American control. The legitimate desire for self control politically seemed about to be realized by almost complete autonomy, when the injection of the Clarke amendment into the House Jones bill which had been already recast by the Senate, and its passage by the Senate, brought about a tremendous crisis in the Philippine Islands.

The provision of the Clarke amendment came as a great surprise to Filipinos of all classes. As above seen, that amendment provided for absolute independence without a guarantee of any form that the United States would maintain that condition in the Philippines. Although some of the newspapers, especially *La Consolidacion Nacional*, tried to make political capital out of the proposal and later passing of the amendment, on the whole stupefaction and fear for the future were too evident to make any signs of joy appear spontaneous. The fact is that the gift of absolute independence which the Senate had taken the first steps in bestowing upon the Filipinos was so sudden and unex-

pected, that it acted as a great sobering influence upon all the people. Independence with a guarantee of some sort would have been welcomed by many of the people with fervent joy, but without that guarantee, independence bore no longer the rosy hues of the dreams of its advocates. Especially did the defenseless state of the islands, and the loss of revenue through the operation of the Gronna amendment, the threatened withdrawal of American and foreign business, and the retirement of the American army, seem hazardous. Still many Filipinos said bravely that while independence with a guarantee of some sort would have been preferable, still independence under any conditions was desired.

Many property owners viewed the bill with its new amendments with great disfavor, and they were not slow in giving expression to their views. Very soon after the passage of the bill by the Senate, certain influential property owners and capitalists of the islands of Panay and Negros cabled to the United States a petition that

the question of the political independence of the Philippine Islands be definitely suspended for a period of twenty years, and that when this period arrives, no action as to the independence of the Philippine Islands be taken without the vote of the Filipino people.

This gave rise to much ill-feeling among the political parties, the so-called third party especially attacking the *Nacionalistas*, while among them all a hot and wordy war was waged through their respective organs, with charge and counter-charge of political machination. It would be interesting and illuminating to ascertain the full and sincere views of the most prominent Filipino capitalists and property owners, and even those of the small property owners, in regard to the program for independence in the Philippines. It would be of value to know how many of them would be willing to risk all their possessions for political independence, with or without guarantee. It would also be of use to know how many of them would favor actual inclusion as a territory of the United States.

Several expressions, mainly by politicians, are as follows. *El Ideal* quotes the Speaker of the Philippine Assembly Sergio Osmeña, a man of considerable ability, as saying:

The proposition of immediate independence for the Philippines is thoroughly in accord with the platform of the majority, and has been included in all the official resolutions adopted by the Philippine Assembly up to the present.

Osmeña is reported to have said in regard to the bill:

Resolved to be independent, our duty in these moments is not compatible with any vacillation on our part. We must prosecute the campaign until the final approval of the Jones bill and the establishment in due time of those conditions which may make of Filipino independence a general and permanent good. There is no present reason for alarm. On the contrary, we can and must look to the future with serenity and confident hope.

On the other hand, *La Democracia* said that the Clarke amendment was

the clearest, most conclusivé, and most overwhelming proof of the triumph of the Democratic and the *Progresista* parties.

Interviews with Vicente Singsong Encarnación, a *Progresista*, and one of the Filipino members of the Philippine Commission, Governor Juan Villamor, of the Province of Ilocos Sur, and Evaristo Francisco, a shipowner and business man, elicited the opinion that a guaranteed independence, neutralization, or a protectorate under the United States would be preferable to absolute independence, but that the latter should be accepted without any haggling, with the resolve to make sacrifices should they prove necessary. Each emphasized economic preparedness as a great factor in the maintenance of independence. Pedro Guevara, one of the *Nacionalista* leaders, representative for the province of La Laguna was ready to accept independence with or without a guarantee, and thought that no one who had so incessantly asked for it would refuse it under any considerations. A political leader of the so-called third party, after a public meeting in Tondo, a suburb of Manila, Teodoro Sandiko, cabled to the United States in a larger sense than the actual facts justified:

The Filipino people, in public meetings, held in Manila, and in the provinces, beg of Congress the approval of the Jones bill with the Clarke amendment.

Yet we find *La Democracia* of February 14, announcing that a caucus had been held by the *Nacionalista* party at the call of the Speaker in order to discuss

the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Philippine independence clause in the form proposed by President Wilson, without condition or guarantee of any kind, to which it seems that the deputies here do not entirely agree now. It must be remembered that this question involves the integrity of our territory and for this the sanction of those who represent the Philippine country is asked. It is not believed that they will allow themselves to be carried away with childish enthusiasm just to see themselves in possession of independence of some sort.

The same paper scores the Speaker roundly for accepting the vicious bill.

In a way, fear lest the Senate pass the Clarke amendment, and resignation after it was passed, called forth what was best in the expression of the papers. On February 6, *La Democracia* urged that men of all parties and races get together to form a national committee to petition the United States "to provide the most adequate means to safeguard our national life." Again on the 10th of the same month, the same paper urged the formation of such a committee "in view of the enormous and transcendent responsibilities that each and every Filipino will have to assume under the trying conditions confronting the people of this country on the eve, as it were, of entering upon independence by virtue of law." It was pointed out that there would be many dangers to overcome. The Gronna amendment meant loss of revenue; the withdrawal of the army would remove "a most lucrative source of revenue;" a general depreciation would take place in the native products: all of which meant vast difficulties which at the end of the four years of the amendment, would prevent the peaceful enjoyment of the boon of liberty. Foreigners would be uncertain as to how thoroughly their interests were to be safeguarded. If the United States would ward off this

peril, all might yet be well. The same paper also said that, if absolute independence were not the true ideal of the people at the present time, Congress should be advised. *La Vanguardia* expressed apprehension of the future saying that more and more the people were looking ahead and were better understanding the great task of maintaining a free government. *El Ideal* recommended that the people arm themselves with prudence and that all their acts should be inspired with the conviction that the success or failure of the hard test to which they were to be put rested on themselves.

Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera (with the exception of Dr. Rizal, the most scholarly man that the Filipino race has ever produced—he is more Spanish in blood than Filipino—and certainly the most astute politician, the first Filipino member of the Philippine Commission, but now living in Spain, though with large agricultural holdings in the Philippines) urged through *La Democracia* that since with independence the American markets would be closed to the Filipinos because of the American tariff, now is the time to contract a firm friendship with Spain. This, he said, would be of more advantage in an economic way than any other measure that might be taken, for it would provide a market for Philippine products.

One Jose Alejandrino, writing in *La Consolidacion Nacional* believed that the question of independence would be settled not for the convenience of the Filipinos but of the Americans. Full protection of the Filipinos by the United States would be good, but he asks whether the United States would wage a war of protection for the Filipino. Belgium, Servia, and Montenegro are potent examples of weak countries under the protection either of other powers or a neutralized form of government. Half protection is a doubtful good. In case of war between the United States and Japan, the Philippines would be the first to suffer. He concludes by saying that moral aid from the United States by means of diplomacy would be the best thing. It would be better to enter upon independence now when

all the European and Asiatic countries are busy with their own affairs, for now the Philippines can enter upon self government quietly and unobserved. In its issue of February 25, the same paper complains that nothing is being heard of the bill and fears lest it is being allowed to die.

We accept independence with all its consequences without guarantees. . . . Before everything and above everything, let independence come, and then when we have it, we will see about getting the guarantee best adapted to the country. Let us not undo the work of so many years by extemporaneous demands that plant obstacles in the way.

A writer in the *Free Press* of February 19 (perhaps the Filipino editor of that paper), under the title of "A problem of life and death," says that he has mingled with people of all classes, but instead of calmness and confidence over the bill as twisted in the Senate, he finds only the fear of eternal colonization under another power. The people fear Japanese intervention if independence be granted under the Senate condition. This feeling is general. There is no joy over the bill among the people. The Philippine Assembly even feels the general uneasiness.

Camilo Formosa, writing in the *Free Press* of February 26, reviews the utterances of several papers from the provinces in regard to impending independence. He notes that the dominant tone is one of getting together to take hold of the responsibilities which will come with independence. *El Tiempo* of Iloilo, calls attention to the duty of the new government in the maintenance of internal peace and order and in the guarantee of the lives and interests of foreign residents. For such guarantee harmony is necessary among all peoples. The keynote must be one of unselfishness and reason. "Un Filipino" writing in *El Adalid* assures foreigners that their rights and interests will be respected by the new Filipino government. The Filipinos, he says, are a peaceful people and have always respected the lives and property of foreigners. The Malolos constitution formed by the revolutionists against Spain contained assurances safeguarding the foreigners. Filipinos understand that mod-

ern life is not isolation but relation. By means of their independence Filipinos will show the world that it is not color which renders a people worthy, but rather its feelings, its love for progress, order, and peace, its civilization, and above all its character. The Philippines need foreign capital and trade and these will not be imperiled or excluded because of independence. The *Triunfo del Pueblo* of Lingayen, rejoices at the prospect of the near withdrawal of the foreign yoke, under which Filipinos have suffered for over three centuries. Within four years the Filipinos will be the arbiters of their own future, and can fly their own banner with no fear of any one daring to trample it in the dust. The whole world will respect the Filipinos and they will not be called incapable. Once masters of the political situation, Filipinos can devote themselves to their political aggrandizement, until they can cause their independence to be respected. With unconvincing rhetoric, it cries:

And the day will come in which we shall not only be respected in the enjoyment of our independence, but we shall come to be the arbiter of the destinies of the Far East. This may appear utopian, but . . . it is a dream that has possibilities of realization at a not far distant day.

The Philippines have an extensive territory, a fertile soil, immense natural wealth, and a progressive people. The islands can sustain a population of 60,000,000 and more, and it is known that the fertility of the Philippine peoples is very great. "Above all we are an industrious race. By our toil we shall turn our land into an earthly paradise, and we shall come to occupy a prominent place in the concert of free nations."

Several thoughtful articles were published by the *Free Press*, which were written by one of the present generation of young Filipinos, one Luis Rivera. He calls attention to the responsibilities that will come with independence. The psychological outlook of the Filipino people is changing. They are learning prudence. Hence if they are not wildly jubilant over possible independence, it is not because of cowardice, but because they are counting the cost. It is

better to make haste slowly and every step should be carefully considered. The people are looking askance at absolute independence, for they are not now oppressed, unhappy or unfortunate. Rivera says:

Ask as we did of one of the people: "Do you wish an independent government?"

"Yes sir."

"If we are independent without the guarantee of the government of the United States, we are in danger of falling into the hands of the Japanese, or of another power."

"If that is so we prefer to remain in our present condition, for we are better contented with the life we live today, since it is much better than was that we lived formerly. We are afraid lest we return to a life like that of former times, in the hands of the Japanese or of some other power."

The ideas of independence and liberty, says Rivera, have caused the *Nacionalistas* to conquer the *Progresistas*, but certain crises like drought, locusts, rinderpest, and the European war, have arisen with consequent economic difficulties that make living hard; hence prudence is a praiseworthy quality.

The last four citations are given in full, because they are all written by Filipinos of the younger generation, who have been more fully imbued with American ideals. Each one shows considerable thought, and each one rises to a high tone. They all appeared in the *Free Press*, and were all written in English. The first is by a young man, who writes under the nom de plume of Nesar, from Bacalod, in the province of Occidental Negros.

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 politician. I am afraid that behind the mask of patriotism of too many of our politicians there lie selfish designs. The uninformed, or short sighted may consider that the Jones bill will bring our redemption, but I prophesy that if with it comes independence then it will bring us political chaos.

During this critical period when many are flushed with high hopes of independence and the visionary diadem of political supremacy, there is need of honest and level-headed men coming to the front. Neither the Jones bill nor a hundred Jones bills

will bring us real independence, that independence which makes for the happiness of the mass of the people—for the "greatest good for the greatest number." When the right time comes and the Filipinos are prosperous and farther advanced in civilization, there will be no trouble in securing our independence, and America would be only too glad to give it. The dreams of too many of our *politicos* is the dream of a Caesar, and "To the victor belongs the spoils;" but from such a dream there will be a terrible awakening and we shall repent in sackcloth and ashes.

The second is an answer to the above by a young Filipina girl:

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 theirs be to predict, ours to hope, even against hope "for the best." The world may smile grimly or pityingly at our absurd dreams and impossible hopes; but they are better by far to cherish than dire prophecies and woful 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.

The third is written by a young Filipino from the island of Negros:

I wonder with our *independencia* apparently so near at hand, whether there will be many Americans who will decide to stay and cast their lot with us. Among our fellow-countrymen here, so far as I can see, the news is being received without any enthusiasm, in fact, very coldly. I have a *hunch* that we simply are going to have a change of masters. Should that happen, and we do not like the change we shall only have our leaders to blame; for the great majority have asked and kept on asking for independence. Nevertheless, come weal or woe, I want to stay with my country, and if there be miseries ahead for her, that they be my miseries too. Meanwhile, apparently, we must just hope for the best; for present events seem to be out of our hands and past our shaping.

The fourth forms part of an interview given by Benvenido A. Tan, a young man of 25, who was a candidate for election to the municipal board of Manila; and it may be regarded as his political platform.

I have talked politics here in Manila and in the provinces with prominent men, among them, General Aguinaldo, and have come to certain definite conclusions. I have observed that most of the people do not understand 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 about anything. Some of the people believe that with independence taxes will be abolished. This is the opinion I heard among representative people in my own province. I explained to them that just the contrary will happen—that taxes will be doubled; for the expense then will be greater.

Most of the leading Filipino leaders do not understand the real truth; if they do they are careful not to tell the people about it. 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 is unpatriotic, then I am unpatriotic, and dare to be so. . . . I am not opposed to independence; but I do not want the premature independence promised now. I believe in stable real independence; not the independence of one or two years, but a permanent independence. When I believe my country is ready, I shall be the first man to cry for independence. When the country is ready, I believe independence will fall like ripe fruit—you won't need to ask for it. Today, were a vote taken among the young men of the Manila High School, on the Jones bill, I believe ninety per cent of them would vote against it. And they are just as good patriots as Osmeña and Quezon and Palma, or anybody else.

The above shows plainly enough that most Filipinos recognized that the Clarke amendment meant a crisis in Philippine affairs. Some of the newspaper material, as will be easily seen, is of the spread-eagle style and evidently intended for home consumption. Throughout can be discerned the fear produced by the passing of the amendment. This could also be brought out by verbal reports, but this paper is concerned only with the newspaper comments. Since the publication of these reports, the bill has been definitely defeated. No legislation has taken place in regard to the islands, and they are just where they were before the introduction of the bill. It is still too early to see the Manila

newspaper comments since the vote was taken on the bill in the House. There will be some dissatisfaction that some form of guaranteed independence had not been provided, or that no legislation looking toward greater autonomy of government has been an accomplished fact, but who can doubt that in most quarters there will be a sigh of relief that the Clarke amendment failed to meet the sanction of the American people?

