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PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

SPEECH

OF

HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON

OF THE PHILIPPINES

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1911

The day has now arrived when it is absolutely essential to the happiness, welfare, and tranquillity of the Filipino people that a declaration regarding their independence be at once made by Congress.

WASHINGTON

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SPEECH
OF
HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON.

The House having under consideration the bill (S. 9674) for the relief of James Henry Payne—

Mr. QUEZON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: The gentleman from the Philippines [Mr. LEGARDA] joins me in requesting the House to give proper consideration to the following cablegram from the secretary of the Philippine Assembly:

Assembly adopted February 3, 1911, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the assembly do, and hereby does, petition the Congress of the United States for the immediate recognition of the independence of the Philippine Islands in the manner set forth in the memorial of the Nacionalista Party dated September 1, 1910; and

Resolved further, That the assembly adopts each and all of the conclusions and propositions contained in said memorial; and

Resolved finally, That this resolution be cabled to the Congress of the United States and to the Resident Commissioners for the Philippine Islands, suggesting that they present and support the same in Congress before the adjournment of the present session thereof."

DIOKNO,

Secretary Philippine Assembly.

The memorial referred to in this cablegram is one addressed and delivered to the Secretary of War on his visit to the Philippines last year, which reads as follows:

LETTER OF THE NACIONALISTA PARTY (AS TRANSLATED AND PRINTED BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT).

MANILA, September 1, 1910.

Mr. SECRETARY: The Nacionalista Party believing that it interprets the feelings of all its members honors itself in directing to you this statement of facts to call your attention to the true general aspiration of the people of these islands, whose interests, well-being, and happiness the United States has assumed control of in establishing its sovereignty over the Philippine Archipelago.

The Nacionalista Party was organized in the year 1906, and promptly obtained popular favor. It has committees established in almost all the towns of the archipelago, and represents approximately 81 per cent of the popular suffrage. At present of 81 members of the Philippine Assembly, it has 66, and of 31 provincial governors, it has 23.

This party aspires to the immediate independence of the country, because it believes the Filipino people endowed with those conditions necessary to establish and maintain a stable government of law and order, as has been proven by the existence of what was the government of the Filipino republic in the years 1898 and 1899. The period of experiment which has passed during the American sovereignty is ample to demonstrate that the Filipinos know how to make use of civil and political liberty, and to comply with and to force compliance with the laws, to avoid disorders, prevent abuses, and live in accordance with the practices of civilized communities. It is for this reason that we believe that the transfer of political control to the Filipinos can not signify any sort of disturbance within the country, or danger to the life, property, or liberty of residents therein, but on the contrary the maintenance and preservation of the essential principles for which are established governments, law and order, and guaranties of liberty and justice for everybody.

The independence of the Philippine people will be a due satisfaction for the efforts and sacrifices made by Filipinos in acquiring cultivation

and western civilization, and a compliance with the sacred principles of equality and liberty of the people consecrated in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of North America.

The indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands tends to produce racial antagonism, misunderstanding, and reciprocal jealousy among a people whose interests in the extreme Orient should be allied, makes difficult the rapid development of the national aptitude of the Filipinos in the management and defense of their own interests, and sacrifices the future of a young people desirous of following the examples of the oldest in their fruitful work for the good of progress and of the life of humanity.

In this brief exposition in which we will review the accomplishments and facts which have revealed the aptitude of Filipinos for independent self-government, and will consider some questions which affect the problem of the relations between America and the Philippine Islands, it will be necessary to separate all the matters into various chapters with the following headings:

I. Capacity demonstrated by the Filipinos in the organization of a popular self-government.

II. The capacity of the Filipinos demonstrated during American control.

III. Alleged obstacles to independence; their consideration.

IV. Obstacles to the indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands preparatory to their independence.

I. CAPACITY DEMONSTRATED BY THE FILIPINOS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF A POPULAR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is important to set forth some historic facts which bear on the aspiration of the Filipinos for independence, and makes patent the aptitudes of the people in sustaining a popular independent government.

The Philippine Islands were under the domination of Spain from the 19th of May, 1571, when Legaspi took possession of them in the name of Philip II. The laws approved in the beginning for the administration of insular affairs were beneficent and protective in an extreme degree for the natives of the colonies. The Spanish people in the greatness of its then power felt itself impelled to carry the light of Christianity and of civilization to the inhabitants of the darkest places of the earth. It believed, honestly, that it was called by Providence to govern foreign people, even by means of violence, with the object of making them happy, bringing to them knowledge of the true God and to administer their interests paternally. The Philippine Islands were governed in accordance with this altruistic sentiment, and the Filipinos were effectively converted to Christianity and educated in what progress and European civilization means.

The Filipinos at the end of 300 years constituted a homogeneous people, with national aspirations, political ideals, and love of progress and liberty. Nevertheless, the paternal régime continued as at the beginning, based on the false idea that the people was a child whose will and opinion should not be taken into account to determine matters bearing on its own interest. The people understood on the other side that the colonial régime in force did not favor its rapid progress to place it at the height of the civilized people of the earth. The doctrines relating to the right of man and citizenship had advanced in the conscience of the Filipinos, and as such rights were not recognized under the colonial régime, they were consequently demanded. The people by public subscription and in other ways paid for the sending of various Filipinos to Madrid to beg necessary reforms in the insular administration. The idea that the Filipino people should have the same political and civil rights as the Spanish people and some voice in the administration of its own affairs was the limit of the campaign intrusted to the Filipinos sent to Spain.

The denial by the Spanish authorities of the petitions of the people began to produce discontent among the Filipinos, and the idea that they were an object of political abuse was readily accepted. The distance from the place where this colony was governed, the intrigues of the insular officials to create the belief in the governing authority of the metropolis of the inadvisability of reforming the policy and insular administration, and the suspicions of which those Filipinos who begged reforms were the object were so many causes to prevent an appreciation of the justice of the popular demands and contributed to maintain and increase the general discontent and provoked hatred toward that régime.

The hatred of what was considered political tyranny culminated in 1896, when Andrés Bonifacio, a man coming from the working mass, started an insurrectional movement against Spain which acquired great

proportion, and ended in the so-called treaty of "Blak-na-bato." In virtue of this treaty the leaders of the insurrection promised to accept the program of reforms which, as they were made to understand, would be brought about if they laid down their arms, but as nothing was subsequently done, the insurrection continued, and on the opening of the Spanish-American War in April, 1898, the Filipinos believed there had arrived an opportunity of fighting determinedly for independence, expecting to count for this purpose on American aid. The American naval forces destroyed the Spanish fleet, occupied the Bay of Manila and the port of Cavite, while the Filipinos under the orders of Aguinaldo organized an army and took all the provinces of the archipelago from the power of the Spanish. This ended practically the Spanish sovereignty in the islands.

TYPE OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

There was immediately organized a Philippine government in all the occupied places. The government was dictatorial at the beginning, but this condition only lasted a month, or that is the absolutely necessary time that Aguinaldo employed in exciting the spirits of his compatriots in favor of Philippine independence. During this time Aguinaldo, "understanding that the first duty of all government is to interpret faithfully the popular aspirations," and understanding further "the present necessity of establishing in each town a solid and robust organization, the firmest bulwark of public security and only measure of assuring union and discipline indispensable for the implantation of the republic, or, that is, the government of the people for the people," published a decree giving instructions to the people that were liberated from the Spanish control to change the form of government in their respective localities. The before-mentioned instructions outlined a type of popular government simple and suitable to those moments of transition. It was provided that "so soon as the town is free from the Spanish domination those residents most distinguished by their learning, social position, and honorable conduct, as well in the center of the towns as in the barrios, should unite in a general meeting and elect by majority votes a chief of the municipality and three delegates, one of police and interior order, another of justice and civil register, and another of taxes and property, and a chief or head of each barrio," all of whom will form the popular junta. "The chiefs of the municipalities after having obtained the views of their respective juntas will unite and will elect by majority votes a chief of the province and three councillors for the three departments above named." These officials with the chief of the provincial capital will form the provincial council.

There was no difficulty in the application of these instructions, and the towns and provinces which were under the jurisdiction of the dictatorial government worked in conformity therewith. On June 23, 1898, Aguinaldo resigned his dictatorial powers in the revolutionary government, "whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippine Islands until the free nations, including Spain, recognized it expressly, and to prepare the country for the implantation of a true republic." The evident object of Aguinaldo in resigning his dictatorship was to give promptly to the people guarantees of a civil government as most conformable to the character of the new institutions implanted. The revolutionary government preserved the popular form of provincial and municipal governments under conditions heretofore stated. The central government was organized with the president as chief of the government and executive power, assisted by four department secretaries, namely, foreign relations, marine and commerce; war and public works; police and interior order; treasury, agriculture, and industry, with a revolutionary congress as the legislative power, whose members were to be elected in the same manner prescribed for the election of the provincial officials. To this revolutionary congress was given true independence, since "the president of the government may not prevent in any way whatever a reunion of congress, nor interfere with sessions thereof," and with a commission of the congress presided over by the vice president, and assisted by one of the secretaries of the same, as supreme court to take cognizance on appeal of criminal matters passed on by the provincial councils. The popular juntas and provincial councils were at the same time competent tribunals to take cognizance of civil and criminal matters, with their respective jurisdictions well defined.

It is important to take note of these details to understand properly what was the object of the government that the Filipinos by themselves, without aid or council of anyone, proposed to adopt, having in mind their conditions and political views. The fact that the Filipinos had refused to reestablish the old institutions, and that they had created others—new ones—made it clear that the Filipinos not only had their

own political ideas, but likewise that their ideals are the most advanced that the progress of time has shown. The revolutionary government was, as has been seen, in its essence popular. In all the governmental divisions the people were represented by officials elected by them. This is especially shown if we refer to the organization of the judicial power which was from top to bottom officered by elected officials.

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

The authority of the revolutionary government was extended in a few months to all the islands composing the archipelago by express recognition of their inhabitants. It was questioned in no part of Luzon, of the Visayas, or of Mindanao after the people were delivered from the Spaniards. The chiefs of the various non-Christian tribes of the north of Luzon who never submitted to Spanish domination sent messages acknowledging the government then established. Prominent Mohammedan chiefs of the island of Mindanao gave their spontaneous and sincere adhesion. The different grades of civilization, the accidental differences of religion, habits, and dialects, which are always exaggerated by those who are interested in presenting the Filipinos as incapable of instituting an independent self-government, were no obstacle to make difficult in any way the establishment of said Philippine government or the normal exercise of its authority over all the islands. The Filipinos on displaying their national unity under that government consecrated likewise its legitimacy under the principle that the power of the government comes from the consent of the governed.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION.

In September, 1898, the revolutionary congress opened its sessions. All the provinces of the archipelago were represented therein. After the work of organization, congress devoted all its time to drawing up a constitution. On the 20th of January, 1899, the Filipino constitution was approved and placed in force immediately thereafter.

If the spirit and letter of this constitution be considered, it will be seen that its provisions contain all the principles of law, order, and liberty contained in the modern constitutions of the world.

Title I defines the Philippine republic, and declares that the sovereignty resides exclusively in the people. Title II establishes the form of popular representative government, alternative and responsible, with three distinct and independent powers.

Title III recognizes the separation of the church and state and the liberty and equality of all religions. Title IV contains the declaration of individual rights to life, property, freedom of thought, reunion and association, foundation of schools, and petition to authorities, the exercise of profession or industry, and prescribes the guaranties of these rights. Authorizes the same rights and guaranties to foreigners and permits the latter to acquire Philippine citizenship by naturalization papers and residence during two years in any territory of the republic. Establishes obligatory military service, popular gratuitous and obligatory instruction, civil trial for all crimes, prohibits institution of primogeniture and the entailing of property, the accepting and authorizing decorations and titles of nobility. Title V establishes a representative assembly in which resides the legislative power. Representatives will be such of the nation, and may not receive any imperative mandate from their electors. They may not be molested for their opinions or votes nor imprisoned without authority of the assembly. The assembly may try the highest officials of the government for crimes against the state. Title VI constitutes a permanent commission of the assembly during the closing of the sessions to decide on certain specific matters. Title VII declares the president of the republic chief of the executive power which he exercises through his secretaries. Questions relating to private interests of the municipalities correspond to the provincial and popular assemblies and to the central administration on the base of the amplest decentralization and economy. Title VIII provides the election of the president of the republic by means of a constituent assembly by absolute majority of votes. The term is for four years with reelection. The president may initiate laws and is obliged to promulgate those which have been approved. Title IX provides for a council of government composed of a president and seven secretaries, who are collectively responsible before the assembly for the general policy of the nation, and individually for their personal acts. Title X declares that the judicial power rests in the supreme court and other tribunals provided by law, empowering any citizen to bring action against the individuals of the judicial power for crimes committed in the exercise of their offices. Title XI provides that the organization and powers of the provincial and popular assemblies will be fixed by

law under certain conditions. Title XII regulates the administration of state. Title XIII provides methods and form of amending the constitution. Title XIV provides that all officials must swear to support the constitution. Adopts as official language the Spanish. Temporarily places in force the Spanish laws and regulations as to the exercise of civil rights of citizens.

There can be no doubt that this constitution not only represents the grade of cultivation of men that drew it up, but that it shows likewise that the Filipinos considered a system of popular government as that most suited to their conditions and the experiences of the country. They did not think of copying and imitating the institutions with which they were most familiar. On the contrary, they constructed a system radically contrary to that which had been in force here for several centuries. In some of the lines of this constitution is observed a tendency to maintain any sort of oligarchy, but in all of them are imprinted democratic principles more accentuated, perhaps, than in many of the republican constitutions of the day. The Philippine constitution, as it was drawn up by representatives of the revolutionary congress, portrays with fidelity more than any other act of the Filipinos of that time the aspirations and political ideals of the people of the islands.

CONDITIONS WHICH PREVAILED UNDER THAT GOVERNMENT.

In the conditions of order, tranquillity, and progress which prevailed under the authority of the revolutionary government there was clearly displayed the good dispositions of these people for the direction of their own affairs. A decree of Aguinaldo abolishing all gambling privileges and cockfighting taxes, "because they tend only to ruin the people, with slight advantage to the public treasury," was sufficient that the people should give up completely their ancient favorite practices. Crimes and ordinary misdemeanors diminished notably in number. There were enjoyed as in no time entire security, well-being, and content. The parties of bandits which from the most remote periods were accustomed to disturb the order voluntarily disappeared. The spirit of cooperation of the people in the measures of the government for good order and progress was evidenced by the liberal treatment of the Spanish prisoners, the respect to foreigners, the attendance at school, and the return to customary field work in those places in which the revolutionary condition had ceased.

The government on its part, without neglecting provisions for war, consecrated itself to organize the most important and urgent public services. The corps of civil physicians to watch over sanitary conditions, hygiene, and urbanization of the provinces was established. There was created a civil register in all the municipalities. The chiefs of the municipalities were authorized to act provisionally as notaries in the authentication of documents and extrajudicial acts. There was founded a university to teach law, medicine, pharmacy, and notaryship, and the institution "Burgos" for studies of the general high-school class, and there was ordered the reopening of all the municipal primary schools. All the provincial councils and popular juntas were ordered to proceed to the repair and preservation of roads, bridges, and public buildings, because "the ways of communication were one of the causes which contribute to material and moral progress of every country." There was created an institute for vaccination to prepare and distribute vaccine to all the provinces. There was established a bureau of census and statistics. There was organized a corps of communications to regulate the sending of correspondence and telegraphic dispatches between the towns and provinces.

The government not only organized practically all the public services which existed under the Spanish Government, but likewise adopted various provisions which showed its good desire to watch over the general interest, prohibiting the sale of copra which is not thoroughly dry "as prejudicial to the credit of commercial articles," and the slaughtering of carabao useful for agricultural purposes "because they might be better used in the fields."

THE OPENING OF HOSTILITIES.

On the 23d of January, 1899, in accordance with the constitution, proclamation of the Philippine republic was made in the town of Malolos; Aguinaldo was proclaimed chief of said republic. But shortly thereafter, that is, on the 4th of February, occurred the opening of hostilities between Americans and Filipinos. This outbreak was a surprise for the Filipinos. But the moral union of the people and Philippine Government was displayed during the new condition of war. Aguinaldo published a proclamation ordering the war, and his order was obeyed in all sections. The American forces encountered open resistance wherever they were, and had to forcibly capture or force the

Philippine forces to surrender by superiority of resources. The spirit of resistance terminated toward the end of 1901, and the Filipinos, through the efforts made by some of their compatriots, agreed to recognize American domination.

II. THE CAPACITY OF THE FILIPINOS DEMONSTRATED DURING AMERICAN CONTROL.

Nothing can indicate better the capacity of the people for independent government than the spontaneous adhesion that the same people is giving to the essential democratic principles which inspire the present government and its cooperation in the many steps that have been taken for the betterment of the intellectual, moral, social, and material conditions of the people.

If this people should be lacking in those conditions necessary for progress, doubtless any effort in that direction undertaken by the American Government would have been fruitless. It would not be true to affirm that all the progress realized in the Philippine Islands has been due to the energy and talent of the Government, since without the cooperation of the people, without the practical sense indispensable to appreciate good, no beneficent work would have been carried successfully to a termination.

A résumé setting forth the manner in which the Filipinos have conducted themselves in the exercise of the powers conferred on them under the present government will show us that the conception and application by the Filipinos of a popular government are entirely satisfactory.

PUBLIC ORDER.

The satisfactory state of public order in the islands has been brought about with the aid and efforts of the Philippine people. The work of the American Army doubtless has been a factor in finishing the war and establishing peace, but the maintenance of order and tranquility after the period of the war is due to the determined attitude and to the decided interest of the people to pursue in peace the struggle for their political ideals and to consecrate themselves to the cause of progress and prosperity destroyed by six years of disturbance. This attitude reveals nothing but good, practical sense—the good disposition which this people has of considering existing conditions in the determination of its national convenience.

Public order is maintained in the municipalities and provinces by Filipino officials and agents with the exception of some chiefs and officers of the constabulary. The agricultural work and the operations of commerce are effected with the greatest tranquillity and security for all. The violations of order and the local disturbances occasioned by misdemeanors are not numerous, so that the Philippine people may sustain in this matter a favorable comparison with any of the most civilized countries of the world. The good disposition of the people toward the maintenance of order and the discipline of the law is evidenced most pathetically, taking into consideration that there has passed but a short time since the period of war with the subsequent disturbance and that there has not disappeared from the mind of the people many of the motives and prejudices which originated in the war and provoked from time to time discontent with the present situation.

There is no little argument in favor of the orderly and disciplined spirit of the people in the fact that the exercise and practice of civil and political rights completely new to the inhabitants of these islands, such as liberty of religion and direct suffrage, have not occasioned long and bloody struggles which they have produced in nations of longer history than ours.

THE LOVE FOR AND PROGRESS IN PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The great interest which the Filipino people has shown for education is quite evident. One of the causes frequently cited and which contributed to the discontent of the Filipinos with the Spanish régime was the monopoly exercised in instruction by the religious corporations, which showed no great desire for the instruction of the masses of the country. In reality, during that régime primary or elemental instruction received little attention. The instruction in the secondary grade and in superior and university grades was deficient and sectarian. But in the midst of such a vicious system the zeal for study and the interest of families in sending their children to the schools and colleges established in the Philippines or to Europe to acquire a more extended education were very marked. Poor families imposed on themselves all classes of sacrifices that their children might study. In many cases they begged of the rich families or their friends that they should accept their children in domestic service so as to permit them some free hours to dedicate themselves to study.

The general movement noted under American control in favor of education is not, therefore, new in the history of this country. The Filipino people appreciates the advantages given by education and information of life. It recognizes its necessity and has a sympathy and aptitude for all sorts of education. This explains the fact that the number of children attending the schools has crowded in many cases the capacity of said schools and that at times there was necessity of denying admission to pupils. This explains likewise the fact that there has not been lacking pupils in the industrial schools or others of special branches of education little or not at all known in past periods. It is a source of congratulation to be able to say that in all experiments which have taken place to prove the love of instruction or the measure of the intellectual capacity of the people the proof in our favor has been decisive.

Two years ago effort was made to open courses for nurses. This was an instruction completely unknown in the country. The education given to woman in former times—not to be for a long time absent from home, not to know or to comply with other obligations than those purely domestic, not to require of her severe and difficult labor which was considered proper only for men—appeared to give little hope for a successful outcome of the new experiment, but, in view of the results obtained, there can be no doubt that the effort has been a complete success, which speaks in favor of the aptitude of the Filipino woman for the evolution of modern civilized life. The constant increase of schools and of the attendance of children of the school age since American occupation are phenomena generally observed in all the provinces. The following statement of attendance taken from the last report of the secretary of public instruction proves this assertion :

Years.	Public schools.	Monthly attendance.
1903.....	2,000	150,000
1904.....	2,233	227,600
1905.....	2,727	311,843
1906.....	3,166	375,534
1907.....	3,436	335,106
1908.....	3,701	359,738
1909.....	4,194	437,735

There has been observed on many occasions a tendency to suppress or postpone the payment of land tax by the municipal or provincial governments, while at the same time they have tried to continue in force that part of said tax destined to the schools, and when this has not been successful the consideration of closing the schools in case of failure to pay said tax has exercised such influence in the provincial and municipal governments that there have continued in full effect the provisions of the law.

In view of the foregoing demonstration, there can be no fear that the Filipino people will maintain itself in ignorance. A people that shows the live interest in being instructed, such as the Filipino has shown before and now, can not constitute a danger for a regular and orderly maintenance of a popular government.

THE EXERCISE OF SUFFRAGE.

One of the fears of those who considered the Filipinos incapable of popular self-government is that they would not have sufficient discretion to elect to those offices which must be filled by election the best people in the community. The exercise of suffrage by the Filipinos has shown, nevertheless, that they know how to make good use of this privilege. Up to the present the electors have been able to confide public offices to persons who could duly perform their duties as officials. In the majority of cases they are persons of intelligence and responsibility who have known how to justify their election and bring about during their official terms the betterment of their respective towns. An excellent proof of this fact is that with rare exceptions there has not been suspended or deprived of his office any provincial elective Filipino official since American domination. Nor is the percentage of municipal officials suspended or deprived of office greater than that in independent nations, especially if it is considered that not all the suspensions or deprivations of office are the result of grave faults which affect the morality and capacity of certain officials.

The good judgment and discretion of the electoral body are so manifest that the results of an election have given origin to few well-founded protests. The logical and immediate inference that we may draw from this is that there exists within the electoral body an intelligent public opinion which influences and decides emphatically the results of the elections.

An indication likewise highly favorable to the Filipino people in relation to the exercise of the suffrage is that all the elections have taken place with the greatest order in spite, many times, of the intensity of the struggle between candidates of different parties prior to the election. It is not less patent and indicative of fine discretion in the people the fact that after the elections, or after a protested election has been decided, the defeated minority shows itself definitely resigned and makes no effort to injure or obstruct the administration of the official elected, as happens in other countries that are more accustomed to the use of the suffrage. We do not wish absolutely to affirm that there are no exceptions to this rule, but that this is the rule confirms our statement that the Filipino people is capable of managing a popular government supported by the influence of a sane and intelligent public opinion. This influence shows itself likewise in the cases of those officials who in power have not complied with their promises and duties and who later, on working for their reelection, fall in their object even though men of education, money, or influence.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR RELATIONS.

The organization of political parties under democratic régime is absolutely necessary. Political parties are organized in the Philippines, and from the beginning there was markedly displayed the two tendencies which existed in all countries in which prevailed individual liberty, namely, the conservative and the radical. Before the proclamation of the so-called organic law of July 1, 1902, there was organized the so-called Federal Party which formulated the principle of final annexation of the islands to the United States. Without affirming or discussing whether its directors and founders sincerely sustained this principle or not and whether it was changed later, the fact is they found in this formula, or rather with that of peace, a means of weakening the revolution. Forced thereto by circumstances, the people accepted peace under the American sovereignty. The Federal Party was the only party during that time, since the partisans of immediate independence of the country, in spite of having attempted to organize a party, did not obtain the consent of the American Government which qualified them as upholders and sympathizers of the revolution in arms. Later, when the organic law was promulgated, different parties arose, all of which aspired to final independence for the country. The Federal Party in 1904, on seeing that the idea of annexation found no popular support, changed its original program and set forth in its place the obtaining of independence by gradual steps and successive increase of Filipino control in the administration of the government. Without weakening their views, strong in their former desires, the partisans of immediate independence formed at the end of the year 1906 a great organization entitled "Partido Nacionalista," which has extended rapidly throughout the country, because it responded better to its political aspirations. The principal program of this party is, as has been said, the immediate independence of the country.

In this manner were properly defined the two tendencies of Filipino opinion. The principals of the Federal Party, now called "Partido Progresista," represent the conservative tendency of man, and the "Partido Nacionalista" the radical tendency.

But even the conservative tendency can not now support in any manner the permanent maintenance of the present relations with North America, nor the radical tendency conceive of the employment of violent measures to bring about the change of sovereignty. One, as well as the other, believes that independence must be given to the people of the islands, and differ only in the idea as to how and when independence must be obtained.

In the relations between the men of both parties there is noted nearly always a close alliance and unity of opinion in considering matters relating to the best manner of administering local affairs under this provisional government, and although, as is natural in time of elections, there are uttered bitter censures and recriminations, the harmony which is maintained and the courtesy with which they treat each other in the course of their relations are an indication that they consider the public interest completely separate from the selfishness of faction or of party. Crises have occurred in the relations of both parties within the assembly and out of it, and likewise in the relations between the prominent men in the same party, but such

crises not having been frequent were altogether passing, ending in the greatest cordiality and respect. It is certainly flattering to the pride of the Filipinos to cite that fact, which shows better than any other the practice of tolerance and of mutual consideration between both parties which occurred in the assembly during the discussion of the Payne bill. The Progresista minority unanimously declined to assist at the sessions of the assembly, believing itself offended at the treatment given it by the majority, but at the end of a week, through mutual explanations, the affair remained satisfactorily adjusted to both sides.

PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES.

The administration of the provinces and municipalities can not but merit a favorable opinion regarding the aptitude of the Filipinos for the exercise of the powers intrusted to them. In reality, considering the provincial administration, the functions authorized to Filipinos suffer such limitations that it is frequently found that the local initiatives are crippled by the delays of a centralized régime. But in spite of this, to the energy, skill, and patriotism of the provincial governments are due the preservation of order, the progress of public instruction, the betterment of the highways, bridges, and public buildings, the introduction of sanitary and hygienic measures, and the assurance of improvements of all sorts for the well-being of the community in their respective provinces.

The municipal officials, on their part overcoming many difficulties, of which the greatest is the lack of funds, show each day a noble emulation in bettering the public service in their respective localities. If the interest displayed by the municipal officials in the construction of public edifices, particularly schools and markets, in the boring of artesian wells for public sanitation, and the improvement of neighborhood roads, in the prosecution and punishment of evildoers, and in the ornamentation and sanitation of public places, be considered, there is reason for saying that everywhere they understand the true public interest, and the officials understand at the same time that they are servants of the public well-being. The municipalities which can count on sufficient funds have realized all classes of public works that are monuments of progress and of efficiency in the public service. The majority of the municipalities naturally can not display such monuments, because of lack of resources, but all can show that they have done something for the towns and for the people, who see with deep feeling the excellent use they are making of the money provided by the payment of their taxes.

The interest with which in some places are attended the popular conferences in which instruction is given to the people of its rights and civic duties, is an argument against what is affirmed by some writers of "Caciquismo" of the local officials, which they supposed very general in the towns of the Philippine Islands. In these conferences the first who take part are the very local functionaries and young people of the schools. The Philippine Assembly initiated a law for this purpose, which is producing excellent results.

PHILIPPINE MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES.

There is a very general belief against the methods of administration of justice by oriental people, especially when the parties in litigation are not natives, but of other races. The organization of tribunals of justice in the Philippine Islands, and the participation which has been given to the Filipinos in it, have shown the inconsistency of such belief. The Filipino magistrates and judges, whether they have sat together with Americans or alone, can not be accused of partiality or bad faith. Some decisions of Filipino judges have given origin to suspicions among the Filipinos themselves that they have been dictated to under executive influence; it has not been possible to confirm these suspicions and they only have their foundation in what is generally considered a defect in the present system, which confers on the executive the power to name and remove said judges. No American or foreigner has been able to formulate a just accusation against any Filipino judge for lack of competence or integrity in his decisions and methods, and this proves that the law in Filipino hands offers equal protection to everyone, native or foreigner, poor or rich. The reputation of the Filipino judge has always been very high, and this has been noted by some Americans who have familiarized themselves with the affairs of the Philippine judiciary. There is not seen, then, any reason to believe that if the government were Filipino the native judges would not conduct themselves in the manner in which they now perform their duties in hearing and deciding the questions which are presented before the judges without fear or favor.

FILIPINO EMPLOYEES SUBJECT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The efficiency shown by Filipinos subject to civil service in public office which they occupy justifies the belief, heretofore expressed publicly before a body of the Representatives of Congress in 1905, that there were sufficient persons in the country to serve the public interests in the different branches of administration. This statement was understood apparently erroneously as an enunciation of the incorrect idea that the Filipino had of popular government, believing that there was necessary a governing class and another class obedient and submissive. But the idea which it was intended properly to express was that the administration of the public interests might be well served by a sufficient number of persons who possess the necessary intelligence and zeal for the fulfilling of their public duties. The belief has been completely demonstrated by facts.

Speaking of Filipino employees, the executive secretary, in his annual report for 1905, made the following statement: "The Filipinos have demonstrated marked capacity in many respects, and a devotion to duty and a desire to increase their knowledge, and have demonstrated that under good auspices they may execute original work of highly creditable character, which merits more praise than is generally conceded to them." All the Philippine governors general during the American administration have agreed on this point, and Gov. Gen. Forbes, in his inaugural discourse, said: "I would not desire better men than the present officials and employees of the government, Americans as well as Filipinos. They may be favorably compared with any men that I have seen in my life in respect to aptitude and fidelity in compliance with duty."

PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

We reach the climax of this probational process. If the plain demonstrations of capacity given by the country in the other orders of public activity heretofore mentioned were not sufficient, the establishment of the Philippine Assembly, and its recognized success, give one of those incontrovertible arguments which in other affairs would bring about a decisive and final state. Summarizing in the work of reestablishing public order, there was nothing new, the Filipino people having been accustomed for many years to comply with the law and to maintain its rule almost by itself. The Filipino people is old in the practices of a life of progress and order. Thus it may be understood how the exercise of the liberty of the press, the liberty of association and assembly, the liberty of petition have not produced disturbances of any class, nor have grave disturbances been caused by the freedom of religion in a people accustomed to profess the religion of the state, and with a great majority belonging to a single religion. Guided by its profound good sense and the experience of freer people, there was settled in the courts, and not outside of them, those contentions as to ecclesiastical property, the defense of whose possession and control would have shaken in other places, we are certain, the foundations of society. In the midst of the revolution the people knew by itself how to maintain order and respect property in those towns where there was lacking a local government, due to the capture thereof by American troops and the abandonment thereof a little later by them, and consequently lacking the safeguards either of a Philippine government or of an American government. The fact that a great deal of the merit of completely reestablishing public order in the Philippines may justly be attributed to the local authority, to the people itself, should carry great weight with those who honestly, but with little knowledge of conditions, constantly speak of the ignorance of the Philippine people and of their lack of qualifications to maintain a government of law and order, but produces no great effect with those who are more familiar with our conditions and know perfectly that nothing of this is new among us.

A stronger argument is supplied by the appropriate use of the suffrage, efficiency of Philippine officials, elective as well as appointive, and the success of local governments. We doubt if there are people who exercise the suffrage with the same purity and order as the Filipino people. We are sure that the efficiency of our public officials passes the most rigorous test. It is not ours, but American and foreign opinion which places our tribunals of justice at the highest level. And just as in the exercise of the suffrage, however great were the limitations under the past domination placed on our initiatives and the free manifestation of civic virtues, in the local governments of modern type implanted in the Philippines during this régime, there have been given those clear demonstrations of political experience that prove that the progress and the condition of instruction of the people can not be judged solely by the data that the census may give with reference

to literacy, and that true political experience depends as much on the opportunities given to the people as those high virtues, valor, energy, discretion, and patriotism, which are the fruit of civilization, and are not the exclusive patrimony of any race.

Where fear would appear better founded is in the establishment of a popular assembly. The Filipinos, it was said, have not had any parliamentary experience. There were not lacking persons who, having superficially studied history and finding that the life of some parliaments had been worked out through centuries, exacted as an essential condition for the success of parliamentary liberty centuries of experience. On the other hand, elections for delegates to the assembly had been very bitter and the triumphant party with an immense majority was the radical party, the defender of immediate independence, which had had little contact with the present régime, and which had not intervened, except when the people was called to deposit its votes.

Contrary to all the fears, contrary to all prejudice and suspicion, the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated on the 16th of October, 1907, and its organization was immediately made effective. The organization was completed in 40 minutes. When there is considered the inherent difficulties in the organization of an assembly, when it is taken into account the difficult experience of the older parliaments, when the recent experience of Cuba is brought to mind, calm and reflection permit us to appreciate all the success of this decisive step taken by the Filipino people.

The practical sense of the assembly is singularly revealed in the type of organization adopted. It is easy to understand that the representatives of the people having united for the first time, many of them coming from the provinces most remote from the capital, and the country being without fixed precedents, each one would bring a private opinion as to organization. Finally, there was adopted the type of organization of the Congress of the United States, which, as was seen later, was most adapted to our interests. Probably there was considered in this selection the idea that in this manner, selecting a type that was familiar to Congress, the latter might judge of the labor of the assembly with greater facility and accuracy. It was not the most appropriate to deliver long and sterile orations and provoke in the assembly those debates that are so frequent in other countries, and which, though they result in a very interesting spectacle for those that have no interest in the success of the organization, injure on the other hand the seriousness of an assembly and necessarily delay the prompt and proper dispatch of business. The lines of discretion and seriousness that the delegates adopted then in their deliberations and debates show that their intention on adopting the American rule was that of abolishing all unnecessary difficulty and to proceed with resolution and expedition in the transaction of the important business in its charge. The Filipino delegates were not ignorant of the defects which, among the advantages of regulations formed through partyism, wisdom, and experience, appear, as in all human work, in the organization of the Congress of the United States, but placed the application of the rules in the hands of persons who knew how to interpret at the same time the true needs of the assembly and its sentiments. There was named as president of the committee on rules a member of the assembly, and not the speaker, and the theory of good democracy applied to the dispatch of the business of the assembly gave as a result that initiative which received a stimulus, and all the legislative business was regularly and promptly dispatched. The fact that the majority of the assembly composed more than four-fifths of the membership served to show the liberality and patriotism of its members, and there was conceded to the minority in spite of this not only representation in all of the committees, but the chairmanship of several of them. There were associated all and were excluded none from the labor of the assembly; thus there was recognized and protected the minority and there were likewise fixed the foundations of an organization the results of which we are now going to see.

The assembly entered boldly on its duties. Without passion and without hatred, forgetting that its members belonged to different political parties, that there had been a fierce struggle in the elections, there was remembered only that they belonged to a common country and the public welfare was a sacred charge placed in its hands. The highest feeling of responsibility, that responsibility of which the Filipino people had given so many and such great proofs in other moments of its history, accompanied the assembly in its tasks. Its legislative work has been fruitful and the scalpel of study and criticism penetrated from the little local details to the organization of the central government. The task of fixing the budget was approached vigorously and

there were presented proposals to simplify the present organization of the central government. Without systematic opposition, projects were defeated considered prejudicial to the people or that infringed its rights. Nothing indicates better the character of the first assembly than the constructive tendency of its laws, and this merit, singular in a new legislative body, would merit without doubt the close considerations and lengthy study of those who may or must judge of the capacity of the Filipinos for the management of their own affairs.

Nothing was forgotten, and the resolutions of the assembly making a public declaration of the sentiments of the people to live a free and independent life are a monument to its loyalty and its civicism. It is not true that some of the political parties represented in the assembly have made concrete promises of immediate independence if its members reached the assembly, and the only thing which sustained it and which now sustains it is that the Filipino people desire it. The policy of the assembly was conducted within the amplest tolerance and the best feeling of intelligence and cooperation, and this was done not because within or without the assembly the Filipino people had renounced its ideals, but because it was believed that such policy would be, among other measures, a proper argument to show the justice of such ideals. In this manner when the party that obtained the majority in the first elections again presented itself to the people in the electoral campaign which preceded the second assembly, it received the most sincere and complete approval of the people, which elected a more considerable majority in its favor than in the past.

Education, material improvements, agriculture, industry and commerce, public health, local governments, labor—everything which has been under the consideration of the assembly—received immediate and efficient attention. Two very notable tendencies of the legislation passed are, first, the profoundly democratic sense which was shown from the first instance in the law appropriating a million pesos for the schools, and in the law governing labor accidents; and, second, the character of stability brought to the legislative sphere and appropriately shown in the law which provided for the revision of all the codes and the compilation of the infinite number of administrative laws now in force. When there is seen and judged with eyes free from all prejudice the result of the Philippine Assembly, which has fully justified the hopes of those that vouched for it and were responsible to Congress for its establishment, and when are considered the tremendous difficulties that in the advance of the liberty of all countries accompany the organization and operation of popular assemblies, in the serene judgment of all impartial and just men there must necessarily be admitted the basis on which the Filipino people rests in insisting on their demands which adversity and mishaps fortify and solidify, to possess the high attributes and assume the grave responsibilities of a sovereign free and independent government.

III. ALLEGED OBSTACLES TO INDEPENDENCE: THEIR CONSIDERATION.

There are some objections that the statesmen responsible for the present policy of the United States in the Philippines have presented to the natural ambition of Filipinos possessing an independent self-government. These objections are summarized briefly in the lack of preparation of the Filipinos for the exercise of the responsibilities and powers inherent in such governments on account of defective conditions, some inherent and others transitory, presented by the present state of Philippine civilization, or the nature of the Filipinos. Whether these objections have or not a solid foundation to deny or defer the transfer to the Filipinos of political control of their own affairs is what we will consider in this chapter.

It is to be lamented, nevertheless, that the progress of political science has not established definitely the conditions of preparation which people require to be able to govern themselves, since the lack of common rule makes it little less than impossible to know if a given people has or not the necessary conditions to maintain an independent government. Independent nations present such different conditions, such contradictory systems of government, vices and virtues so different, languages, customs, and usages so varied, that truly we can not know to a certainty what are the conditions which exist in independent nations and which are lacking in the Filipino people. This will necessarily limit our study solely to those conditions or defects of our people, or of our civilization, that are mentioned by those who are interested in not conceding independence to the Filipinos.

In the declarations made authoritatively of the American policy in the Philippine Islands there has been frequently stated the belief that the islands would be delivered to a bloody and horrible chaos if they

should be left to their fate; that the United States has the duty of educating the ignorant masses of the people until they can know their civil rights and sustain them against the abuses of the superior classes and exercise with certainty their political rights; that if the islands should now be left to the Filipinos the probable result would be the organization of an oppressive and caudal oligarchy, which would exploit the inferior masses; and that the educated as well as the ignorant masses of the Filipino people must be educated in the practice of political power, of which they have not had experience, until the Filipino people shows itself reasonably fit to control a popular government, maintaining law and preserving order and offering to the rich and poor the same protection of the laws and of civil rights.

DISORDER AND CHAOS.

The first point we must study, because it is the most important condition in the life of an independent government, is the question of order and the method of preserving it. The causes which are indicated as likely to generate a condition of anarchy, the government being in the hands of the Filipinos, are: (a) That in all periods, and from the earliest days of Philippine civilization, there have existed in the islands bands of ladrones, who infest the Provinces and control pacific residents and the forces of the Government; (b) that the profound ignorance of the masses constitutes a constant danger to public tranquillity; (c) that the irresponsible power of the caudillos over their ignorant fellow citizens would always be used in cases of discontent for purposes of vengeance and to destroy the peace. Before beginning to consider these characteristics, which are believed peculiar to the present state of the country, we take note of what many impartial observers have written concerning the character of the Filipino people. The Filipino people, according to these observers, who have associated familiarly with them, is pacific by temperament, is inclined to peace, is patient, and at times even indolent in seeking reparation for offenses committed against them when they may be borne. This opinion is proven by history. In the long period of Spanish domination history scarcely records a few local disturbances; not one had a general character, except the revolution of 1896, which reappeared in 1898 and which, as known, was based on political motives.

During the period of the revolutionary government no grave disturbances occurred affecting the interior order of the Provinces comprehended within the jurisdiction of Aguinaldo's government. Nothing, then, may be feared with respect to the public order and public tranquillity which may come from a natural propensity in the inhabitants of the islands for disorder and revolution, as occurs in many countries of Latin origin.

The existence of certain bands of robbers, few in number, and disturbing few Provinces during the Spanish government, were the consequences of temporary causes arising from the deficiencies of the political system in force in the islands and from the condition of poverty which prevailed among the common mass of the people. The rural inhabitants of the Philippine Islands were unarmed against the violators of order, and the guardia civil which was spread throughout the Provinces was insufficient to protect the inhabitants of the remote barrios. The terror of the guardia civil and the crimes it committed against defenseless residents tended rather to augment the number of robbers than to suppress them. The lack of means of defense and protection must always constitute a cause of public insecurity, because it is not practicable to require the residents of a neighborhood to defend themselves against the wicked members of the community who have arms and resources dangerous to their lives and properties. The condition of order during the present sovereignty improved only when the constabulary could be concentrated in a sufficient number in one or a few Provinces to encourage the people to pursue robbers and to terrorize and scatter the latter by their presence. The only measure consequently to remedy such unfortunate condition is to distribute among the people sufficient arms to resist and destroy individuals who are members of such bands. Failing in this, the same state of things which formerly existed will still exist in those neighborhoods in which the police force is not sufficiently efficient by number or by arms to prevent the temporary formation of bands of three or more persons devoted to robbery and violence, especially in the years of bad rice crops, because then hunger reduces to a truly miserable condition numbers of the residents of the mountains without other resources.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the same causes which brought about the forming of bands of robbers in former times would be revived under the government of the Filipinos. As a fact, such bands were dissipated during the government of Aguinaldo. The right to

bear arms would doubtless be one of the rights which would be recognized under an independent government, and this would give to each community practical means of protecting its lives and interests against those persons prejudicial to the same. These would tend to cease their evil habits or would be exterminated in one manner or another, since there would be no other alternative. The misery of the common mass which contributed and contributes now to the formation of such bands would have to be effectively improved through suitable legislation which would give to the poor facility to acquire their lands and cultivate them.

An eloquent proof of the good disposition of the people toward preservation of order under normal circumstances was the organization of the bands which operated during the Spanish sovereignty. These were selected from the common people of the municipalities. They performed service by day in the municipality and watched by night at points outlying the resident section for the public security. They received no salary except equipment and clothing. Their duties were, when occasion necessitated, though badly armed, to seek and pursue evildoers, fight these, and arrest them. They successfully performed these duties. The men of the towns accompanied on many occasions these bands for such purposes. It is not less indicative of the spirit of order and discipline of the people that there are communities which have barely two or three policemen to guard the jail and maintain order. The lack of these is not felt on days of great feasts and crowds. The danger of disorder feared is as small as remote.

IGNORANCE AS A MENACE TO ORDER.

There is pointed out as another of the grave menaces which might constitute a constant danger to order the ignorance of the Philippine masses who speak only one of the 15 or 16 Malay dialects, each one of which contains a very limited vocabulary, which offers no means of communication with modern thought and civilization.

We do not desire in any way to deny that there really exists among the Filipino people persons not educated in schools. No one laments this situation like the Filipinos themselves—a situation due to causes altogether foreign to their will. Nevertheless, while it may be said that there are some illiterate people not prepared in the schools, it can not be said that the people is profoundly ignorant. From the fact that there are people who do not know how to read and write does not necessarily indicate that the community in which they live does not know the rights and duties appropriate to a civilized community.

Let us take as an example one of those rural communities of the islands far distant from centers of commerce and education. It is a community that lives peacefully, has a religion—the Christian—and practices its creed. Each individual constructs his home and works a piece of ground and sows what is necessary for his living. His house is small, but he keeps it clean, as well as its surrounding lot. He lives from fishing or agriculture. He does not rob or steal or kill or molest any of his neighbors. He receives the stranger cordially and shares with him all the resources that his natural hospitality permits. He pays a teacher for his children or sends them to the public school of the town. He recognizes his public authorities, to whom he appeals on all occasions when he receives some injury or other, pays his tax religiously when required to do so by the agent of the municipal authority. The community scarcely requires police because order is very rarely disturbed. All live in the greatest satisfaction, without passions, without struggle, in the midst of an enviable harmony.

We can not say that a community that lives thus is profoundly ignorant and might place in danger the security and order of the state on account of its ignorance. If we compare this community with other Filipino communities which form the municipalities and the Provinces of the archipelago and present the same sketch and characters, with the only difference that there are in these a greater proportion of instructed persons, we can not see any danger to order in confiding to such communities the government of their own interests. It is flattering to be able to say that the truth is that the so-called ignorant mass of our people so unjustly treated by our critics is sufficiently instructed in its duties of man and of citizen, and we are certain from what occurred during the revolutionary period that with the independence of the country there would be again awakened in it that stimulus to greater progress, well-being, and liberty that collective conscience and that spirit of responsibility of which it has given so many and such eloquent proofs.

Furthermore, the causes which under the past sovereignty produced the present condition of education in the people are sufficiently known,

and likewise well known are the methods which should be employed to more generally spread instruction among the masses most needing it. It is reasonable to suppose that whatever government the Filipinos may have will give all possible opportunities to all the classes of the people to educate themselves in the schools. The Filipino people, as has been said in another place, is glad to instruct itself in all branches of human knowledge. It is not necessary that it be compelled to this. In the official reports there is noted with true satisfaction the natural inclination displayed by the Filipinos for education, the poorest families sending their children to school. There has been a constant increase in the number of children attending the public and private schools, so that in this year it may be reckoned that nearly 700,000 children and youths are receiving an education in the different public and private schools established throughout the archipelago.

The Philippine Assembly has always been ready to make large appropriations for the bureau of education, and this certainly indicates that if the country were independent the Philippine government would place all its interest in increasing and spreading instruction among the masses, not only because it would understand that this was its responsibility, but likewise because it would recognize the advisability of having the people instructed in order that the nation might be solid and strong. The Philippine government would be in possession of power to save a great part of the present budget destined to salaries and expend such savings in paying school-teachers and constructing school buildings in order that the progress of education might be more rapid daily in the islands.

There exists, then, in our opinion, no reason whatever to fear the imagined dangers that the present state of education of the people might offer to the permanent establishment of public order under an independent government. Above the subtle conventionalisms of nations which, in spite of all, have never been able to fix with precision and uniform judgment when a people is sufficiently educated to be independent or when not, it is certain that there exists here a people old in the practices of civilized life, lovers of home and property and enthusiastic for education and progress, obeyers of the law, all of which, far from being a danger to order, is its firmest and most secure foundation.

"CACIQUISM" AND OLIGARCHY.

There is likewise pointed out as another obstacle to good order and the establishment of democratic institutions and principles the so-called "caciquism" dominant in the country. There is mentioned the fact that in the rural municipalities of the Philippines the whole people is completely subject to the will of some educated person of alert intelligence living in the community, who knows the local dialect and who desires or knows how to excite the fears or the cupidity of his neighbors to organize a party to resist imaginary wrongs or oppression, in order to satisfy vengeance or to obtain a livelihood without labor. There is said in proof of this that the history of the revolution and of the state of disorder which followed it is full of examples in which the simple country people, incited by the local caciques, have committed the most horrible crimes of torture and assassination, and when the authors have been arrested and prosecuted, they have simply replied that the caciques of the locality had ordered them to commit the crime. There is mentioned likewise that with great frequency the presidente and other officials of the town make use of their offices to subject the ignorant residents of their respective towns to their control in the sale of agricultural products. The official acts as an intermediary in the sale and takes the greater part of the products of the person he represents. It is likewise alleged that caciquism is revealed in the most flagrant form when the Philippine municipal officials, and even provincial officials, are invested with governmental power over non-Christian tribes or over others that are not of their own race distributed through the Christian Philippine provinces. It is said that the people of these tribes are victims of abuse and oppression on the part of such Philippine officials.

The series of acts mentioned which show the existence of the so-called "caciquism" in the Philippine Islands is not truly the result solely of the state of education of the masses, but a natural product of the perversity of man of whatever time and whatever race. The instinct of profiting at the expense of one's neighbor or of satisfying certain passions and taking advantages of other men who may be convinced or seduced is not only a quality peculiar to Filipinos, but a universal human sentiment. This instinct naturally reveals itself in different forms, according to the condition of the various societies, but in one form or another it exists among all people, whether they are

civilized or not. He who considers himself stronger will always try to obtain some profit if he can from the weaker, whether this one be ignorant or not.

The facts mentioned are not, however, very general nor are they of such gravity as those that occur in more civilized countries. The examples of caciques who have ordered the assassination or the torture of hostile persons are exceptionally rare, or so little known that there has not reached our knowledge specific cases registered in the tribunals of justice. The abuses by officials who take advantage of their official influence to serve as middlemen for some ignorant persons in the sale of their products, aside from being few, are assuredly less scandalous than those which are told of officials of independent countries who enter into illicit combinations to permit gambling houses or houses of prostitution, in the profits of which they participate.

We are not trying by this statement to apologize for these abusive acts, but the fact that they are committed, not only in this country but in all countries, although they wear different forms or aspects in each one of them, brings us to a conclusion, and it is this: That because this evil exists in the Philippine Islands is not a reason for failing to concede independence to the Filipinos. The belief that caciquism in the islands may constitute a grave danger to order is not sustained by the facts. There is nothing in the facts before mentioned and in those which the action of the caciques show which can not be corrected by the action of the courts or of the executive. It would be therefore extravagant to believe that the Filipino government would lack means or sufficient resources to punish the abuses or the disturbances which local caciquism may occasion. It would not be an error to suppose that the government being in the hands of the Filipinos and there being established naturally greater confidence between the people and the government that any act of caciquism would be more promptly denounced and consequently punished.

In relation to the existence of caciquism, which thrives, as is believed, because the mass of the people is profoundly ignorant, there is likewise expressed the idea that in case of constituting an independent government the educated mass which would form the government would make of this an oligarchy which would tend to oppress and exploit the ignorant mass. In other words, it would be a government of caciquism. It would not be possible to ignore this fact, that by the force of circumstances and in virtue of our sociological conditions, the government must be in a certain manner in the hands of the most capable and intelligent group having knowledge of the science of government and of society. But far from this being an evil, if this group is to be the element favoring modern ideas always inspired in good and in the interest of the community, if it is to guide the others to conduct them to the object of their aspirations for progress and well-being through the means most appropriate and suitable to it and in the final analysis, it will be but the most faithful and suitable instrument of the will of the majority; there would be no mistake in placing on its shoulders the responsibility of a sovereign people.

There is likewise sufficient evidence showing that the people are educated in the practices of equality and democracy; that there will be no danger whatever of the interested and wicked preponderance of a determined group called caciquism or directing. There exists the positive and certain fact that exactly the so-called caciquism group, responding to the desires of the entire body, has realized and is realizing the work of lifting up the spirit of the most humble masses, of aiding them to proceed in the road of progress and prosperity, of increasing the love of country and liberty. From this one might infer that on establishing the Philippine government the directive group would feel certainly the pressure of the advantage of educating all the masses, because the first work of the government would be to strengthen the nation in the interior and exterior, and there would be recognized that public instruction is the most solid basis of a nation's strength.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND NONCHRISTIANS.

The fact that there have occurred examples of abuse and oppression by Filipinos in office of persons belonging to the non-Christian tribes does not indicate a general policy, nor is it the general treatment extended by Christian people to the non-Christian tribes. The reference to these abuses seems to indicate the belief that the Christian people in their relation with the non-Christian people would not be disposed to give to the latter a just and liberal treatment, which would tend to lift them to the grade of civilization acquired by the Christian people. Nothing, however, can present with less accuracy the point of view and the intention which animates the Christian people with respect to those

who are not so. The inhabitants of the Christian Provinces, as we have stated elsewhere, understand that the non-Christian tribes are a very important and valuable factor, not only for the population, but likewise for the defense of the common country. The variety of people which inhabits the islands and speak different dialects, with distinct religious creeds and customs, are susceptible of forming a true homogeneous unit, which they now have, through ethical reasons, assisted by the chains of common interests and ideals for the objects of progress and civilization. The belief that there is a true rivalry and hatred between the Christian and non-Christian people has been almost always exaggerated; nothing, however, is falsier than this opinion. The simple knowledge of the non-Christian tribes of the establishment of the Filipino government in Malolos produced a distinct approximation in the ideas and relations of the Christian and non-Christian people, the latter having presented themselves spontaneously to the authorities of said government, giving it loyal support and recognition. There is, too, the fact that some Christians of Luzon and Visayas have established themselves in Moro territory or in various "rancherías" that live in the mountains from which the most skillful have succeeded in acquiring greater or less fortune.

The true reason for the dissatisfaction and differences existing between the non-Christian people and the Christian people is based rather on the fact that the non-Christian people believe the Christians allied with the foreign government, anxious to pervert them with a change of their religious beliefs. But religious intolerance having disappeared, the principal factor which caused the existing differences between the two, it will not be difficult to convince the non-Christian people of the islands of the benefits of living under a common régime with the inhabitants of the Christian provinces. We are convinced that a Filipino government is the only one that could reach in a permanent manner and without violence a definite understanding with the non-Christian communities of the islands, because the latter in spite of the differences of religion and customs, would not oppose, nor could they oppose, the influence of the ethnical unity and relationship. This circumstance gives to the Christian Filipinos the advantage of a better knowledge of the psychology of their non-Christian compatriots and teaches them the road most appropriate and the measures most suitable to reach the intelligence and hearts of the said compatriots and to establish with them the relationship which tends to consolidate national unity.

LITTLE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.

The little political experience of the Filipinos, acquired under the Spanish Government, has constantly been a theme touched upon to refuse the national aspirations of the Filipinos. But if it be considered that the nations, whatever be their race or creed of humanity, have only gained complete experience through direct and absolute control in the management and government of their interests, such argument loses a great part of its force and strength. Experience in life and in business certainly comes in no other manner but in daily contact with the men or with the interests which are managed. The United States has not gained experience to manage the affairs of a federation, except since the old Britannic colonies declared themselves independent and constituted such form of government. We are convinced that the Filipinos must likewise expect more complete experience to direct and administer their national affairs after they are independent. The Filipinos have gained, doubtless, greater experience than they had in the past domination in municipal and provincial affairs, because they have been placed face to face with the responsibilities and difficulties of practice in such affairs. Experience in the control of affairs which we would call national it may be said they have not had during the present régime, or if they have had, it is as an experience purely theoretical. So that if the laws which govern the present system are to continue permanently, the Filipinos would experience the same results which they had with the Spanish Government as to practical political education.

The Filipinos acquired much more experience and education during the epoch of the so-called government of the Filipino republic than in any time before or since the American occupation. The succinct relation that we made in the first chapter of the provisions and regulations adopted by that government shows that the governmental practice of the Filipinos does not differ much from the experience of the old nations. This historic fact serves to demonstrate that political experience may be gained either by independent effort or by the experience of others.

The colonial experience of the United States has occurred only since the war with Spain. The political experience of American statesmen has been limited before this time to domestic affairs. When the American Nation, through the declaration of their prominent men, and in other ways, congratulates itself in saying that its colonial administration of the new people, subject to its domination, has been carried on with success, we can not do less than infer from this the truth from our point of view that a previous practical experience is not necessary to a country when it shows good judgment and disposition in other affairs to obtain the success of an undertaking.

We are glad to be able to say that the good sense and the good disposition shown by the Filipino people in adapting its life and customs to the practice of the civilized nations of Europe and America permit the well-founded hope that with this actual practical experience it will have success in its work in the experiment of an independent government.

A COMMON LANGUAGE.

The lack of a common language spoken and written in the relations of the Filipinos among themselves has been likewise mentioned a number of times in discussing the problem of our independence. It has caused the teaching of English in the schools and its diffusion by all possible means among different people of the country, with the object that the Filipino people may acquire not only a common medium of communication but likewise the advantages that the possession of the English language would give for commerce and the study of free institutions.

The existence of various dialects within a single country is certainly an impediment to easy communications, and to the communication of thought and word between men of the same country, but the fact that there exists a like condition in many independent nations of old Europe makes us believe that it is not an indispensable condition to the independence of nations.

The number of dialects of the country, and the importance of the difficulties which this variety of dialects creates has been much exaggerated. But to be accurate, we must say that properly there are three dialects—one which dominates in the north, that is the Ilocano; another that dominates in the center, that is the Tagalog; and another that dominates in the south, that is the Visayan. The other dialects are varieties of one of these three principal ones, so that after a period of a few weeks in a place the Filipinos may speak and understand the dialect of the locality.

IV. OBSTACLES TO THE INDEFINITE RETENTION OF THE ISLANDS PREPARATORY TO THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

The present policy was explained by President Taft in his special report as Secretary of War to the President relating to the Philippine Islands, dated the 23d of January, 1908, as follows:

"I do not see how any more definite policy can be declared than was declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission, which was incorporated into law by the organic act of the Philippine Government, adopted July 1, 1902. That policy is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility, and that policy has been consistently adhered to in the last seven years now succeeding the establishment of civil government.

"It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands, although, of course, if both the United States and the islands were to conclude after complete self-government were possible that it would be mutually beneficial to continue a governmental relation between them like that between England and Australia there would be nothing inconsistent with the present policy in such a result.

"Any attempt to fix the time in which complete self-government may be conferred upon the Filipinos, in their own interest, is, I think, most unwise. The key of the whole policy outlined by President McKinley and adopted by Congress was that of the education of the masses of the people and the leading them out of the dense ignorance in which they are now, with a view to enabling them intelligently to exercise the force of public opinion without which a popular self-government is impossible."

This policy nevertheless has not yet been sanctioned by Congress in all its parts. Congress, which is the power in which resides the regulation of affairs referring to the Philippine Islands, has until the present refused to express its opinion with reference to the future political status of the islands.

CONTRARY OPINIONS AND POSITIONS.

This indefiniteness as to the political future of the country results in two contrary movements of opinion as well among Americans as among Filipinos—some who believe that independence must be conceded after some years, and others who believe that it is never to be conceded. The doubts which arise from this state of indefiniteness result in all and each one working without a fixed direction, producing a lack of general agreement which is far from favoring the progress and well-being of all the residents of the islands. In the attitude, idea, and actions of many Americans in the islands appears to be indicated the conviction held by them that the Filipinos are not to be, nor will ever be, independent; that the American flag will never be lowered there, where it has once waved. So that, notwithstanding the repeated declarations made by high authorities in the United States that the government implanted in the islands is for the interest and benefit of the Filipinos, there are many American residents of the islands who conduct themselves in the contrary sense, animated apparently with the idea that the government has been established here exclusively for their interest and benefit.

It is observed, for example, that there are few Americans of those who come to the islands who have endeavored to intimately know the Filipinos or to gain the friendship of the latter, by socially and personally uniting with them, but many of them have displayed egotistic and personal motives; sometimes publicly indicating that the Americans have come to the islands to better their purses and interests, and at other times depreciating the association of the Filipinos, or in a thousand ways treating them depreciatingly. Few of the Americans who deal with the Filipinos can hear with calmness the demands of the Filipinos for their independence, but many of them laugh jokingly at it as at a thing impossible. On the other hand, the Filipinos who accept in good faith and sincerity the carrying out of this policy, in view of those examples given by the Americans, can with difficulty induce a ray of hope into the minds of their compatriots, and not a few come to establish in their minds the belief that the American Government is not disposed to specify to-day or at any time the political aspirations of the Filipinos.

HARMONY AND GOOD UNDERSTANDING MADE DIFFICULT.

From this naturally come many difficulties which do not contribute to create that healthful harmony, that close relation, between Americans and Filipinos which is necessary for the fulfilling of the mission which the American people desires to fill with respect to the natives of the islands. The American Government needs the cooperation of the people, needs the support of the Filipinos to convince the country as to the generous and altruistic designs which have moved it to remain in the islands, but every day the Filipino politicians are denounced to the government as propagators of evil doctrines; as obstacles to the execution of the plans of the government; as hostile to the sovereignty and mission of North America in the islands; in general, as the most dangerous enemies of its own people. It would even seem that there is an effort to make the government believe that it should suspect all Filipino politicians; that ear should not be given to their proposals and complaints; that it should entirely ignore them or do the contrary of what they ask or propose, because in this manner they might administer more justly and efficaciously the interests of the people in these islands. In this manner the labor of the government for a closer union with the people is strongly embarrassed on the one side by the voice of a portion of the American press, which clamors constantly against the policy and the Philippine politicians, and on the other side by the voice of a portion of the Filipino press which, rendered hostile by that, considers it necessary to take the defense of the Filipinos, censuring the Americans and making them responsible for the violations of its own principles and policy in the islands.

There is observed on this account frequently a low struggle of individuals whose judgments are engaged in presenting an antagonism of interest between American and Filipino people, relaxing the bonds of cordial and mutual intelligence which the government extremely desires to see established. The efforts of men of good faith of both peoples are always directed in avoiding the breaking out of this struggle, of the reestablishing in a short time courtesy and mutual consideration.

The frequent injury that this occasions in the cordiality of the relations of the Filipino people and government is great. Meantime, the government can not remain aloof from this struggle, and as it is composed in its majority of Americans it is obliged to act in accord with the dominating spirit in the American community. From which, in their turn, the Filipinos complain and form among themselves the opinion that the government does not listen to the voice of the Filipinos, but gives consideration only to the interests and satisfaction of the Americans.

DIFFICULTIES IN ADMINISTRATION.

The difficulties of administering the interests of a completely different race are revealed by the fact that the government judges many times very erroneously the attitude of the people and its representatives, and in its turn the people misunderstands the intentions and dispositions of the government. In 1902 there appeared for the first time since the American occupation cholera in Manila and the surrounding provinces. The government was obliged to adopt precautions and measures to protect the health of the inhabitants. There was put in force various regulations drawn up to avoid the propagation of the evil, and there was increased the number of the sanitary corps who had to carry into effect said regulations. The people was not accustomed to the methods adopted and believed itself persecuted by the representatives of the government and refused, in many cases, to submit to the methods prescribed by the official science. The violence in the execution and enforcement of such methods resulted in the hiding of cases and to secret burial of corpses in such cases. The native press criticized some of the regulations emanating from the government and the manner of putting them into execution. The government understood then that the representatives of the press were impeding the measures for the repression of the evil until the knowledge of some facts made the government understand the necessity of reforming the processes, and it then took advantage of the cooperation of the Filipinos themselves in the sanitary measures adopted, from which were obtained better results. In 1904 the constabulary was the object of severe criticism on the part of the native press for the commission of abuses and other excesses in the performance of its duties. The government saw in such criticisms, as always, a spirit of party and hatred on the part of those who criticized the government and its institution. It believed that these sympathized with and aided the ladrones who disturbed peace and order. The publication of certain facts in *El Renacimiento* gave rise to a prosecution of this newspaper. The evidence in the case proved the commission of acts of violence and torture by officials of the constabulary. The court acquitted the editors of *El Renacimiento*, and since then the appointment of the chiefs and officers of said corps are made with greater care and there has been observed a higher standard of efficiency in the service of the corps and better cooperation of the people with its officers and men.

These facts serve to illustrate the difference of judgment which always appears when a people has not a government composed of men of its own race that can understand clearly its method of life and peculiar habits. This lack of comprehension by a foreign government, aggravated by the difference of language, contributes not a little to the fact that the people view with doubt or lack of confidence the acts of said government. This government needs the faith and the complete confidence of the people in order that every one of its acts should be accepted by the people with the satisfaction and certainty that it is to better their interests and make them happy and prosperous.

Great principles or great men are not so necessary in order that the administration of the interests of a people attain the advancement or well-being of the people, but it is absolutely necessary that the people have entire faith in those to whom are confided its interests, because without that faith every effort of intention or of act that those who govern take will encounter passiveness and indifference on the part of the people. In consequence of this our government attributes at times to ignorance or lack of understanding of its own interest the indifference which the people displays toward many good acts or laws made in its favor—as, for example, the homestead law.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

These symptoms of doubt manifest themselves markedly in the consideration of economic subjects. All Filipinos believe necessary the development of the natural resources of its to-day unproductive soil. They understand the necessity of the assistance of foreign capital, but they complain at the same time against the policy of selling great tracts of land to corporations, against perpetual franchises for railroad

companies, and against the predominance of corporations and commercial interests; and this, which appears a very grave confusion of ideas, has its origin in the rooted belief that the future of the people is threatened by the invasion of that capital which, once rooted here, will be opposed, when the moment arrives, to all change of sovereignty, because it would not believe itself sufficiently secure and protected except under its own sovereignty. If this government were the image and work of the people, these fears would not be felt and the cries of protest of the present would be converted into cries of praise and blessing; because the people would have entire faith and complete security that its interests and its future in the hands of such government would be under the protection of guaranties such as would permit the development of native capital on equal terms with that from abroad.

It is believed generally among the Filipinos that this government has given no attention to favoring with some stimulus the development of Filipino capital, and has used all its efforts in bringing capital from without for the exploiting of the material riches of the country. They feel that this government, which has been established for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the inhabitants of the island, according to the text of the instructions of McKinley to Secretary of War Root, leaves the Filipinos abandoned to their fate in the development of their economic interests; does not extend its protection to native capital, whether interesting said capital in the formation of new industries for which the soil offers rich material, there being given some privileges by law, or authorizing facility to Philippine producers and merchants in the prosecution of their enterprises, or inducing the companies that are formed to admit Philippine capital for the agricultural and mining exploitations.

The people observe that all the preferences and stimulus of the government is kept for foreign capital and that the government leaves it unprotected, and it is not to be wondered at that the people feels a profound neglect and that it sees itself in advance beaten in an unequal economic competition and loses faith in the benevolence of the intentions of the government. In the practice of the professions it observes likewise that natives of the country are being relegated to the background and that the business is controlled by Americans, and that, as in the case of the surveyors, there have been efforts to deny to the latter the practice of the profession in what relates to an office of the government, and in its profound logic the people have reason to believe that the government, far from favoring their economic condition, restrains them without, perhaps, wishing to do so.

The people are convinced that they comply with all their obligations to the government; that in spite of their poverty they pay annually in taxes ₱30,000,000, with the object that the government may provide all measures and resources to improve the economic conditions of the country. The Philippine people nevertheless finds itself in the same condition of economic crisis that prevailed under the past domination. Failures to pay and requests for deferment of payment of taxes and the sale of property for insolvency evidence the deplorable state of the economic interests of the Filipinos. The existence and increase of the same pernicious amusements that created such poverty during the Spanish government and which were abolished during the short period of the revolutionary government necessarily accompany such a condition. The increase of houses of usury and loan tend to aggravate the situation. This, which is so evident to the people, is nevertheless not so to the government.

The government believes that the people complain as a matter of routine or through ignorance of what must be paid for the necessary public services. The government shows that the commerce of importation and exportation, which measures the riches of a country, is increasing yearly and shows likewise that the rate of contribution per capita is considerably lower than in any civilized country. From this it results that the people do not understand the government nor the government the people, and the two doubt and mistrust each other.

In such a state of relations, that are the natural consequence of the present régime, the faith which has placed America in the administration of the affairs of the Filipinos for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the latter will never see itself realized. If there is taken into account, in addition, other organic defects in the present régime which prevent the development of the individual and national aptitudes of the people of the islands in a state which is supposed to be one of preparation, the claims of the Filipinos for the enjoyment of an independent government with the object of assuring its own progress and its final well-being would be far more justified.

— UNSUITABLE LEGISLATION.

The gravest defect of the present system is founded entirely in the lack of confidence in the capacity of the natives, who are prevented from developing themselves by their own methods and are forcibly subject to an exclusively American type. Little effort has been placed so that the Filipinos by themselves might form the legislation with reference to the conditions and customs of the people. The legislation now in force has been constructed on purely American lines without exact knowledge of the character and peculiarities of the inhabitants of the country. Such legislation is not the work and product of circumstances and convenience of this people, but a copy and imitation of laws taken from a people with different characteristics and a distinct type of civilization. The Philippine Assembly was created after the construction of this legislation, and whatever effort to reform it in its foundation is absolutely nonrealizable through the opposition, at times blind, of the other branch of the legislature. It thus happens that some laws are of difficult application to the people of these islands.

LITTLE PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

In the executive branch is yet more notorious the lack of confidence which is the base of the system. The central axle of the administrative organism revolves in such a way that it leaves to the Filipinos no opportunity for practice in the conduct of public affairs through means of direct contact with the methods of action and their difficulties. If it be considered that the basis of the policy followed in the Philippine Islands is the preparation of the Filipinos for the exercise of the powers of an independent government, it is not seen how under the present system such a result may be obtained. For example, nearly all the chiefs of bureaus are Americans, as are their principal assistants and local agents; that is, all those who go to form and direct the plans for the execution of the laws. Few Filipinos, if there are any, can by virtue of their offices take part in the determination and regulation of these plans. The best education would be that which places the Filipinos on the ground of reality and places them in contact, by virtue of the duties of their offices, with a knowledge of the methods and practical difficulties of the public service.

INEQUALITY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

From this comes the constant demand of the natives for the Filipinization of the public service, but the bureaucratic spirit which is developed necessarily among the colonizers in a colony tends to neutralize the results of this demand. The slow course that the insular government is adopting to place Filipinos in the offices of high salary and responsibility, notwithstanding the merit and the efficiency demonstrated in several years of service, is the result of constant employment of Americans who in a large number are always awaiting every occasion to occupy the vacancy or promotion of other Americans. The Filipinos are placed necessarily in their subordinate and assisting posts, and even when many of them are really prepared by experience gained through long service in the office and perform the duties performed by the Americans, only rarely and by accident are they promoted to the places of the latter.

The same treatment is not accorded to Americans and Filipinos in the civil service. In practice there appear to govern certain rules for Americans, and others for Filipinos. The salaries are not the same for one as for the other. The Americans are promoted more rapidly than the Filipinos in the same office, and the cases of demotion of the Filipinos are frequent. The merit and efficiency of the Filipinos are rated with greater rigor than those of the Americans, as well as likewise their failings in the service. All this is evidenced manifestly in the material fact that nearly all the posts occupied by Americans since the establishment of civil government continue in possession of the Americans.

The increase of Filipino employees each year is only apparent. There is not a chief of office who does not place annually in his estimate for expenses a greater sum than in the preceding year, and with this augment are created some inferior posts that are filled by Filipinos. The number which is set forth in the reports of the civil service is the total, and it shows an increase in the number of Filipino employees but not a diminution in the number of Americans. If the American policy in this matter in establishing the civil service is to educate the Filipino in the sense of responsibility in the government, the practice followed, instead of favoring this policy, paralyzes it in its educative effects and as a result tends to form a sort of privileged class composed solely of Americans.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NONCHRISTIAN PEOPLE.

Another grave fault of the present system is having followed the policy of maintaining a complete separation between the Christian and non-Christian people. The different tribes which inhabit the mountains of the north of Luzon and the Mohammedans of Mindanao must form part of the Filipino nation as belonging to the same territory and originating from a single ethnical trunk. The separation between these only tends to foment a lack of common interest, which creates in its practical results unfounded misunderstandings between them. There should be inculcated in the people of said tribes the idea that this is a Filipino government, and on that account they should become accustomed to see Filipinos at the head of the governments instituted among themselves. The concept which actually is imbued in them is that they must be protected against the alleged abuses of their own brothers—the Filipinos. If the Filipino nation is to govern alone in the future and those who constitute such tribes have to form part of said nation, it is necessary to have them look on the Christians as brothers, as fellow-citizens with whom they are to live and are to be united in a community of culture and aspiration. The Christians, as we said elsewhere, can not be assumed to be without all practical sense; that does not appreciate their interest in civilizing those non-Christian tribes that are an important factor as well for the population as for the defense of the common country. There would certainly not be lacking Christian Filipinos of demonstrated executive skill who might govern said tribes in accordance with their interest and well-being. The present political and administrative organization which separates the Christians from those that are not does not tend to the preparation for an independent Philippine government, but to prepare for the latter in its day difficulties in its relations with the inhabitants of said localities. If the Philippine Assembly could have jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the non-Christian tribes and the Moro Province there would be made evident the reasonable interest that the Christian people feel for the progress and well-being of the non-Christian people.

CONCLUSION.

The Philippine Islands were acquired by the United States by virtue of the cession made by Spain through an indemnization of \$20,000,000 in accordance with the treaty of Paris. On the date that this treaty was signed a great part of the Philippine territory was in power of a government organized by the Filipinos. The organization of this government was made with the knowledge, consent, and moral support of the Americans. On the opening of the Spanish-American War, Aguinaldo, who was considered the leader of the insurrection against Spain in 1896, came from Hongkong in an American transport of war, with the object of reopening the revolution against Spain, having been induced to believe that he might reckon on the aid of the American forces.

Although he made no use of the offers that were made to him, practically the attitude of the Americans and the relations that Aguinaldo maintained with them created the impression that he might consider them as allies. For some time the launches and steamers that were at the service of Aguinaldo displayed the Filipino flag and were not prevented from circulating in the Bay of Manila and some provinces to carry forces and orders to Aguinaldo.

The 13th day of August, 1898, the city of Manila surrendered, and Gen. Merritt, as commander of the American forces of occupation, published a proclamation, in one of whose paragraphs he said that he had not come to the islands to take a piece of territory. From the date mentioned before and until the 4th of February, 1899, the Filipino government maintained cordial relations with the military troops of North America, and all of the differences were regulated through official communications of the representatives of the two governments.

These facts are mentioned with the object of showing that the persistency of the Filipinos in being independent is bound up in the recollections of that short period of their past in which, associated with the Americans, they threw down the secular power of a sovereignty and experienced the satisfaction and happiness of governing by themselves their interests and their future. Then they understood how satisfactory and sweet to the citizens is the yoke imposed by the power of its own laws and the government by men of its own race, and how close and loyal is the cooperation which exists between people and government to better the interests of the country and to enter resolutely and without embarrassment into the wide ways of human progress. Then the Filipinos abandoned all the vicious practices which the former sovereignty had extended over all the masses and recovered the good qualities which people free from all yoke possessed. This moved the Fili-

pinos to resist with all their force the new American domination and to submit to it only when they fully understood that they might be independent in a more or less short period. The efforts of the Filipinos in defense of that government, the blood which its soldiers shed, and the money which was employed in the service of the Filipino flag, recalls to them constantly that short period of its happiness and makes them consider the present as a temporary situation which they desire to abbreviate as much as possible in order to acquire the satisfaction of their national ambitions and their intentions of elevation and enrichment of the country. They wish to consider that the American people have been guided providentially to these islands to save its people from oppression; they recognize that the American people has borne itself with liberality toward the Filipinos after the latter had been conquered; but they believe at the same time that if there existed the providential designs these have been completely realized; that after 12 years that North America has governed these islands under its flag and has made clear to its inhabitants those theories and practices of a free people, the Government has terminated its mission with honor and glory for itself in these islands and may confide the government to the Filipinos with complete security for the interests of the latter and to all those that live in the country. The Filipinos at all times have shown a broad spirit of progress, a high interest in assimilating all ideas and practices of civilized people, and are not doubtful that they will operate in accordance with those ideas and practices on occupying their position among the nations of the earth.

For all these reasons, Mr. Secretary, we respectfully charge you to be the interpreter of the feelings of the Filipinos to President Taft, to whom we desire to transmit a copy of this document, and to the American Congress, to each one of whose Members we likewise desire to transmit copies of the same.

Respectfully,

THE EXECUTIVE CENTER OF THE NACIONALISTA PARTY,
By SERGIO OSMEÑA, *President*.

Certified:

MAXIMINO MINA, *Secretary*.

This is not the first time, Mr. Speaker, that the Filipino people, by means of memorials, petitions, and resolutions, have addressed the Government of the United States for the purpose of securing their political freedom. When President Taft, as Secretary of War, visited the Philippines in 1904 with a party of Senators and Representatives, another memorial was then sent, through him, to Congress, wherein this legislative body was urged to declare that it was the purpose and intent of this Government to grant the Philippines independence.

The first Philippine Assembly, in its first regular session in 1907, adopted a resolution requesting Congress to terminate the present colonial relationship between this country and the Philippines, and when, in March, 1910, a petition signed by a large number of prominent American citizens favoring Philippine independence was presented in the Senate by Senator WILLIAM H. CRANE, of Massachusetts, that petition was enthusiastically indorsed by every Province in the islands and by almost every town.

Again, when I had the honor of presenting and supporting before this House on May 14, 1910, the resolution of the first Philippine Assembly heretofore mentioned, my action was indorsed by my countrymen, and demonstrations of their deep appreciation of my efforts to bring about the realization of their most cherished ideal were made in every place which I visited during my recent stay in the islands.

All these facts show in the most striking manner that the day has now arrived when it is absolutely essential to the happiness, welfare, and tranquillity of the Filipino people that a declaration regarding their independence be at once made by Congress. There was a time some years ago when it was said

with some show of justification that the demand for immediate independence was only the rallying cry of a few ambitious and misguided politicians, and not the true and real expression of the heartfelt aspiration of the people of all classes. To-day no one who is in any way familiar with the events in the Islands could fail to realize that the independence of their country is the most fervent and sacred desire of the whole Filipino people.

I am betraying no secret when I assert here that the unanimous opposition of the Filipino people to the sale of their public or of the so-called friar lands to American capitalists is mainly the result of their fear that said course will in the end defeat their cherished national ambition. We know and feel that as soon as there is invested in our public lands a large amount of American capital we must give up forever the hope of ever being freed from the control of the United States. By this I mean no disrespect to the sincerity of the American people or of those charged at present with the administration of this Government, but facts are facts, and history has conclusively demonstrated that large financial interests invested in a smaller and weaker country can compel the nation whose money has gone there to exercise an influence and to adopt a policy toward that weaker country which, in the absence of those large investors, would have given way to a more generous and enlightened course. American capitalists having large amounts of money invested in various enterprises, agricultural and otherwise, in the Philippines would naturally be the strongest opponents to the granting of independence to the Filipino people, and would naturally prefer the constant and continuing control and protection of their own Government to the control and policies of any alien Government, however kindly disposed or generously inclined toward such capital that alien Government might show itself to be. The voice and influence of such American investors in the Philippines would, as all know, be forcibly manifested in Congress, and against it the Filipino people would be helpless except to appeal to what would be facetiously termed a sentimental pledge to grant them future nationality.

Some people may say, perhaps, that the great majority of the American people will never be interested financially in the Philippine Islands, and that as they are the ones who will ultimately decide what should be done with the islands the voice of those Americans who for selfish reasons would be disposed to oppose the granting of independence would be powerless to obstruct the carrying out of the pledges of this great Nation. Theoretically that is true, but in practice the unfortunate fact remains that the great majority of the American people are either ignorant of or indifferent to the real trend of events and affairs in the Philippines. There are to-day so many great and vital problems demanding the attention of the greatest minds in this country that it is too much to expect the Philippine question to receive anything more than sporadic and passing attention. The only ones who will be actively interested in shaping the policies of this Government toward the Filipino people in future will be those who for peculiar reasons are deeply and personally interested in so doing.

This, then, is why the Filipino people are openly opposed to the policy recently inaugurated by the Philippine Government

of encouraging the rapid exploitation of the resources of the Islands by inducing large amounts of American capital to come in to be employed in the acquisition of large tracts of public and other Government lands.

There are also some economical and social questions involved in this new policy, and I contend that no real industrial and agricultural prosperity can be brought about in the Philippine Islands through the alien ownership of large tracts of the public domain, but that, even at the cost of speed, the agricultural development of the islands must be accomplished through encouraging the people to acquire their own small farms and business undertakings and to be independent of corporate landlordism and peonage however carefully veiled.

It is vitally essential to the future welfare of the Filipino people that the natural wealth of their country be properly conserved, and no desire to produce in a day a false and fictitious prosperity should be allowed to divert this Government from its only just and honorable course. The Filipinos are not a race at a standstill, but, on the contrary, are a rapidly increasing people. Numbering only 1,500,000 at the beginning of the last century, they are now nearly 8,000,000, and at the present rate of increase we shall be 30,000,000 of people within 100 years from now.

I shall not on this occasion take the time of the House to demonstrate that we have a right to be independent and free. This is a self-evident proposition to every gentleman on this floor. You can not deny it without also denying the very principle which gave life and support to your governmental institutions. Neither shall I endeavor to show that the Filipino people are now, and for some time have been, fully prepared and equipped to assume and exercise the power and responsibilities of national sovereignty. The memorial of the Nacionalista Party, heretofore mentioned, deals with this question at length and is a substantial exposition of the accomplishments of the Filipinos in public affairs. I shall simply confine myself to asking Congress to act, without further delay, upon the petition of the Philippine Assembly which I have just had the honor to present.

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