

1924

Administration of our dependencies,
limited to a consideration of the
Philippines: a comparison of the English
colonial governor and the Governor
general of the Philippines

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
GRADUATE DEPARTMENT

Thesis

"ADMINISTRATION OF OUR DEPENDENCIES"

Limited to a Consideration of
the Philippines.

A Comparison of the English Colonial Governor and
the Governor General of the Philippines.

Submitted by

Helen Vincent Hazen

(A. B. Smith, 1923)

In partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

1924

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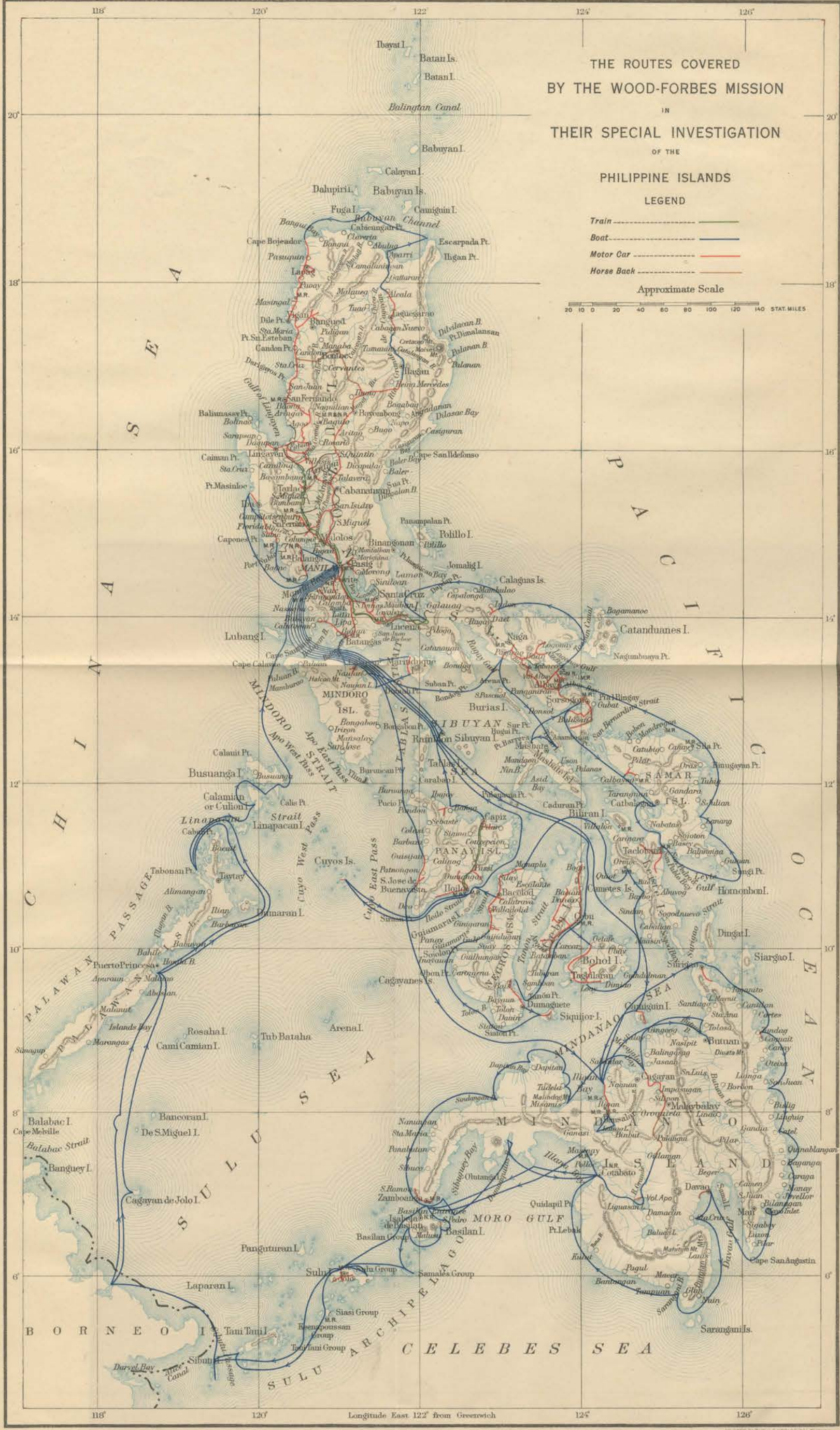
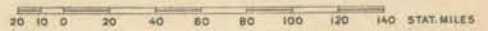
THE ROUTES COVERED
BY THE WOOD-FORBES MISSION
IN
THEIR SPECIAL INVESTIGATION

OF THE
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

LEGEND

- Train -----
- Boat -----
- Motor Car -----
- Horse Back -----

Approximate Scale



Longitude East 122° from Greenwich



Zamboanga Normal School building, Zamboanga.

CHAPTER I

ACQUISITION OF THE PHILIPPINES

The causes of the Spanish American War, the conduct of the war and its results are in themselves an exhaustive subject, yet they must be treated somewhat briefly here in order to give the reader a proper perspective of what follows in the discussion of the Administration of the Philippines.

Cuba had belonged to Spain from the time of Columbus down to the last half of the nineteenth century. The Island was of special interest to the United States. Our economic interests were paramount for the United States had invested large amounts of capital in Cuban sugar and tobacco. Aside from the economic or commercial aspect there was the humanitarian side of the question. We thoroughly sympathized with the oppressed population who were exploited solely for the benefit of their Spanish masters. A very considerable number of Cubans had become naturalized in the United States and were using their influence both in this country and in Cuba to secure independence.

In 1895 hostilities between Cuba and Spain were reopened. The Spanish resorted to "reconcentration camps", a process of herding thousands of old men, women and

children into prison camps. Disease played havoc. The people of the United States objected because of the suffering of the people, the effects of the war on American capital, and because of Americans who were in Cuba and whose safety was imperilled.

Both political parties in the United States were, in 1896, in sympathy with Cuba and President McKinley endeavored to persuade Spain to grant the Island independence or at least some measure of self government. His efforts were in vain. On February 9, a New York paper published a letter of the Spanish minister at Washington, Senor de Lome, in which he criticised McKinley in very undignified language. On February 15, 1898 the battleship Maine, visiting in Havana, was blown up with the loss of 260 American lives.

Public indignation was rife and Congress was anxious to declare war. Their resolutions of April 19, 1898, which demanded of Spain immediate withdrawal from Cuba, was in effect a declaration of war.

Almost immediately Commodore Dewey, stationed at Hongkong, was on his way with the Asiatic fleet to the Philippine Islands, colonies of Spain. In a very short battle, in Manila Bay, on May 1, Dewey sank the Spanish fleet and the city of Manila was practically his.

Other events of the war can be passed over rapidly

The United States sent an army to Cuba. The Spanish fleet was destroyed in trying to escape from the harbor of Santiago. Santiago itself was taken. Troops had been sent to aid Dewey and by August 13, the American flag was floating over the government buildings in Manila.

A Treaty of Peace was signed between the United States and Spain at Paris, December 10, 1898. By this Treaty the United States acquired from Spain, Cuba, Guam, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. Spain had objected to the inclusion of the Philippines in the Treaty but she finally consented when the United States offered in consideration \$20,000,000.

The Philippines, having been acquired, our next consideration is the significance of the acquisition to the United States. The Reverend Arthur Brown, in his book "The New Era in the Philippines", says, that the acquisition could mean for the United States first, "National glory". To enlarge upon his thought, if we could establish for these people, peace, prosperity, and a satisfactory government, we could place another stone in the jeweled halo of America's conception of Democracy. Brown's next point is, that acquisition could mean, second, "Commercial profit". Our business interests had already gained considerable from Cuba. The Philippines, rich in natural resources, the people unskilled, unorganized and having no

capitalistic structure, needed American capital and enterprise to develop these resources. These possibilities looked attractive. "The third object of the United States," he says, "could be acquisition, purely from the standpoint of the welfare of the Filipino." Here would be a chance for furthering humanitarian views, here a chance to actually prove that we were truly altruistic. (1)

Public opinion vacillated between these three views but the position of McKinley was made clear in a speech on November 21, 1899. He was deeply concerned over our position in the Philippines; he realized "first that we could not leave them to themselves, they were unfit for self-government, there would soon be anarchy and misrule worse than that of Spain. In the third place we could not turn them over to France or Germany; that would be bad business. Fourth, there seemed nothing left to do, but to take the islands, educate the Filipinos, Christianize them and uplift civilization." (2)

Administration by the United States was, then, the only advisable consideration, but we needed something

(1)--J. B. Devins "An Observer in the Philippines".
Arthur Brown's quotation on page 71.

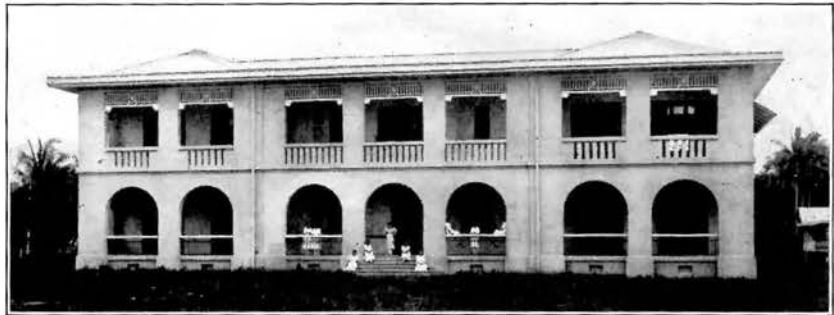
(2)--J. B. Devins "An Observer in the Philippines".
page 70.

more than advisability, we needed a background for the solution of the problem. No social worker attempts to aid a needy family until he or she knows the history of the case. So with us, we needed to know, first, the origin of the population, and second, their stage of development, to quote:- "The American people are confronted by a race problem, new, remote, unknown even more imperatively demanding intelligence and unremitting effort for its mastery than ever before. We are confronted with six or seven millions of Malays, taught civilized manners, Christianized, trained in labor, a common religion and government, a people - yet in a sense of the word a peculiar people. What is needed is as thorough and intelligent a knowledge of the political and social evolution of a people as can be gained from a study of their history." (3)

"No such problem has ever presented itself to Great Britain or any other nation as confronts the United States in the Philippines, for there, conditions are complicated by the presence of mixed races, who can be treated neither as natives nor Americans. The evil traditions of our old government of three centuries, hang over the islands and the task is harder by the necessity of pulling down the edifice and building it up again." (4)

 (3) E. G. Bourne, "Discovery Early History of the Philippines", page 19.

(4) A. R. Colquhoun, "The Mastery of the Pacific", page 51.



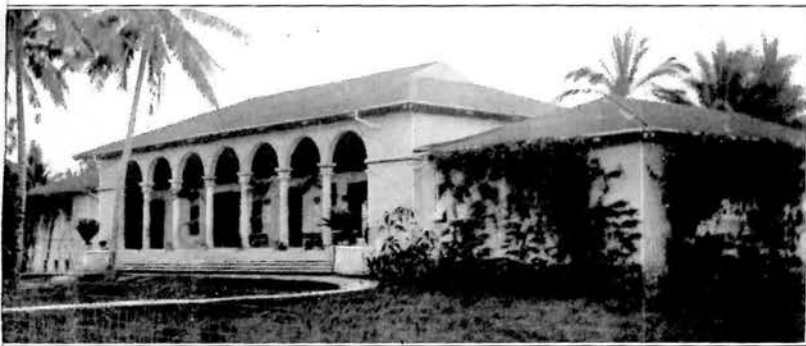
Girls' Dormitory, Tayabas High School, Lucena, Tayabas. Building just completed. Grounds not improved.



Libog Central School building, Libog, Albay, reconstructed out of roofless and floorless tribunal dating from the Spanish régime.



Silang Elementary School building, Silang, Cavite.



Mindoro High School building, Calapan, Mindoro.

At the time of acquisition few people knew even the location of the islands. A knowledge of the significance of their location would have a direct bearing on the solution of the problem.

We needed to study and understand colonization as other nations had carried it out. About this time the markets were flooded with literature on the subject of colonization. Should we take the best features of all these plans or should we develop something original, something characteristically our own?

No matter what form of government we gave these people there were certain factors to be considered. What had the governmental experience of the people been? Fisher, in considering the Filipino says, -"the race lacks the instinct of cohesion necessary for the rule of the majority and the basis of self government. "Village Solidarity" is the basic principle of government in most Asiatic countries."⁽⁵⁾ He advocated a development of this principle of "Village Solidarity" and then the process of proceeding to larger wholes.

Bourne points out that "from the beginning the Spanish establishments in the Philippines were founded

(5)--H.N.Fisher, "Principles of Colonial Government Adapted to the Present Needs of the Philippines" pp. 37 & 38.

as a mission, not as a colony. They were administered in the interests of religion. The political administration then is an outer garment under which the living body is ecclesiastical. The people received the benefit of Christian civilization as it was in Spain at a period of Catholic reaction."(6)

Robertson tells us that "Legazpi, (a former Spanish governor in the Philippines", had the prescience to see that no colony could be permanent unless based on industry and family life."(7)

Root summarizes the situation thus. "The problem of colonial policy resolves itself into these three points. One, what form of government should the people have? Two, what should be the treatment of the municipal law of the island and how far should the laws which then regulated the rights and conducts of the people be changed to conform with the ideas prevalent among the people of the United States, Three, what economic relationship should be established between the islands and the United States?"(8)

(6)--E. G. Bourne, "Discovery and Early History of the Philippines." page 84.

(7)--A. Robertson, "Legazpi and Philippine Colonization." page 155.

(8)--E. Root, "Military and Colonial Policy of U. S. Addresses and Reports" edited by Robert Bacon and James Scott. Page 163.

The Philippine Commission in their Preliminary Report of November 1899 say, "their lack of educational and political experience combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues to undertake the task of governing themselves at the present time."⁽⁹⁾ It is clear that we could depend little on the people themselves as far as governmental experience went.

How much of the Spanish system could we to our benefit retain? We could not destroy all forms of administration for:- "We were in a way responsible to Spain for the preservation of the rights of her citizens and corporations."⁽¹⁰⁾

One advantageous feature was the fact that our military forces were already in the Islands, even before peace was signed. It would not be difficult to adapt this military organization to administrative purposes pending the establishment of a civil government.

Even after the Philippines had been acquired there was considerable discussion as to the constitutionality of such an act. "No express power was given by the Con-

 (9)--Quoted by Latane--"America as a World Power"
 Chapter VIII.

(10)--Devins, "An Observer in the Philippines".
 Page 390.

stitution to the federal government to acquire new territory, but the power had been held by the Supreme Court to be implied. Chief Justice Marshall had said, 'The Constitution confers absolutely upon the government the union of powers of making war, of making treaties and consequently that government possesses the power of acquiring territory either by conquest or treaty.'"(11)

The Constitution itself says, "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or the properties belonging to the United States. That new states may be admitted by Congress into this Union."(12)

Did the Constitution follow the flag or were these new possessions to be considered foreign countries? One of the most important problems requiring immediate consideration was that of the tariff.

The problem in the case of Hawaii had been settled by an act April 30, 1900, "whereby the Constitution of the United States was extended to the Territory of Hawaii and proclaimed all persons who were citizens at the date

 (11)--Latane-"America as a World Power", Chapter VIII, p.134.

(12)--Constitution of the United States, Article IV, Sections 2 & 3.

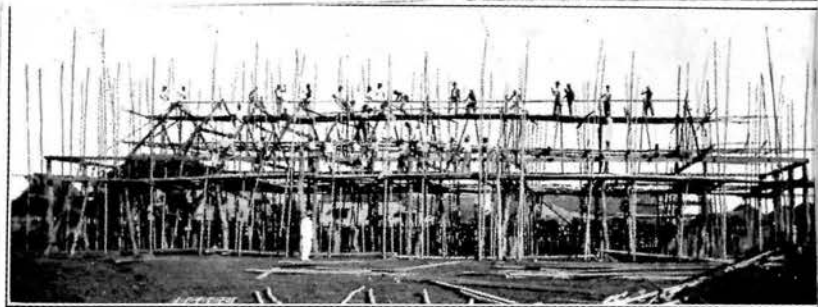
of transfer to be citizens of the United States."(13)

"The problem of the status of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands and the question of how the tariff was to apply to them arose at this time. The case of Porto Rico was somewhat different from that of the Philippines. The treaty provided that 'civil rights and the political status of the native inhabitants of the territory hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress.' The military government established by the war department lasted for a little over eighteen months when it was supplanted by an Organic Civil Government, organized under the Foraker Act of April 12, 1900. 'Several features of this act made it plain that Congress had no intention of incorporating the Island fully within the territory of the United States, in any sense that the Constitution should extend over it, or that its inhabitants, should become entitled to the full privileges of citizens of the United States.'"(14)

The McKinley administration took the view, that the constitution and laws of the United States did not apply to newly acquired territory, unless extended there by Act of Congress:- therefore duties on imports from Porto Rico and the Philippines were continued.

 (13)--U. S. Statutes XXX 141 Latane, Chapter VIII

(14)--Latane, p. 140, (quoted reference U. S. Statutes at Large XXXI 77.



Schoolboys working on school building, Aparri, Cagayan.



Class in basketry, Carcar, Cebu.



In the polishing room, Samar Trade School, Catbalogan, Samar.



Seventh-grade class in rattan-furniture making, Tandag Elementary School, Tandag, Surigao.

The Supreme Court was asked for a decision on several test cases covering application of these import duties. No final decision was reached on these until 1901. In two cases the courts decided "that the Philippines had ceased to be foreign territory and importations from the Philippines to the United States were not subject to the Dingley Tariff Law".⁽¹⁵⁾

Justice White in an opinion stated that "the United States had the right to acquire territory, that the Constitution confers on Congress the right to govern such territory and that in the exercise of this right Congress was bound by the provisions of the Constitution as far as they are applicable. He claimed that the rights to levy taxes came under the rights to govern, therefore Congress was not bound by any law of uniformity."⁽¹⁶⁾

In spite of any judicial decision the status of the annexation was practically settled on commercial and political grounds even before the constitutional questions involved came up for adjudication. The dominant business interests of the country were opposed to the full incorporation of the new possessions and public opinion decided the question in favor of our business interests.

The decisions, confusing and unsatisfactory as they were, from the standpoint of constitutional law, left Con-

(15)--Quoted from Latane as (183 U.S., 176).

(16)--182 U. S. 244.

gress unhampered in the work of providing a government for the Philippine Islands. As in the case of Porto Rico the type adopted was different from anything ever outlined by Congress before. (17)

There was however another shade of opinion verging on the ethics of acquisition, which was current. The question as to whether acquisition was in accord with our Republican principles was one widely discussed during the election campaign of 1900. The whole election hinged on the topic of Imperialism. Those opposed to annexation now demanded independence for the Philippines. The Democrats who became anti-imperialists opposed any consideration of either annexation or retention of the Islands. They claimed that annexation was at variance with American tradition. Occupation by military forces would belittle the meaning of the words Republic and Democracy. As an example of the arguments brought forward, let me quote. "There is no such thing as an imperial republic, it will be either a republic or an Empire. Under the name Imperialistic Republic, the form of Republic may be preserved but the spirit of Republican institutions will surely die." (18)

"When a Republic holds outlying provinces, to be held as dependent colonies, and never to be admitted as a

 (17)-- Latane "America as a World Power" Chapter VIII

(18)--Speech of Hon. A.O.Bacon, Georgia. Jan. 30, 1900.
 "The Policy of Annexation of the Philippine Islands" Page 1 and 12.

part of the Republic, in the control and administration of the government, that Republic is to that extent Imperial."(19)

While all these questions enumerated were current the Democratic convention met, and nominated William Jennings Bryan for president. The Convention of the Republican Party nominated William McKinley. The election proved to be an exciting one. No one knew just how the public felt in regard to the Imperial policy, or at least how the sentiment would express itself in the election.

McKinley was elected with a much larger plurality than he had had in 1896. It was incumbent upon the Republicans to organize the new possessions and to continue the work already begun by Congress. In a way the election of 1900 was fortunate in that it was possible to continue the work already begun, it was not necessary to go through all the reorganization that a change of administration would naturally involve.

(19)--Speech of Hon. A. O. Bacon, Georgia, Jan. 30, 1900
"The Policy of Annexation of the Philippine
Islands." Page 1 and 12.

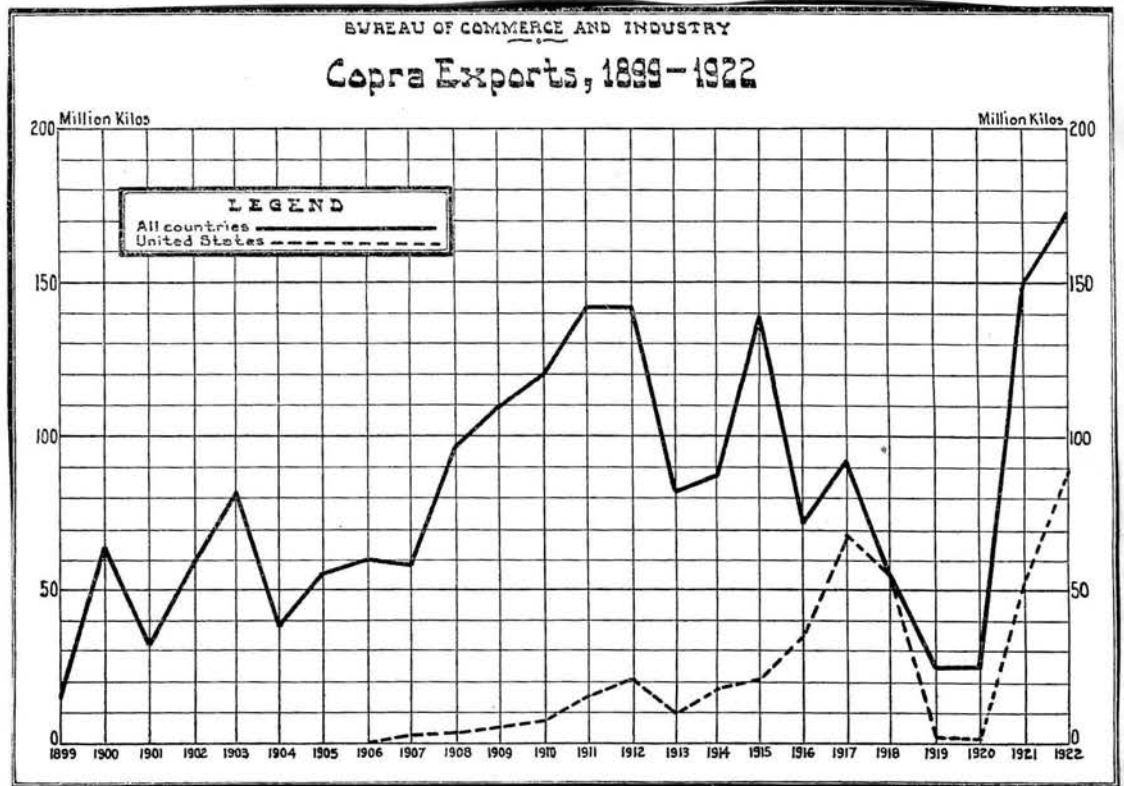


PLATE VII

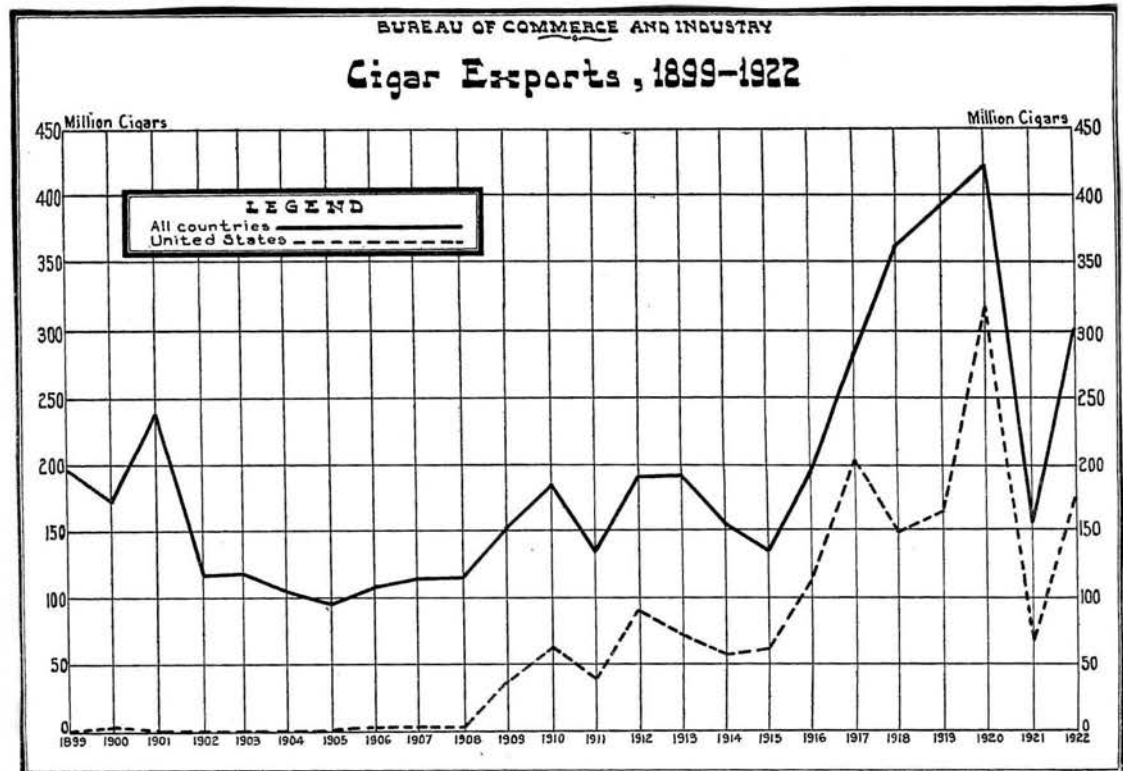


PLATE VIII

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES

As has been said before little was known about the position, resources or history of the Philippines until the results of the Spanish-American War brought these unknown islands into everyday life.

The books published in 1899 claimed the number of islands to be from 1,200 to 1,600. We now know after a careful survey that there are over 3,000.(1)

"A high temperature comparatively uniform, excessive humidity, heavy rainfalls and violent tropical storms known as typhoons are characteristic of the Philippine climate."(2)

The area of the country under cultivation is about 11,503 square miles. The most inhabitable area includes the Sulu Archipelago, which is a little larger than the States of Missouri and Arkansas together. Most of the Christian population lives on Luzon and the five principal islands of the Visayan group. (3)

The islands have vast resources which the natives have failed to develop. In the first place, the land is extremely fertile, a small plot of ground will easily pro-

(1)--Report of the Special Mission to the Philippines.
page 1.

(2)--Encyclopedia Britannica Vol XXI, p.394.

(3)--Our Islands and their People. Vol II, page 559.
Jose de Olivares.

duce enough food to supply a family for a year. One can imagine what the extent of production will be when labor-saving devices are once introduced.

At the time of American occupation there was only one railroad from Manila to Dagupam and it is interesting to note here that the ties of this road were of solid mahogany, valuable enough, commercially, in themselves, under present conditions, to construct another road.

Second, mahogany is as plentiful in the Philippines as pine is in America. Rosewood and bamboo grow in abundance and there are at least fifty varieties of hard wood. The total area of forest lands of commercial value is about 64,880 square miles, 99% of which in 1921 belonged to the government. The climate permits the growth of coconut trees, bananas and oranges to some degree, though the failure in the production of these latter crops is due to lack of knowledge of cultivation.

Third, rice and Manila hemp are national products and wheat, barley, corn, potatoes, and tobacco, can be raised. Although the climate of the Philippines is suitable for raising coffee, it has been a product little considered due again to lack of knowledge about its cultivation.

Fourth, sugar cane grows luxuriantly in the Islands and in quality is as fine as can be produced in any part of the world.

Fifth, in regard to mineral resources, gold, has been

found in many localities, in water courses and alluvial deposits. There seem to be few minerals which are not found in the Philippines for coal, copper, lead, iron, silver, marble, kaolin, sulphur, mercury and platinum have been discovered. The pearl fisheries in the Sulu Islands are very valuable. (4)

The total wealth of the islands has been estimated as \$5,500,000. (5)

Racially the Filipino population is of Malayan stock but other types are to be found. In the report of the Filipino Appeal for Freedom in 1923 it is stated that the census of 1918 estimated the population at 10,314,310. Of this number there are numerically of the Filipinos 10,250,273. Of these there are

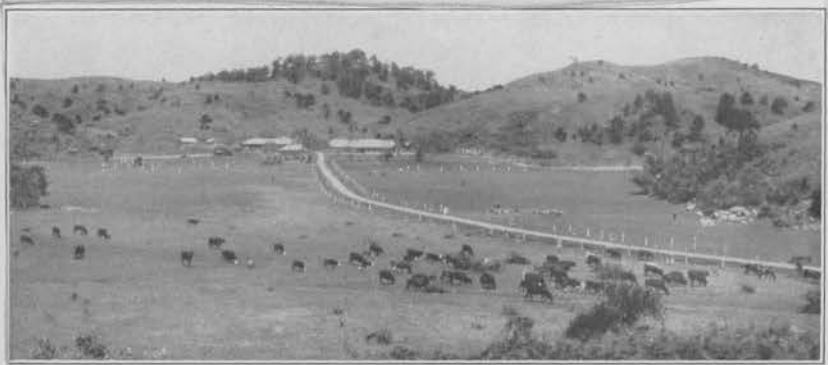
9,831,357	Christians	
932,953	Non-Christians	
43,802	Chinese	
7,806	Japanese	
5,774	Americans	
3,945	Spanish	
1,140	English	
286	Germans	
182	French	
125	Swiss	
977	Others	
<u>10,314,310</u>	<u>Total</u>	(6)

The islands have passed through the hands of various countries. From 200 to 1325 A. D., they were a dependency

(4)--"Our Islands and their People", Jose de Olivares
Vol II, page 691.

(5)--Report of the Special Mission to the Philippines, 1921.

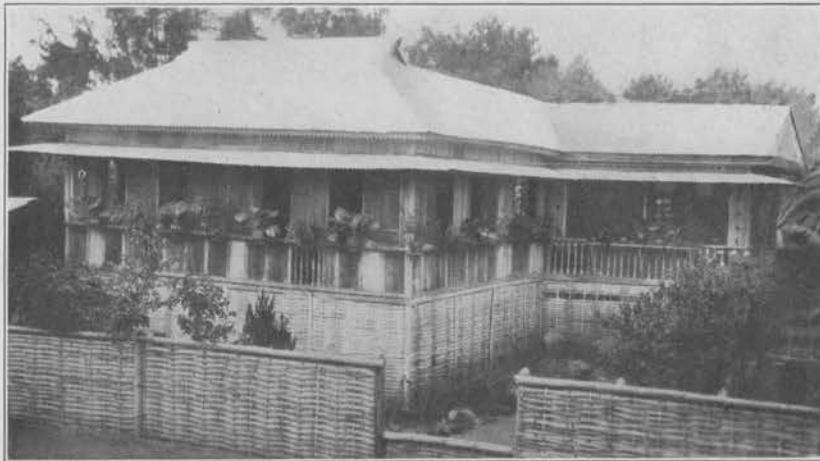
(6)--Filipino Appeal for Freedom 1923, 67th Congress
Doc. 511



View of section of stock farm, Trinidad Agricultural School, Trinidad, Mountain.



Using tractor to break new land, Trinidad Agricultural School, Trinidad, Mountain.



Model home of public-school teacher, Peñaranda, Nueva Ecija.



Class in cooking, Zamboanga Normal School, Zamboanga.

of various Hindu-Malayan Empires in Indo-China, Sumatra and Borneo. From 1325 to 1405, they were subject to the Javanese Empire of Madjipalut; from 1405 to 1440, they were controlled by the government of China during the Ming Dynasty; from 1440 to 1565, Northern Luzon was subject to Japn, from Manila south, subject to Borneo. From 1565 to 1762 all the islands were subject to Spain through Mexico.⁽⁷⁾ Professor Craig of the University of the Philippines claims that a native imperial family reigned in the islands before the discovery by Magellan in 1521. Early Spanish colonizers destroyed all records of the dynasty in order to facilitate the conquest of the Archipelago.⁽⁸⁾

From 1592 to 1625, tribute was paid to Japan in order to avoid invasion by Toik O Hideyoshi. The years 1762 to 1764 marked the time when they were seized by England but restored to Spain by the treaty ending the Seven Years' War. From 1763 to 1898 they were subject to Spain through Mexico until the year 1821, and to Spain directly, after that date.⁽⁹⁾

The islands passed through so many hands, the periods of control were so short that little stability or authority could be maintained or little continuity of administration exercised. There were certain defects however in the Spanish rule which were decidedly marked. "In the first place, the

 (7)--Report of the Special Mission to the Philippines page 14.

(8)--Filipino Appeal for Freedom 1923. 67th Congress Doc. 511.

(9)--Ibid.(7)--page 14 and following.

governor-general had a great deal of unregulated authority, second, a practical veto power was exercised by the church over the governor, mayor and even over the head of the colonial government. Third, there was a great deal of confusion as to the functions to be performed by the provincial governors, 'encomenderos', judicial 'alcaldes' or recent civil governors. Responsibility was multiplied and scattered.

In the fourth place, the position of governorship was often purchased in Spain; this led to a fifth abuse which was, that no adequate remuneration and often no remuneration at all was furnished these governors. They were expected to find ways and means of recouping themselves or else they were given trade concessions which led to financial opportunities.

In the sixth place, Manila had the power of absorbing all the local taxes; this led to a seventh abuse for as a result, there was a lack of funds for local improvement. Eighth, the tenure of office of the governorship was so dependant upon clerical and political influence that any plans for local improvements were discouraged. Ninth, the local mayors were responsible for the collection of the taxes. Tenth, labor was enforced. Eleventh, Spain enforced the production of certain crops and fixed arbitrary prices; she had enforced military service and enforced emigration laws. Twelfth, the native priests were excluded

from native benefices, and lastly, there was a confused idea of land tenure and the church tended to absorb the best and most productive areas."⁽¹⁰⁾

From these various and partial conquests of the Philippine Islands there remains today "a strong influence on native custom, language and religion from Indian and Arabic sources, a dominant Chinese influence in commerce and trade, Christianity, Roman law and many features of occidental character from Spanish sources."⁽¹¹⁾

Much can be said against the Spanish control but whatever is said, the fact remains "that she implanted Christianity and European ideas and methods of administration in these islands and laid foundations which were of far-reaching value when America came to take possession of them."⁽¹²⁾

From the various warring tribes Spain succeeded in welding the Filipino people into a fairly homogeneous group. David Barrows in his "History of the Philippines" says, "The Filipino has been affected by these centuries of Spanish sovereignty far less on his material side than on his spiritual. It is then, in the main, in the deepening and elevating of his emotional and mental life and not the

 (10)--"Observations in Asia". Percy Stickney Grant.
 Page 53.

(11)--Special Mission Report. Page 20, 1921.

(12)--Ibid. Page 20.

bettering of his material condition that advance has been made. Spain sought the conversion of this heathen race, which was in itself an humanitarian interest." (13)

(13)--David Barrows "A History of the Philippines"
Pages 107, 113.

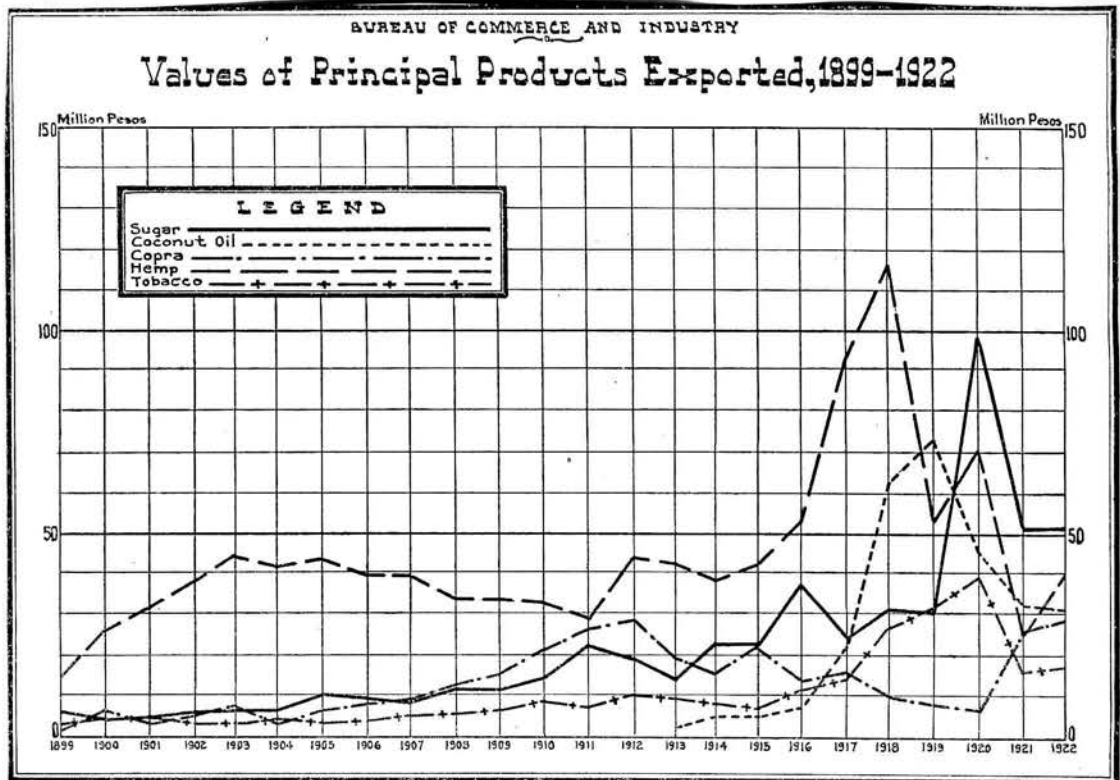


PLATE III

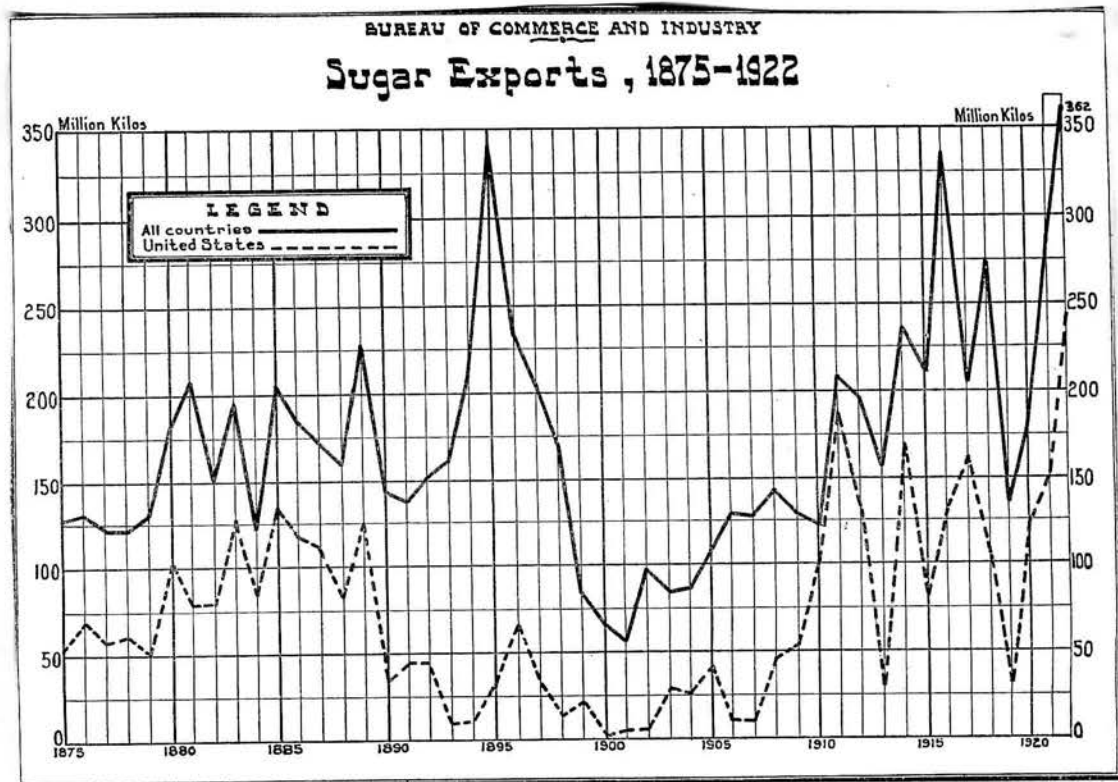


PLATE IV

CHAPTER III

A CONSIDERATION OF AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION

The general aspects of American administration fall into four rather distinct periods; one, the military period, two, the organization period, three, the constructive period, and four, the Filipinization period.

Even before the United States became involved in the affairs of the Philippines, rebellion had begun in the islands, against Spanish authority. The natives wished some degree of self government. In 1896, when their demands were refused, the natives took up arms. The revolution extended throughout the Philippines and wrested from Spain all territory except Manila and a few large cities. Spain, then promised the reforms demanded and offered a bribe to the leaders to discontinue the warfare. At this critical time Dewey sailed for Manila and captured it on May 1st. A relief expedition reached him in June, forces were landed, the forts captured and by August 13, the Americans were in occupation of the city.

Aguinaldo, a former revolutionary leader, now opened negotiations with the Americans. He was brought to Manila, and put in charge of a large native force. He established a republican form of government and by his administration gained the respect of the people. America was now consider-

ing the acquisition of the Philippines. General Merritt who was in charge of the American forces there, was ordered to establish a provisional government, without regard to that of Aguinaldo's.

The Filipinos were watching events between Spain and America with interest. Two days after the treaty had been ratified, the insurgents attacked Manila. The Americans succeeded in stemming the assault. Hostilities continued between the Filipinos and Americans. By October many of the leaders had been captured but Aguinaldo was still at large. Fighting continued for a year and there was still no evidence of submission on the part of the natives.

Our first problem, then, in the administration of this newly acquired land was to establish order. Almost immediately after the formal transfer of the islands to the United States, by Spain, McKinley announced our policy, that the islands were not to be exploited for the aggrandizement of the American people, "The Philippines," he said, "are ours not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us."⁽¹⁾

(1)--Report of Gov. Gen. of Philippines, 1921. Page 20.

Civil government was introduced as rapidly as possible. In 1899, the Schuman Commission, headed by Dr. Jacob G. Schuman of Cornell University was sent by McKinley to report on conditions. The Commission consisted of Rear Admiral Dewey, Major General Elwell S. Otis, Charles Denby, and Dean Worcester. These men were as the President said, "to facilitate the most humane, pacific, and efficient extension of authority, throughout the islands and to secure, without delay, the benefits of life and property to the inhabitants."⁽²⁾

By the time of their arrival conditions had changed to such an extent that the commissioners were unable to discharge their duties; conferences were held with the agents of Aguinaldo but without success. The commission did, however, investigate conditions and came to the final and important conclusion that the Filipinos were not capable of self-government.

The next commission appointed by McKinley had definite authority. Taft was made President of the commission and the associate members were Dean Worcester, Luke Wright, Henry Ide and Bernard Moses. Their chief duties were to study conditions and to organize a civil government from the bottom up, beginning with municipal government in the

(2)--Latane--Chapter 9.

cities and communes. Later this government was to be extended to larger districts and provinces.

Beginning with September 1, 1900, the commission was to exercise, subject to the approval of the President and Secretary of War, the legislative authority which had been heretofore exercised by the military government. The military administration was to continue in office but it was to be subject to the rules and orders of the commission in accordance with the powers conferred upon the latter.

"While this separation of powers gave the government, in part, a civil character, legally, it was still a military government, for the president's authority was still that of commander in chief of the army of the United States." (3)

The Spooner Amendment, March 2, 1901, said "all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands shall until otherwise determined by Congress, be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct, for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of

(3)--Phil. Comm. (1900-1903) 5-11.



Hot-lunch counter operated by domestic-science class, Polo Elementary School, Polo, Bulacan



Junior Red Cross dental clinic, Tagudin, Ilocos Sur.



Toothbrush drill, Montalban Elementary School, Montalban, Rizal.



Junior Red Cross parade, Carcar, Cebu.

their liberty, property and religion." (4)

On June 21, 1901, he issued an order as follows:- on and after the 4th of July 1901, the President of the Philippine Commission will exercise the executive authority in all civil affairs, before exercised by the military government of the Philippines and to that end Hon. William H. Taft, is appointed civil governor of the Philippine Islands.

"The power to appoint civil officers heretofore vested in the Philippine Commission or in the military governor, will be exercised by the civil governor, with the advice and consent of the Commission. The military governor is relieved of all his duties but his authority will continue to be exercised in those districts in which insurrection against the Authority of the United States continues to exist or in which public order is not sufficiently restored to enable the provincial civil government to be established." (5)

The work so far can be summed up as follows. Our main object was to establish public order, and second, to begin organization for civil government. The first Commission was little more than an investigating com-

 (4)--U. S. Statutes at Large XXXI 895.

(5)--Sect. of War Annual Report--1901 1, pt. XII

mittee. Some of these members served on the second commission appointed. This one had definite authority and worked in conjunction with the military officers then in control. The President was given larger powers over the Commission, the old military authority was displaced for civil control by the Second Philippine Commission. Thus ended the first period.

There only remains to say a few words about the necessity for our actions thus far. Kalaw says "before the passage of the Jones Act the American government rested on force and not on the consent of the Filipino"⁽⁶⁾ Yet force was necessary to put down the existing government and to stamp out Filipino opposition to American rule. Anti-Imperialists had excellent opportunity to criticise the military period of American administration.

"It was the duty of every Filipino patriot to fight us, for Roosevelt himself once said, that 'once a country is at war, the man who fails to support it, comes perilously near being a traitor'. That is what the American Revolutionists would have done and yet after having ruthlessly slaughtered these patriots Filipinos for three successive years the slaughter still continues."⁽⁷⁾

 (6)--M. Kalaw. "Self Government in the Philippines,
 Page 3.

(7)--"National policy that would Enable". L. Ehrich,
 Page 3.

Taft admitted that "our presence in the Philippines was a mistake and that the Filipinos had worn out the right to any treatment but that which was severe and within the laws of war." (8)

And again, "we had no more right to invade the Philippines now that the Spanish were not there than the minions of George III had to invade New England in the days of Hancock and Adams. Aguinaldo was the George Washington of the Antipodes." (9)

Dean Worcester, a member of both commissions says "Did the United States destroy a Republic? No, the Filipinos themselves understood that they had no Republic. Many were aware that they could establish none. Aguinaldo's methods in establishing a republic are shown by his order 'That any person who fights for his country has absolute power to kill anyone not friendly to his cause.' While Aguinaldo's government was called a Republic, it was in fact a military oligarchy in which the mass of the people had little share." (10)

(8)--"National policy that would Enable". L. Ehrich, Page 4.

(9)--"America's Apostary". J. Howard Moore, Page 2.

(10)--"The Phil., Past & Present". Dean Worcester, Pages 244, 269.

"The problem to be worked out in the Philippines, was not a military problem alone, at bottom of the difficulty, was the fact that the Spanish to secure the assistance of the people against us, and after them, the ambitious men who saw the opportunity to secure for themselves an empire, had filled the minds of the ignorant and credulous people with vile slander upon the character of the American people, by tales of American tyranny and barbarity. We had to refute this." (11)

"Without waiting until the end of the war, we established a civil government to go hand in hand with our advancing armies." (12)

The organization period began July 1, 1901 and extended to October 16, 1907. During this period the sole legislature body of the islands was the Philippine Commission, appointed by the President of the United States. In this period our aim was to govern the Filipino and to educate him to see the value of a stable form of government.

"At the same time the Commission should bear in mind, and the people of the Islands should be plainly made to understand that there are certain great prin-

(11)--Elihu Root. "Military and Col. Policy of U. S.
Page 76.

(12)--Ibid. Page 77.

principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom which they have unfortunately been denied the experience possessed by us, that there are certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of the great principles of liberty and law and that these principles and rules of government must be essential and maintained in these islands for the sake of their liberty, and happiness however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar." (13)

The Commission which began its legislative duties adopted the policy of passing no laws except in cases of emergency, without publishing them in the daily press or until they had had a second reading before the Commission and the public had been given the opportunity to come before the Commission and suggest objections or amendments. (14)

From 1900 - 1902, the Commission had passed no less than 571 Acts of legislation. Some of these were of very great importance and involved long preparation

(13)--"An Observer in the Philippines". Devins, P. 379 and 80.

(14)--"Phil. Past & Present". Worcester, Page 353.



Student-farmer's exchange, Iba Farm School, Iba, Zambales.



Hog project of schoolboy agricultural-club member, Bauan, Batangas.



Pupil's exhibit, garden-day celebration, Arroy, Masbate.



Exhibit of industrial and garden products, garden-day celebration, Philippine Normal School, Manila.

and labor, few administrations have worked harder. The frame of government had to be organized in all its branches and set in motion, civil and criminal laws liberalized, revenue provisions and public institutions remodeled. (15)

"Taft when sent on the Commission was in a position of great delicacy and difficulty. He had to show flexibility of strength and capacity to work with other men." (16)

"Any act of the Commission was certain to be misrepresented and attacked at home." (17)

But in spite of opposition many things were accomplished, first, a public school system was organized with 5,000 schools opened, 7,671 teachers and 400,000 children enrolled. A census was taken, the judicial system organized and procedure adopted, a currency system established, public works started on a systematic basis, health service reorganized, and put into more effective condition. In general the structure of the government was built on secure foundations." (18)

(15)--"History of the Phil." by Barrows, Page 310.

(16)--"The Phil. 1st Civil Gov." Roosevelt, Page 15.

(17)--Ibid. Page 16.

(18)--Report of Special Mission of Phil. 1921, Page 21.

Three important steps were taken, one three Filipinos, Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, Senor Benito Legarda, and Senor Jose Luzuriaga were added as members of the Commission. Second, the executive government was organized into four departments, with four members of the original commission as heads. This consisted of a Department of the Interior, one of Commerce and Police; one of Finance and Justice, and one of Public Instruction. Third, the capital of each province was visited for the purpose of creating civil provincial governments. Thirty-three of the forty-nine were visited and provisional governments established in most of them. (19) These provisional governments were not uniform for changes were made to meet local conditions. In general the government of the municipal districts was vested in a President and Vice-President, and municipal council, elected by the qualified voters. Suffrage was given males 23 years of age who possessed any one of the three following qualifications. First, a holder of a municipal office, second, an owner of real property to the value of 500 pesos, or one who paid 30 pesos taxes, third, one who could read and write either Spanish or English.

(19)--Phil. Comm. Reports of 1900 - 1903.

The government of the provinces consisted of a governor, secretary, treasurer, supervisor and a fiscal agent. All of these men except the governor, were appointed by the Commission, and held office during its pleasure. The governor was elected by the councillors of the organized municipality within his province. He was the chief executive but had to report to the civil governor. The real control was in the hands of the provincial board, consisting of the governor, treasurer and supervisor. As two of these were appointed by the Commission and served during its pleasure, the control was practically in the hands of the insular governor.

This form of government only goes to show that there was not local self-government in reality. The Philippine people had practically no vestage of self-government. All the provincial and municipal government did was to decentralize to some extent the insular administration. (20)

In 1903 a Moro province was organized under the control of a council appointed by the civil governor. Congress did not interfere in the organizing of these local and provincial governments. The President had large powers of internal administration.

(20)--Phil. Comm. Acts. No. 82 and 83. Latane.
Chapter XI.

In 1902, The Philippine Government Act was passed. By it Congressional government was substituted for Presidential government. The government thus organized was to continue until two years after the Census. The appointment of civil governor and vice governor, members of the Commission and heads of executive departments was to abide by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate. The inhabitants of the islands were declared citizens of the Philippines and as such were entitled to the protection of the United States. Protection of life, liberty and property were extended to the Filipino except trial by jury which could not be grafted on to the civil law system. (21)

From 1907 to 1913 there existed what is known as the Constructive period. As soon as the Commission could say that peace was established a general census was taken, two years after this a general election was held except in the territory inhabited by the Moros and non-Christian tribes, for choice of delegates to the Philippine Assembly. All legislative power was vested in the legislature, consisting of two houses, one the Philippine Commission, and two, the Philippine Assembly. The sessions of the assembly

(21)--U. S. Statutes at large. XXXII pt. 1. 69.
(See Latane. Ch. 9).

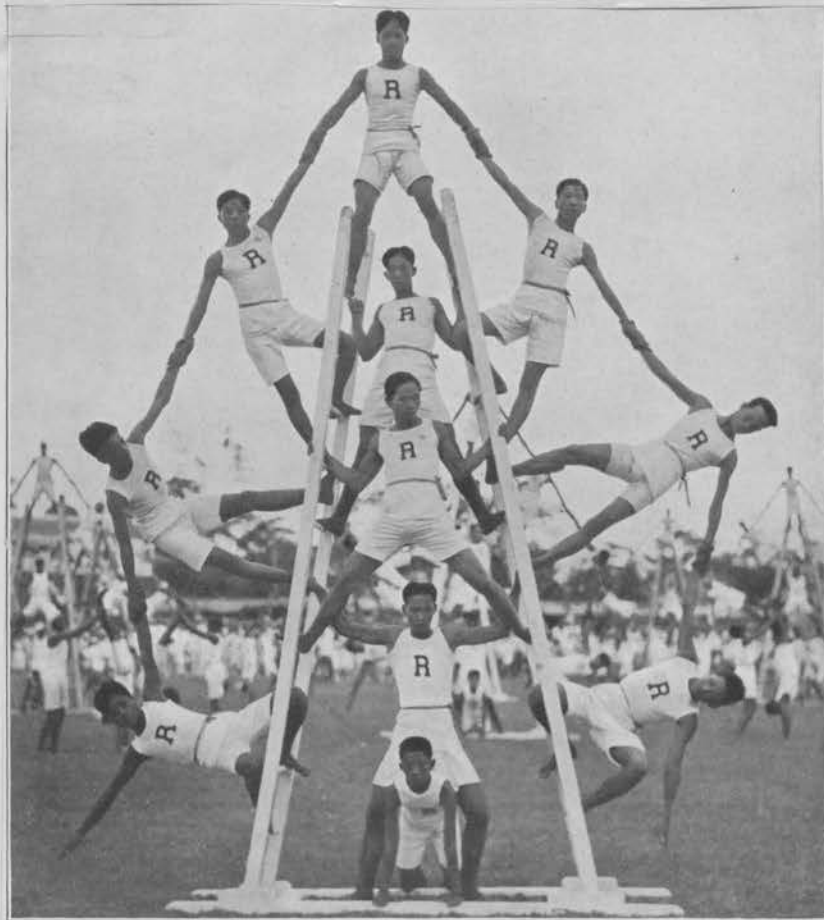
were to be annual ones of 90 days duration. (22)

This planned for election took place July 30, 1907. Thirty-one Nationalists, 16 Progressives, 33 Independents, and others were elected. Many of the candidates promised independence to their districts, if they were elected, but they soon forgot their campaign promises.

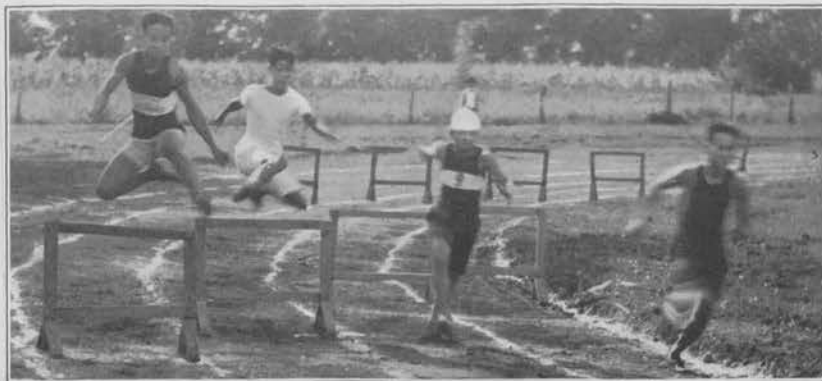
They enacted 72 laws, 23 of which were introduced by the Commission. A bill was passed that in case of disagreement between the two bodies over appropriation bills, the previous appropriation was to carry over, on three occasions, the two houses failed to agree and the previous bill was carried over without great injury accruing to the public service.

Much was done for the public welfare, in the way of construction of roads, bridges, port improvements, irrigation works, schoolhouses, markets and other buildings. Artisian wells were driven. Railroads and inter-island transportation was financed. Steamship subsidies were established and a large number of light houses were built. The University of the Philippines was founded as well as professional schools.

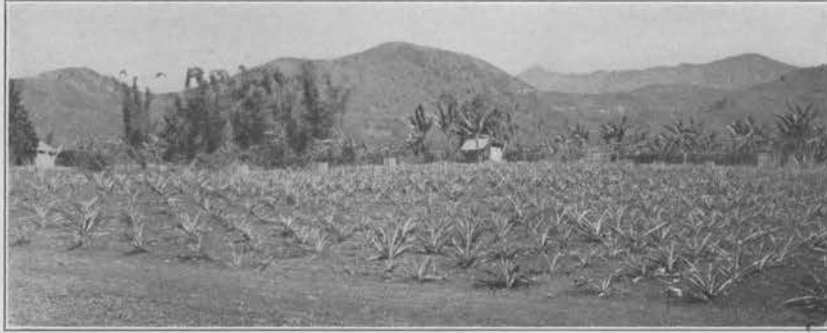
Throughout this period, the idea was to educate the Filipino for governmental positions. This was proper.



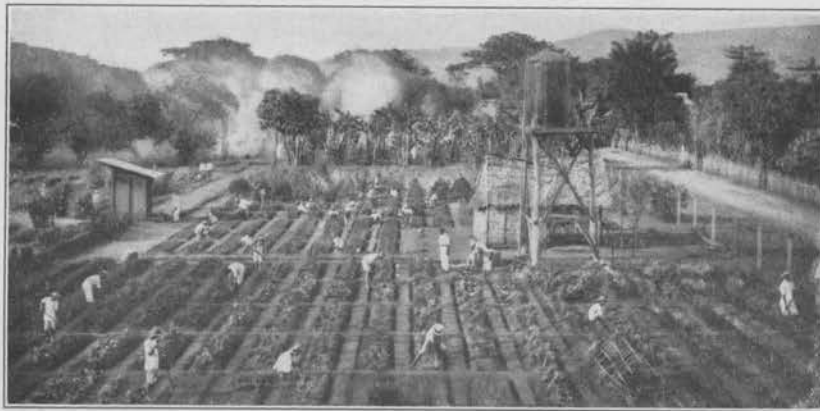
Human pyramids, annual playground-day demonstration, Manila.



220-yard low hurdles, provincial meet, Santa Cruz, Laguna.



Pineapple crop, Kalasungay Settlement Farm School, Malaybalay, Bukidnon.



Nasugbu Elementary School garden, Nasugbu, Batangas.

They had had little experience and they were given extensive training and were promoted as fast as their efficiency and capacity justified. At the end of this period the offices were filled with 72% Filipinos as against 28% of the Americans. (23)

The fourth period began in 1913 and extends to 1924. This period falls into three divisions. One, from 1913 - 1916. The most important step in this period was the legislation which gave the Filipinos a majority in the Commission or upper house. While much was accomplished for the general prosperity of the islands this period is better understood when contrasted with the second period from 1916 - 1921. In 1916, The Jones Bill or Organic Act was enacted.

"An Act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future of the Philippine Islands and to provide a more autonomous government for the islands. The declaration of purpose is contained in the Preamble:-

"Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the war with Spain to make it a war of conquest and aggrandizement and ---

(23)--Gov. Gen. of the Phil. Report, 1922. Page 21.

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

"Whereas for speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the execution of the rights of the sovereignty of the United States, in order that by the use and exercise of the popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibility and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence." (24)

The Jones Act became a constitutional compact between the Filipinos and the Americans, by means of which the Filipinos have accepted temporary government under American sovereignty subject to the conditions (1), that it shall be only preparatory to a complete independence, such independence to be granted "when a stable government can be established." That, (2), it shall be autonomous, or chiefly in the hands of the Filipinos, (3) that American sovereignty shall not be impaired. The Jones Act says -- "It is an everlasting covenant of a great

 (24)--Autonomy Act No. 240--(S. 381) 39 Stat. L.
 Page 545.

and generous people speaking through their accredited representatives and they (The Filipinos), shall in due time enjoy the incomparable blessings of liberty and freedom."(25)

During this second period the administration adopted the policy of getting rid of most of the Americans in the service, competent and otherwise and made the service so unattractive that very few remained. The percentage was 96 per cent Filipinos and 4 per cent Americans. The orderly process of promotion was changed to a hurried Filipinization, placing Filipinos in nearly all high positions.⁽²⁶⁾ The reforms since 1913 have been (a) the abolishment of the appointive commissioners or upper house of the Philippine Legislature, (b) the reorganization of the executive departments, providing for the appearance of cabinet members in the legislature. It was urgent to have a more logical and scientific grouping of the bureaus and offices and that the new department heads have more power over the offices and bureaus under them. The secretary of each department, except the one of Public Instruction was appointed at the beginning of each legislature, with the consent of

(25)--Filipino Appeal for Freedom. Page 14.

(26)--Report of Gov. Gen. of Islands. Page 22. 1921.

the Philippine Senate, instead of for good behavior as before. The elections were to be triennial. Members of the legislature could and can become at the same time cabinet heads. Heads of departments may be called by either house to explain or defend their acts.

Instead of four departments there were to be six, consisting of the Department of the Interior, of Public Instruction, of Finance, of Justice, of Agriculture and Resources, of Commerce and Communication.⁽²⁷⁾

(c) The heads of the six departments were equal to a cabinet and acted as an advisory board which met once a week. With the creation of a Council of State the Cabinet ceased as an advisory board. With the creation of an elective Senate, as a result of the Jones Act, the lower house, upper house and executive heads were responsible to the Filipino people instead of the President of the United States.

In general, to bring out the progress of the islands, it is best to site the following figures. In

1913	Public schools	2,934.
1921	" "	5,944.
1913	2,171 kilometers of 1st class roads operated.	
1921	4,696.8 " " " " " "	
	5,000 " " 2nd " " "	

 (27)--Reorganization Act No. 2666. Ammended by Act 2803 incorporated in Ch. V in Adm. Code.

1913	No dispensaries.
1921	Over 800.
1913	1,548,317.75 pesos appropriated for medical aid to poor.
1921	3,153,828.00 pesos appropriated for medical aid to poor.
1913	A dozen Woman's Clubs.
1921	342 " " in active work.
1913	Volume of commerce 202,171,484.
1921	" " " 601,124,276.

There was 238.7 per cent increase in area cultivated. During the World War, which began in 1914 and which we entered in 1917, the Filipinos offered the service of 25,000 men and contributed

1 submarine
 1 destroyer to the fleet of the U. S.
 6,000 men served in the U. S. Navy as volunteers
 4,000 men could have been exempt but enrolled under the United States

They contributed

\$500,000 to the Red Cross
 20,000,000 for Liberty Bonds
 4,625,000 " 3rd " Loan
 12,123,000 " 4th " "

Filipinization is shown in the personnel of the constabulary

1901	there were	180	American	officers
1910	" "	276	" "	" "
1917	" "	106	" "	" "
1920	" "	17	" "	" "
1921	" "	14	" "	" "

The gradual rise of the Filipino can be seen in the following table



First-grade class, Bangued Central School, Bangued, Abra.



First-grade class, Barili Central School, Barili, Cebu.



Third-grade class in arithmetic, Carcar, Cebu.



Fourth-grade teacher using phonograph in connection with opening exercises, Ilagan, Isabela.

1901	there	were	3	Filipinos	in	the	constabulary
1911	"	"	75	"	"	"	"
1917	"	"	250	"	"	"	"
1921	"	"	362	"	"	"	"

In Civil Service positions the rule was set forth by McKinley's orders to the Second Philippine Commission.

"In all cases the municipal officers who administer the local affairs of the people are to be selected by the people and that wherever officers of any extended jurisdiction are to be selected, natives of the islands are to be preferred. If competent and willing they are to receive the offices in preference to others. This is still a law today. The people considered are, first, the citizen of the Philippines and, second, the honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States Marines. This ruling hasn't always been carried out, but it was applied to a greater extent by Governor General Harrison.

1914	Americans,	2, 148,	Filipinos,	7, 283
1917	"	1,730	"	8, 725
1921	"	614	"	12, 240

From 1914 - 1921 justice was impartially administered in the Philippines, the Supreme Court is above all influence. The Wood Forbes Mission said "The Supreme Court has the respect and confidence of the Filipinos."

From August 31, 1911 to Sept.1, 1913:

62.5%	of	cases	were	affirmed
25.1%	"	"	"	reversed
12.2%	"	"	"	modified

From Mar. 3, 1919 to Mar. 4, 1921:

67.0%	of cases were affirmed
20.8%	" " " reversed
12.1%	" " " modified

The Filipino Appeal for Freedom interprets the above figures to mean that the administration of justice has been considerably improved with Filipinos in greater control.

At least one may say that in

1906	there were 7,410 cases disposed of
1914	" " 13,404 " " "
1921	" " 16,874 " " "

The United States itself is troubled by the law's delay but in the Philippines it is due to first, the interpretation of testament from the vernacular to the Spanish, second, the judges of the Supreme Court are judges of law as well as of fact, third, the law in the Philippines is in a formative state, fourth, the remoteness of many municipalities from the provincial capitals together with the difficulty of transportation.⁽²⁸⁾ Trial by jury does not exist in the Philippines. No judge can be removed by the Governor-General unless sufficient cause shall exist in the judgment of the Supreme Court. This means that the judges are beyond the control of the executive.

The Philippine government today is a distinct institution, on as solid a financial basis as any government

 (28)--Statistics all from the Filipino Appeal for Freedom, Page 76-79. Bryce, Vol. II, Page 88.

today. It is self supporting, its tax is adequate to its needs, the per capita tax is low. The Wood-Forbes report states that "the Filipinos bear a smaller burden of taxation than the natives of Great Britain, United States, Japan, Argentine, and Brazil." In the year 1922 there was a surplus of 7 millions.

The figures and comments have been quoted from the Filipino Appeal for Freedom. They have quoted from the Wood-Forbes Report, but only such quotations which would directly help their cause. For example, they disregard such statements as the following:--

"The period (Filipinization) was marked by a deterioration in the quality of public service, in the creation of a top-heavy personnel, the too frequent placing of influence above efficiency, by the beginning of political bureaucracy. In this period taxation and expenditures were greatly increased." (29)

And last a consideration of the third period, from 1921 to 1924. The question of the status of the Philippines is today a very present problem. The papers are full of articles favoring independence, and against it. Ever since Governor General Wood was appointed, trouble has been brewing, and it is not a question of

(29)--Report of Special Mission, 1921. Page 22.

the temperament of Wood but one of the Filipinos to govern themselves.

Former Governor General Harrison had linked himself with Quezen. The Senate was created in 1916 with Quezen as its President and Oseneua^{Oseneua} as President of the House. These two men had no executive authority and were only presiding officers of the two Houses. Under Harrison a Council of State was created, this body advised and aided the Governor-General. Quezen and Oseneua^{Oseneua} as members of that body were able to control the Governor-General. Harrison accepted the position in spite of the fact that the council of state was without legal sanction. Harrison had of course the right of veto but he only exercised it five times and only then in the case of unimportant matters.

As a result of the World War the Philippines prospered, the revenue yielded a large surplus. This lead to the creation of government owned enterprises such as the Manila Railroad with Quezen as President and using this position as political influence, the National Bank, National Coal, Cement, and Iron Companies. All these companies were controlled by the Governor-General, Quezen and Oseneua^{Oseneua}, with, and it should be noted, the Filipinos in the majority.

In all these ventures, the Filipinization policy resulted in a decline in service and morale. The National

Companies all showed deficits, the men employed were inexperienced.

In 1918 the Philippine Legislature created an Independence Commission and appropriated 1,000,000 pesos from Insular funds to defray the cost of independent propaganda. A Mission was sent to the U. S. in 1919, to say that according to the Jones Act, a stable form of government had been established but, of that Mission only 21 members were Spanish, or Chinese half castes, and 92% of the pure Malay inhabitants were not represented. Harrison himself firmly believed that a stable form of government had been established.

Facts prove this to be untrue, for 40% of the land area is inhabited by non Christian tribes, 1/3 by Moros, who are enemies of the Christian Filipino. Attempts to govern these people have failed. A stable form of government is established when the people are willing to abide by election results, the Malay race seems capable of creating nothing higher than a "pirate chief."

It is evident that a small minority wishes to run the government. By this time, Quezen desiring to have uncontrolled power formed a Colectivist party but his one man policy was open to attack. At this period Leonard Wood became Governor General.

His first move was to restore the currency

reserve funds. Bonds were authorized by the United States, to be issued, these were sold mostly in the United States. In spite of what has been said of Filipino loyalty, they failed to buy these bonds themselves, even when the currency deficit was due to their own incapability.

Governor General Wood's policy has been to tighten up the laxness of Harrison's administration. The Council of State was continued in spite of the fact that it had no legal backing. Quezon made it a point to oppose the Governor General in every way, for he was in hopes that some day he would be, due probably to Harrison's suggestion, Governor General.

Opposition to Wood was brought to a head by the reinstatement of an employee by name of Conley. The opposition taking this as a pretext, charged Wood with vetoing bills, for Internal affairs, and refusing to suspend penalties for non payment of taxes.

Congress has backed Wood in regard to the veto power, which they consider applies to all legislation. He has kept within his rights.

The difficulties which the United States faces are many. There is no proof that the minority ruling class, if given complete authority, would continue the work begun by the United States, the risk to the United States would be great. If the United States withdrew

where would the money come from in time of financial stress? There is great danger to the peace of the Far East, as a result of China's instability. Relinquishment of the Philippines would only add to this unstable situation.(30)

(3)--See article by Daniel Williams in Feb. issue of World's Work, 1924.

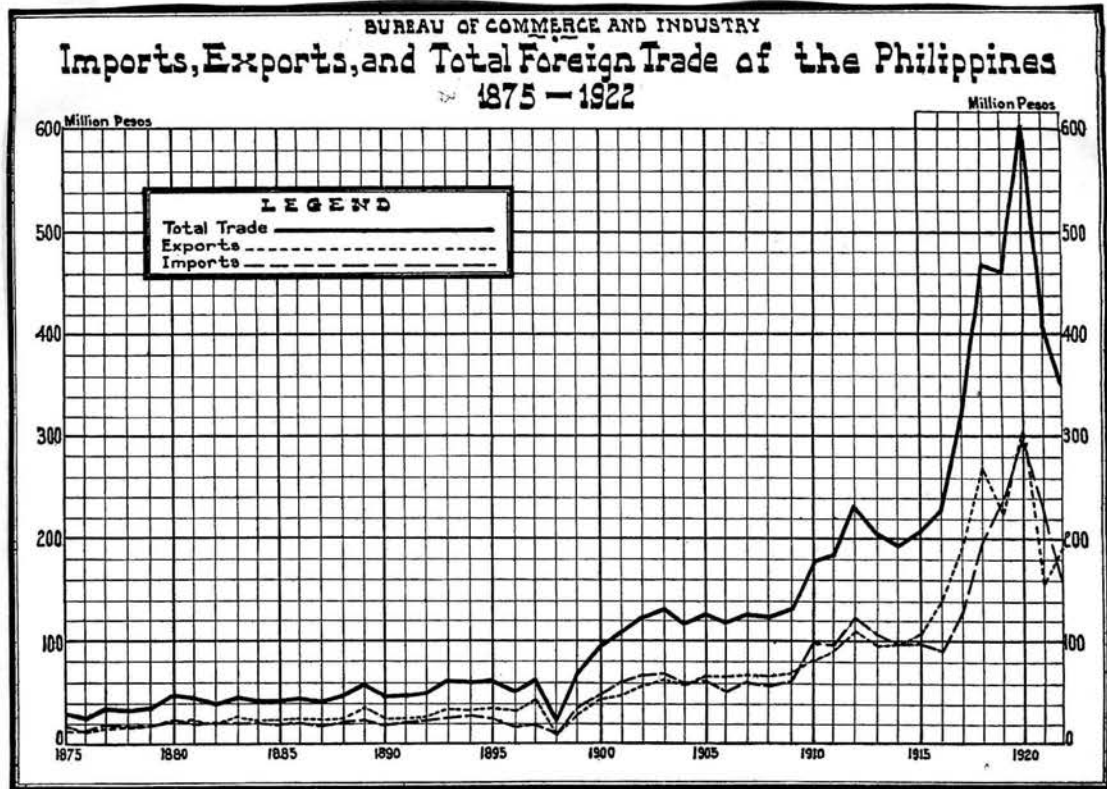


PLATE I

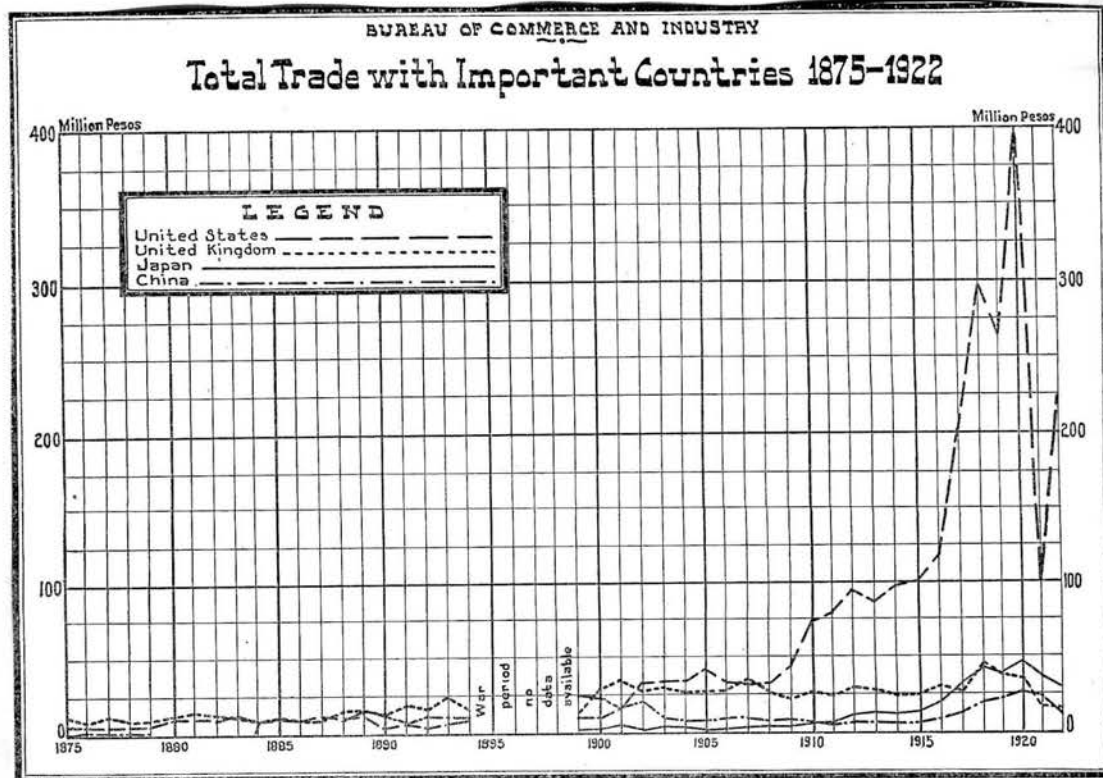


PLATE II

CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES
TO THE BRITISH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

The foregoing chapters have been more or less of an introduction or foundation necessary in order to draw any comparison at all of the English Colonial government in America and the government which we established in the Philippines. Many authors state that the United States established a government very much like the old English colonial government, but that is as far as the comparison goes.

First of all, what was the attitude of the mother country toward the colony, first in the case of England toward America; second, in the case of the United States toward the Philippines?

England's conception was that the colony existed merely for the benefit of the sovereign state, that colonies should yield as much profit as possible to the mother country. (1)

By the Navigation Acts, it was stated that no goods could be carried into or out of the colonies except in ships built in English domains and manned by crews of which three-fourths at least were English subjects.

(1) "The Growth of the British Colonial Conception."
Alleyne Ireland. page 489.

Certain "enumerated commodities", including tobacco, cotton-wool, and sugar (to which other articles such as furs, rice, copper, naval stores, were added later), could not be exported from the colonies to any port outside the British domain. No European goods except salt and wine could be imported, without first stopping in England to pay duties, or to be inspected. To be sure England gave the enumerated colonial goods the preference, or even the monopoly, in her markets and by a system of "drawbacks" or rebates reduced the duties which the colonies had to pay on goods shipped through English ports. Nevertheless, it was a hindrance to the commercial prosperity of the colonies to be forbidden to sell directly in the markets of Europe, an inconvenience to be obliged to stop at England on all their return voyages, and a serious threat to their industrial life to be restricted in starting manufactures. But for all the laws of Parliament, illicit trade flourished in the colonies.

England attempted to regulate the colonial governors and to make laws and procedure in the colonies like those of England; she attempted to settle religious and political disputes and to put an end to the conflicting claims of the colonies. (2)

One cannot say that the policy of the United States was to monopolize the trade of the Philippines. Commercial

(2)-Public Life of Dudley 1660-1715, Kimball, page 6.

profit offered itself as a possibility and American capital was needed to develop the latent resources but as far as trade was concerned, profit would depend upon the general trade and tariff conditions and a market for Philippine goods. The formation of a peaceful government was our first main object and commercial advantages came as a second consideration.

Can the attitude of the colony toward the mother country in any way be compared? The American colonies were primarily English; they were based upon English tradition and in their attitude toward the mother country would have that much in common, namely, an English understanding. But, the distance between the mother country and the colony had one important effect. It had fostered in the colony a spirit of independence. This spirit expressed itself in a violation of the Navigation Acts, in a protest against the Stamp Act and Townsend Acts, in a demand on the part of the colony that Parliament had no right to levy taxes without representation. This last demand was soon dropped, for the colony realized that should the right of representation in Parliament be granted, and taxation levied as a result, they would be no better off, because representation would be that of a minority and could not possibly exert any influence on measures affecting the colony. One can say, however, that the attitude of the colony toward the mother country was based on a common tradition, but a growing tendency toward

independence and a desire for self-regulation.

How was it in regard to the Philippines? In the first place there was and is no common ground of understanding. The colony had a background of Eastern Spanish tradition, and as a result developed a feeling of distrust and opposition to any form of control. According to the Filipino Appeal for Freedom, a republic had been established in 1898; this republic ended because of the Filipino-American war, which lasted three years. "It was a one-sided struggle which showed the firmness and desire of the Filipino for independence. The Filipinos accepted the American government. The Independence movement was not an organized one, because in the early years of American occupation, a law was passed by the Philippine Commission which practically prohibited all agitation for independence. A Federal Party still existed and advocated statehood and annexation to the United States. The idea then developed of independence, after a period of preparation. An Independence Party was formed in 1907 and called the Nationalistic Party and one which was popular in the Philippine Assembly. (3)

As to the question of taxation, the Schurman Commission to the Philippines was paid by the Department of State. When the Taft Commission was appointed the United States advanced \$50,000. and was reimbursed from funds de-

(3)--Filipino Appeal for Freedom, page 43.



Fourth-grade class in plain sewing, Lubao, Pampanga.



Class in embroidery, Davao Elementary School, Davao.



First-grade class, Iloilo Central School, Iloilo.



First-grade class, Polo Elementary School, Polo, Bulacan.

rived from the Philippine treasure.⁽⁴⁾ The American government has proved expensive to the Filipino and there has been complaint of too heavy taxation.⁽⁵⁾ But the complaint has not been combined with the idea of representation, as in the case of the American colonies. There is a Filipino Commission to the United States but it does not have any participation in the Federal government. Its sole function is that of acting as a means through which officials at Washington can take up matters of business. The right to send this commission to the United States was granted by Congress in Section 8, the Acts of Congress, July 1, 1902.⁽⁶⁾

This can in a way be compared to the colonial agents of the American colonies. In the earlier days of colonization it was recognized that the colony needed a sponsor at home, who would push the interest and answer the various governmental questions. Royal governors needed such correspondents no less than proprietary colonies, for their actions were liable to be misconstrued and a business-like agent could save them a lot of trouble. Although the colonial agencies were hardly organized on a permanent basis until the 18th century, they became quite early to recognize the part of the colonial system.

(4)--Statement of Root, 57 Doc. Congress, Session No. 416.

(5)--Latane, page 169, 170.

(6)--Willoughby. "Territory and Dependencies of the United States. page 197.

The post of agent was sought by London merchants, for its influence and gratuity--but the first permanent agents were generally correspondents of the respective governors, agents for the colonial assembly were only appointed at first for particular purposes or to go home on special missions.

The agent's duty was to stand "sentry" and give the alarm when assistance was needed; he was to have copies of commissions, instructions and important letters filed for reference; he was to have access to two or three friends at court and in the city. He was to receive his letters first, before the news got to the king's ministers. It was not always easy for a governor to select a suitable agent, for the governor and his agent frequently had different opinions on matters of colonial policy. (7)

At the present time the Filipinos grant a large sum of money each year for the maintenance of a group of men in the United States, whose duty consists of issuing documents containing propaganda for independence. It is certainly evident, from the number and volume of these appeals for freedom that the colony wishes separation.

As viewed through foreign eyes, the situation in the Philippines is quoted as follows:--"The Americans give out and write in their papers that the Philippines are completely pacified, and that the Filipinos love the Americans

 (7)--Development of Leeward Islands under Restoration by Higham, pages 234-236.

and their rule. This is utter humbug, for the country is honeycombed with insurrections and plots. The natives hate the Americans and their theories. The one idea is to be rid of America and be free of taxation which is heavier than the Spanish laid on them."⁽⁸⁾ One cannot rely too much on such hasty generalizations and yet one should consider to some extent the attitude of foreign nations toward our situation in the Philippines.

The inheritance of the American colony has already been touched upon briefly, the inheritance rested on a common English tradition, on a common language, on a common knowledge of Parliamentary government. To be more specific, the colonists were accustomed to a bicameral system; they possessed the franchise, although of a restricted nature, the execution of laws was comparatively easy for the colonists had been trained in the political art of self-control. They stood for common law, for the courts. All in all the American people were truly representative of the great body of people more than the English Parliament of the period.⁽⁹⁾

In the Philippines there existed no such common traditions. These people possessed an inheritance from numerous Eastern nations, a religion imposed upon them by the Spanish. Prior to American occupation, they had no

(8)--An English woman, Mrs. C. Dauncey's letter Jan. 22, 1905, quoted in Blount's "American Occupation of the Philippines.", page 505.

(9)--The Colonies 1492-1750, Thwaites, pages 55-63.

participation in the government. There is no proof that, had Aguinaldo's government succeeded, it would have granted any greater participation in governmental duties than those enjoyed by the Filipino now. In whatever light we consider the Filipinos and especially in comparing them to the American colonists one must admit that a complication arises from the fact that the Filipinos are not a nation.

It is claimed that the position of royal or colonial governor and the present governor-general of the Philippines are very much alike. Authorities fail to state in what respect and to what degree the similarity exists.

There were three types of governors in the American colonies; first, proprietary colonies which owing to disputes had passed into the hands of the crown. As crown colonies they were administered by a governor sent over from England. He was known as the royal governor. Second, proprietary governor, who was chosen by the proprietors or company, and sent over to the colony from England. The third type was the charter governor, who was elected by the colony. This last type need not hold our attention, it is only necessary to know that such a type existed. (10)

In general the governor sent over from England, held the following position, in the first place, as representative of the king, he was a viceroy, with powers of execu-

(10)-"Lectures on Colonization and Colonies."
Merivale, pages 69-82.

tive, and legislation, corresponding to the post, second, as agent of the home government his business was to take care that the interests of the mother country did not suffer by anything done in the colonies, and lastly from an economic standpoint he was manager of a business concern, the object of which was to bring profits to the parent company, or to the parent state.⁽¹¹⁾

"The tenure of office was during pleasure of the king, but the governors might be removed by a change of ministry at home, or by intrigues of colonists abroad. Still the governors held posts for long years. In a period of 82 years Massachusetts had only 10 governors, in 34 years North Carolina had only 3, and the first governor of New Hampshire served 26 years. Of the 10 royal governors sent over to Massachusetts no less than 4 were natives of the colonies, and when New Jersey and New Hampshire were made separate governments, colonials were appointed governors.

"The amount of salary varied from £2,000 in Virginia, to an average of 1,000 L sterling. In Georgia alone the salary was paid by the home government, in others it was dependent upon the annual grants of the colonial assembly.

"The position of a colonial governor demanded a man with an extra combination of abilities and tact. The general impression is that the men chosen to act as colonial

 (11)-"Origin and Growth of Eng. Colonies."--Egerton,
 Page 147.

governors were lamentably mediocre. Many of the governors were honest men and a few of good character and ability as Stapleton, governor of Leeward Island, and Spotswood, governor of Virginia. At the same time it is not exceptional to find a governor who used his official position to feather his own nest and the extreme jealousy with which the colonial assembly doled out money for the purposes of the governor, had its justification." (12)

"The scandal of disposing of colonial offices as purely private property wrought great mischief in the proprietary colonies. While in Pennsylvania the outrageous grew up of the governor and proprietor refusing to pass bills unless they were accompanied by gifts of money." (13)

The powers of the governor in theory were great. They included ordinances and proclamations, as a legislative power, he might even supercede the ordinary law. He possessed a controlling voice in legislation by his right of approving or vetoing bills, passed by the assembly or council. The council consisted of his nominees and therefore his influence was felt in this body.

In the second place he was commander in chief of the military forces. But his dependence on the assembly for supplies deprived him of a great deal of his power.

 (12)--"Origin & Growth of Eng. Colonies".--Egerton,
 Pages 151 and 152.

(13)--Ibid, Page 148.

He could erect courts of justice, select judicial appointees. He and his council constituted a court of appeals in civil cases. Judicial appointments were during pleasure of the crown, but in spite of this the assembly was the real master of the judges for the assembly voted the salaries.

In the third place, the governor's powers toward the assembly were very wide. He could summon it, adjourn it, prorogue or dissolve it, he could coerce it into action. He was the fountain of dispensing power and patronage. (14)

In the Philippines the ruling body was at first the commission with the President as leading authority. This became a commission with the governor general as chief executive. The governor and the commission were appointed by the President of the United States and the Secretary of War. William H. Taft thus became the first civil governor. In 1902 the power of appointment of these officers was vested in the President of the United States through the advice and consent of the Senate.

The position of the governor general is three-fold. He is the representative of the United States and as such is responsible for the execution of the policy of the United States. In the second place he is chief executive of the Philippines and as such is responsible for the laws passed by the Philippine legislature. In the third place through

(14)--"Origin and Growth of Eng. Colonies."--Egerton,
Page 153.

his power of appointment he holds the position of dispenser of patronage.

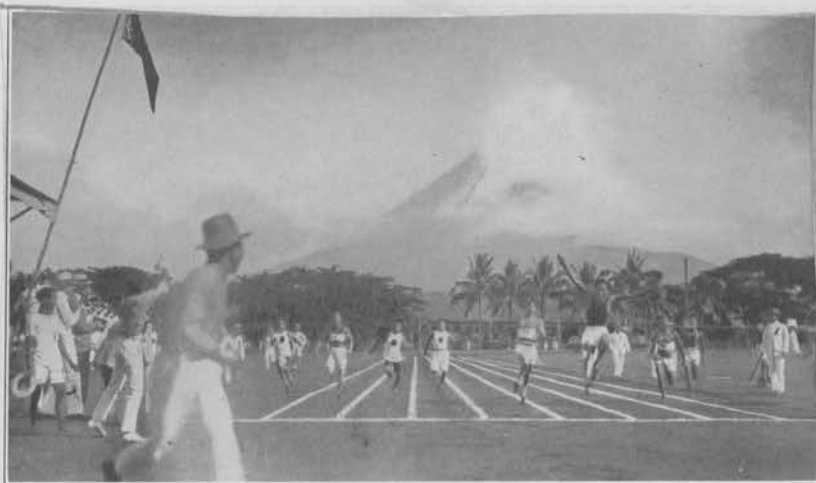
The tenure of office of the governor general is during the pleasure of the administration. A change of administration usually means a reappointment of a governor general. Resignations have been so frequent that this can not be held as a hard and fast rule. Sufficient time has not elapsed to establish precedent in the matter. The possibility of intrigues in the mother country is very probable to cause a reappointment. For example on December 15th, President Coolidge received a delegation of Filipinos who came to explain their grievances against governor Wood and to demand his removal.

Resignations of the Governor General have been frequent. Governor General Taft resigned to become candidate for a higher office in the United States. The next appointment was Wright. He resigned in 1905, because he refused to be dictated to by the Federal Government. Governor General Ide resigned, in 1906. Smith, the next Governor had come to the Islands as colonel of the volunteers. He understood the Filipinos and made an excellent Governor General.

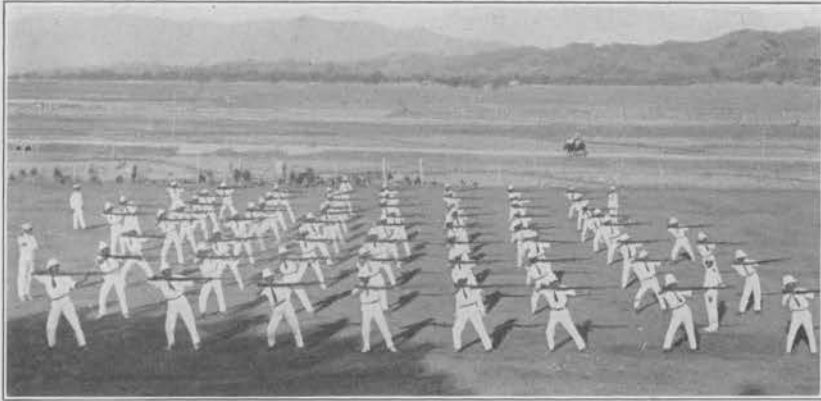
In 1909 Forbes filled the vacancy left by Smith. Forbes had been Secretary of Commerce and Police. He was forced to resign because he was accused of using his office



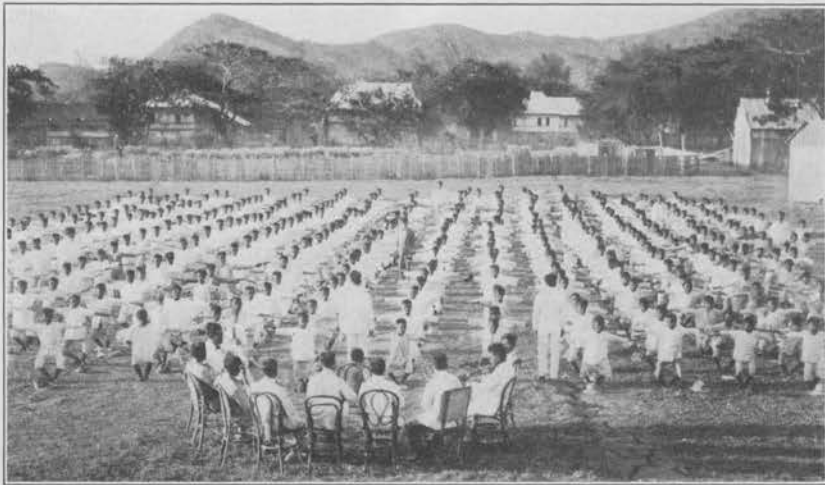
Impromptu games, Zamboanga Central School, Zamboanga.



Finish, 100-yard dash, Interprovincial meet, Albay, Albay.



Military drill, Tagudin High School, Tagudin, Ilocos Sur.



Calisthenics, with orchestral accompaniment, Cuyapo Central School, Cuyapo, Nueva Ecija.

to promote his own private interests. Harrison filled his place in 1913. He was the only one who was not experienced. His administration was more or less lenient and then at the election of President Harding, Wood was appointed. (15)

The newspapers are ever eager to find scandal about the appointments to the Philippines as newspapers furnish a shade of Public Opinion, their attitude should in some measure be considered. One newspaper puts forth the claim that Wood was appointed to the Philippines in order that he could wipe out his campaign debts. Another newspaper brings forth the argument that Coolidge is favoring the Wood administration for the purpose of keeping him in that position for fear that should he be removed and returned to the United States he would make excellent campaign material, and thus spoil Coolidge's chances for re-election.

Both Harding and Coolidge are our contemporaries and as such too recent to judge as politicians. Such newspaper opinion should be considered with a grain of salt, until proof can be found for such statements. A political bias too often influences them.

"The next point to be considered is the powers and duties of the Governor General. The Governor General can issue orders to the executive bureau which is under his supervision. He is executive head of the bureau of Civil

(15)--"Phil. Past and Present." Dean Worcester, page 346.

Service, of the Bureau of Audits, he has charge of those because they are Bureaus whose operations extend most widely through the Islands.

The government of Manila is under the Governor General. He may issue executive orders within the limitations of the law, affecting any branch of service. He can issue proclamations on behalf of the President of the United States, of Congress or on his own authority in execution of his duties."⁽¹⁶⁾

The judiciary is appointed by and dismissed by him. Most of the early legislation was drafted by the Commission, usually at the request and embodying the views of the Governor General. Public protest against bills was provided for, but had little influence in withdrawing unsatisfactory measures. The Governor General has a large military force at his command besides the constabulary which no more resembles a police force than a civil government resembles the government of the United States. He has then executive authority, leadership of the legislative body and power to initiate bills, appointment of all officials of the government outside the civil service, including judges of the courts of the first instance, practical direction of the military forces in their operation and distribution. The greatest power is that combined with the

(16)--Philippine Citizen--Jeregan, Page 82.

Commission which constitutes an effective block, to bills passed by the lower house. Appropriation bills of the preceding year become a law if through opposition of the legislature, no action is taken on this bill. The Commission can originate bills and at the present rate, the Commission will soon cover almost all possible subjects of legislation. (17)

The assembly in colonial times consisted of an elective body in which originated all taxation. Laws enacted here required besides the assent of the governor, the ratification by the king in council. This body was a representative one, elected by the people by a restricted franchise. The governor was dependent upon this assembly for it held the purse string.

The council appointed by the governor often served as an upper house and as an executive body to advise the governor.

In Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut the council was elected. Here then it reflected the sentiments of the colonists, which in Massachusetts was often in opposition to the appointed royal governor. In other colonies the council was appointed by the crown or proprietor on the nomination of the governor who had also the power of removal. Thus the council was usually found on the side of the governor in a dispute with the representatives. The council, except in Pennsylvania, possessed the usual functions of a

second chamber in legislation and discussed, amended and voted measures sent to it from the representatives. Moreover, in all the colonies, the council advised the governor in matters of administration, in many cases shared with him the responsibilities of appointment and with him formed the highest court of appeals in the colony. It possessed a dual function, that of upper house of the legislative assembly, and advisory council of the executive. The absence of departmental responsibility was a contributing cause to the weakness of the council. As has been said before, disputes were constantly arising over the division of functions and appropriation bills. "The salary question was one of the features of dispute. The governor insisted on being paid a regular salary at stated intervals, the assembly refused, desiring to keep him dependent on them, and so voted such sums as they chose. A fixed salary would have been in the nature of a tax imposed by the crown. In some of the colonies, salary questions resulted in deadlocks."⁽¹⁸⁾

In the Philippines the process of government has been gradual, from first a supreme commission appointed by the President. Then followed the law which provided for an elective representative body, the Commission to serve as an upper house. The assembly was to have legislative powers formerly exercised by the Commission. If the appropriation bills are not passed those of the preceding year are to be renewed.

(18)-Thwaites. "The Colonies". Page 271.



Mirasol Elementary School, Iloilo. Building and site donated by Mr. and Mrs. Alejandro Mirasol, of Iloilo.



Pupils marching into classrooms, Asingan Elementary School, Asingan, Pangasinan.



Butuan Central School building, Butuan, Agusan.



Bataan Provincial School building, Balanga, Bataan.

During the administration of Harrison, a council was created to advise the governor. This was an extra-legal body. In spite of this fact it has continued to be appointed and during Harrison's administration exercised considerable influence.

Disputes arising over appropriations have already been discussed. The house attempts to control the appointment power of the general which often leads to disputes. In case an assembly passes a bill over the veto of the governor, the President of the United States has final say, and in general legislation the Congress of the United States reserves the right to itself of annulling any law it sees fit to annul.

The conclusion of this general discussion is that the two institutions are very much alike. Not so much in the attitude of one country toward another, certainly not in the inheritance of the country, but mainly in the position of the governor general. The control of the governor general by the President of the United States resembles that which the king exercised over the royal governor; again, in the tenure of office of the official, during pleasure of the administration. Secondly, the powers of the governor general and the royal governor are very much alike, namely, power of legislation, appointment, military control and veto power.

The men appointed both by England and United States, can be compared in a way, for in general the governors of the Philippines have been men who were members either of the original Commission sent down to investigate, or military officers, who were more or less familiar with affairs there.

The composition of the Assemblies are very much alike as well as the original duties and powers of legislation, except that in the American colonies the control of the assembly over the royal governor was great, while the governor general had and has the power and ability to break deadlocks.

The final control of all legislation by Congress resembles that of the control by king and council. "The governor general today is an autocrat, more powerful in his domain than the ruler of Russia was. Taft was considered a despot, but lightly veiled with a civil title."⁽¹⁹⁾ Wood has tended to tighten the control which had become relaxed under Harrison.

It seems that the United States has failed to profit by the example of others. As Kalaw views the situation, "England established the mixture of a representative institution and an irresponsible executive and administration. This was unsatisfactory. That type of government

 (19)--Bellair's "As it is in the Philippines."
 Page 244.



(Photo by Fotograms)

Mrs. Leonard Wood, Wife of the Governor of the Philippine Islands, and Honorary President of the Filipino Federation, is Seated in the Centre of the Group. At Her Left is Mrs. Francisco Delgado, President of the Federation Clubs, and to Her Right is a Moro Princess, Dayang-Dayang of Sulu. The Clubs Have a Membership of Approximately 12,000 and About Two-Thirds of Them Understand and Speak English.



has failed, it failed in the early English colonies, where as in the Philippines, the lower house became the stronghold of the people and the governor and council the representatives of the crown!"(20) "The governor general still remains an American and a representative of a foreign government, responsible to America and not to us."(21) (The Filipinos).

It should be borne in mind, however, that the American colonists rebelled against England a tax which was to be levied to help defray the expense of a small standing army in America. The proposal seemed reasonable and necessary, for at that very moment English troops west of the Alleghanies were engaged in the serious business of quelling an Indian uprising. Every cent of the money which the ministry proposed to raise in America was to be spent in America and the colonies were to be asked to contribute only about a third of the sum necessary. Grenville was willing to assess the tax in the way most acceptable to the Americans. There has never been any taxation in the Philippines except the ordinary taxes paid by the people for the support of their own government, the expenses of maintaining law and education among themselves.

In more than one respect our policy can be justified.

 (20)--Kalaw. "Self Gov. in the Philippines." Page 23.

(21)--Ibid. Page 31.

In the first place, the government given the Philippines was a gradual process, a granting of participation when it was felt that the people were ready for it. The character and experience of the people demanded such a process. In the second place, the "Filipino needs to be educated, and education can not be accomplished in one generation or in two." (22)

If then American control is to continue those who are sent to the Philippines should represent the best types of our American Christian character and culture.

(22)--Colquhoun. Page 130, "Mastery of Pacific."

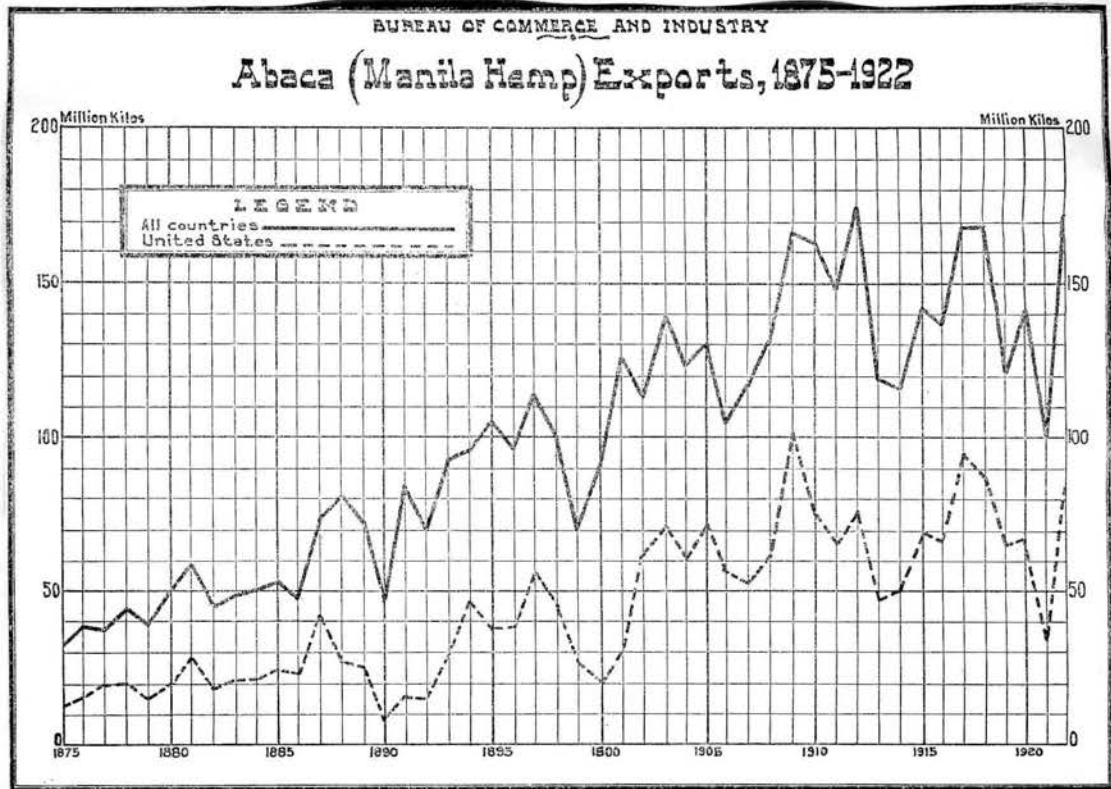


PLATE V

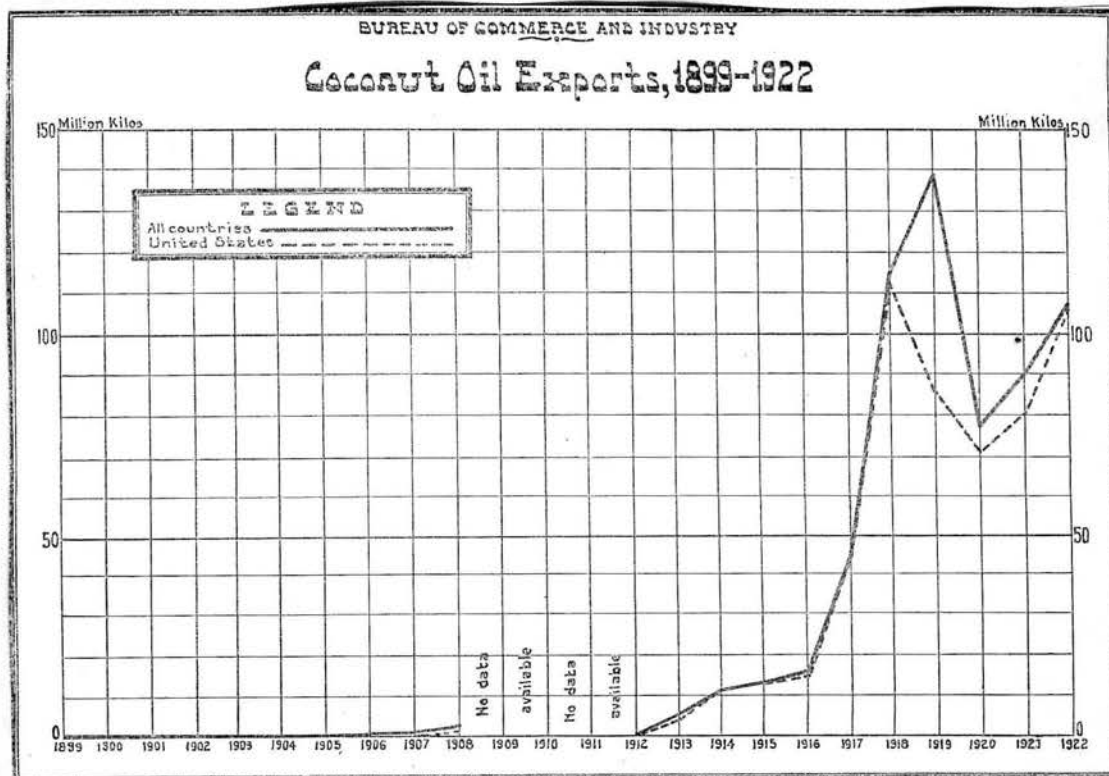


PLATE VI

CHAPTER V

PERSPECTIVE CONSIDERATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION
OF OUR DEPENDENCY.

The Philippine Islands have been raised from a state of rebellion and insurrection, from a state of ignorance and inexperience, from a state of restriction and repression, to a state of comparative peace and harmony, to a state of liberal education and experience, to a state of freedom and participation, to a state of sound administration.

To quote from Governor General Wood's message to the 6th Philippine Legislature, October 16, 1923.--

"The legislature at its last session enacted much valuable constructive legislation. I congratulate the Filipino on the peaceful and orderly conduct of the recent election.

"I visited nearly all parts of the Archipelago during the past year and have found the condition of the people in most instances steadily improving. There is increasing interest in public affairs and an evergrowing desire to obtain titles to their land and secure better conditions for cultivation and especially improved irrigation.

"Public order has been excellent throughout the Islands during the year, with the exception of some

disturbances in Lanao and Sulu. There occurred loss of life on both sides, more serious on the part of the Moros."

However a report made in the Transcript, March 11, 1924, says that "re Moro outlaws of Lanao have been captured." This completes the rounding up of the troublesome Moros, and it is believed that the Moro trouble is over.

To continue from Wood's message, "Provincial and municipal administration has maintained a fair level of efficiency, although there still is a tendency to excessively heavy personnel.

"There have been comparatively few changes among Governors and Presidents.

"The catastrophe in Japan was responded to by the Philippine people in a prompt, spontaneous and generous way.

"There has been a steady improvement in public health conditions and the death rate materially reduced. A plan for extensive vaccinations, inoculations against typhoid, and campaigns against tuberculosis and malaria have been made.

"Expenses for the leper colony at Culion are heavy but the work there has caused an improvement in over 80 per cent of the cases and arrest of progress in over 30%.

"The distribution of "tikitiki" remedy for beriberi

has been increased and results have been satisfactory.

"Hospitals in the provinces are in the process of construction.

"The women's clubs are keeping up their work to improve general health conditions and to reduce infant mortality.

"There has been a steady growth in enrollments in the schools and a growing demand for more and better schools. It is especially important that the elementary schools in which there are 95% of our children, be maintained to the highest efficiency. Owing to the heavy demands upon the Insular funds for the primary instruction, it may be necessary to meet the cost of secondary schools by a moderate tuition in order to render the schools self-supporting.

"Agricultural and farm schools are doing excellent work. The teaching force of the Philippines is doing very good work. The teachers of today are making the Filipino people of tomorrow. They are largely responsible for implanting those qualities which perform a secure foundation for good citizenship in the future. Military training units established in the University of the Philippines and Ateneo are progressing.

"The Department of the Interior has been working in harmony and cooperation. The constabulary has maintained high efficiency and has the confidence of the people.

"There will be an increase in the public revenues

Title of accounts and funds	Total	Stocks				
		Philippine National Bank	Bank of the Philippine Islands	Manila Railroad Company	National Coal Company	Nat. Devel. Cor.
General fund.....	₱59,168,107.46	₱30,753,400.00		₱14,127,000.00	₱2,997,600.00	₱4,950,000.00
Manila sewer and waterworks bonds sinking fund, Act No. 1323.....	2,881,527.50		₱114,950.00			
Public works bonds sinking fund, Act No. 2425.....	3,199,973.88	833,300.00				
Friar lands bonds sinking fund, Acts Nos. 1749, 2550 and 2592.....	5,276,468.90	833,300.00				
Cebu waterworks bonds sinking fund, Act No. 2009.....	14,000.00					
Manila Railroad purchase bonds sinking fund, Act No. 2675.....	250,300.00					
Land title assurance fund, Act No. 496.....	67,297.60		1,600.00			
Fidelity bond premium fund, sections 313 to 335, Act No. 2711.....	45,000.00					
Purchase of the Manila Railroad Company's stock, Act No. 2574.....	8,000,000.00			8,000,000.00		
Totals, December 31, 1922.....	78,902,675.34	32,420,000.00	116,550.00	22,127,000.00	2,997,600.00	4,950,000.00
Totals, December 31, 1921.....	78,596,643.08	32,420,000.00	116,550.00	22,127,000.00	2,960,900.00	3,600,000.00
Increase (+) or decrease (-).....	+306,032.26				+36,700.00	+1,350,000.00

INVESTMENTS

Table of investments, December 31, 1922

National Development Company	Time deposits	Friar lands	Public works	Manila sewer and waterworks	Bonds					City of Manila	Liberty Loan	Loans	
					Philippine Railway Com- pany, First Mortgage	Manila Rail- way Company, first mortgage	Manila Rail- road purchase	Manila Hotel Company	Povincial and Municipal			Unconverted agricultural bank	
10,000.00	₱854,000.00	₱4,000.00	₱146,000.00	₱940,000.00	₱328,000.00	₱41,522.50	₱70,000.00		₱5,500,000.00		₱603,540.00	₱236,567.46	
		410,000.00	276,000.00		172,000.00						379,055.00		
			80,000.00		1,293,300.00						1,508,763.88		
				14,000.00							2,549,868.90		
											250,300.00		
	28,105.00			20,000.00							₱983.60		
	45,000.00												
50,000.00	927,105.00	414,000.00	502,000.00	978,000.00	1,793,300.00	58,131.50	70,000.00	520,000.00	5,500,000.00	983.60	5,291,437.78	236,567.46	
100,000.00	927,105.00	410,000.00	468,000.00	796,000.00	1,793,300.00	58,131.50		600,000.00	5,500,000.00	51,618.44	6,603,198.45	164,839.69	
50,000.00		+4,000.00	+34,000.00	+182,000.00			+70,000.00	-80,000.00		-50,634.84	-1,311,760.67	+71,727.77	

for 1924, approximating 2,600,000. This will just meet the expenses of the government.

"The National Bank, a creation of the Legislature is operating practically, without cash or liquid reserves, its principal assets being long time "frozen" investments. The purpose of the creation of the bank was a worthy one. It has been badly managed. As the government owns 92% of the stock, the legislature should take steps to put the bank on a secure foundation.

"In the administration of justice more cases have been disposed of than in previous years. The penal establishments at Iwahig and San Ramon continue in efficient operation and are doing good service in restoring many convicts to the ranks of useful citizens.

"In the Department of Agriculture much has been done to rid the Islands of locust infestations and reuderpest.

"Measures should be taken to encourage the investments of outside capital, in the development of the Philippine resources; there should be a modification of inter-island shipping laws to encourage the building up of inter-island shipping.

"The Department of Commerce and Communication reports a steady improvement in wireless and telegraphic communications. The Islands should have a radio broad-

RESOURCES AND LIABILITIES OF ALL BANKS AND TRUST COMPANIES IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

RESOURCES

	JUNE 30									
	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1913	1914	1915
Loans and discounts.....	₱7,788,673.26	₱8,258,735.85	₱6,270,211.87	₱7,799,633.63	₱7,415,454.04	₱11,262,039.79	₱11,653,880.07	₱9,591,993.41	₱9,387,878.04	₱9,393,27
Overdrafts.....	10,869,079.63	11,536,128.65	11,446,194.87	14,019,037.37	18,189,289.22	23,922,392.39	24,503,305.11	24,375,639.62	26,971,309.13	29,690,56
Stocks, securities, etc.....	98,642.67	825,618.72	841,157.01	1,399,241.06	1,691,840.91	1,475,174.61	1,450,364.03	1,559,623.03	1,431,600.48	1,166,63
Banking house, furniture and fixtures.....	169,681.46	168,320.26	171,768.02	260,067.77	264,966.74	283,617.34	305,113.02	317,479.70	320,772.18	323,27
Other real estate and mortgages owned.....	528,214.85	581,176.72	587,459.27	692,686.92	536,023.69	496,497.32	334,192.52	312,504.87	298,769.93	258,93
Due from head office and branches.....	3,031,296.22	4,619,379.63	6,999,248.60	9,055,852.84	7,634,322.79	15,742,108.77	11,776,096.68	10,859,558.64	10,968,582.05	10,736,53
Due from other banks.....	153,111.67	324,577.67	256,208.80	277,054.16	466,639.32	604,123.16	497,997.15	365,771.39	426,153.70	451,89
Due from agents and correspondents.....	654,730.81	615,327.80	550,346.18	1,672,982.63	2,153,702.57	3,568,660.99	1,755,902.16	1,317,842.48	1,267,428.84	1,653,89
Bills of exchange.....	1,055,238.04	1,859,618.19	1,521,157.30	2,513,254.89	3,176,654.69	5,637,251.16	5,830,284.07	7,259,178.99	4,909,353.21	6,861,12
Cash on hand.....	8,447,611.91	5,173,580.27	6,911,856.66	6,972,773.33	6,248,295.92	6,747,441.18	7,250,525.11	6,466,001.75	8,197,658.93	8,338,67
Checks and other cash items.....	119,800.94	112,518.54	90,345.94	128,249.12	36,987.60	207,590.54	183,473.51	146,649.44	452,108.22	206,77
Profit and loss account.....	51,835.80	12,967.34	27,079.87	19,039.54	281,224.78	315,443.40	376,538.75	340,824.51	892,192.69	304,75
Resources other than those above.....	1,136,798.04	820,478.39	603,796.72	903,037.19	1,019,991.45	1,509,115.05	1,485,520.77	832,861.39	1,116,059.54	2,156,52
Total.....	34,104,715.30	34,908,427.85	36,276,831.11	45,712,910.45	49,115,393.72	71,771,455.70	67,403,192.95	63,745,929.22	66,639,866.94	71,542,86

LIABILITIES

Capital stock.....	₱2,500,000.00	₱2,564,400.00	₱2,739,000.00	₱2,892,800.00	₱4,000,000.00	₱5,500,000.00	₱5,500,000.00	₱5,500,000.00	₱5,500,000.00	₱5,500,00
Reserve fund.....	2,573,836.16	2,351,481.78	1,654,279.67	1,644,059.86	2,310,506.31	2,317,902.60	3,014,274.28	2,261,639.99	2,404,016.16	2,881,67
Undivided profits.....	275,596.20	264,000.00	311,500.00	253,650.01	253,700.00	312,800.00	382,500.00	4,898.27	3,84
Bank notes in circulation.....	1,459,265.00	1,565,295.00	1,798,766.50	2,038,772.12	3,300,348.76	5,381,877.50	5,433,519.80	5,310,695.00	5,404,871.27	5,304,13
Due to head office and branches.....	9,079,617.76	6,930,157.67	6,312,761.12	10,857,477.76	11,179,611.42	23,526,541.54	21,828,754.33	18,793,481.79	19,726,000.23	20,832,49
Due to other banks.....	184,070.33	324,577.49	256,208.80	277,054.16	538,388.09	667,565.37	559,331.27	365,187.84	431,938.65	497,31
Due to agents and correspondents.....	69,597.72	574,789.38	245,441.29	162,474.27	110,002.83	176,744.27	73,647.20	195,657.94	76,442.11	357,08
Dividends due and unpaid.....	66,514.54	67,043.50	63,944.50	96,449.50	151,659.50	1,635.50	227,420.50	227,115.50	226,905.50	226,65
Demand deposits.....	283,872.66	298,239.92	145,006.50	189,638.42	119,358.27	182,309.85	112,995.89	50,832.72	90,863.70	83,364
Time deposits.....	6,078,759.94	8,568,823.13	5,573,502.49	6,311,463.31	10,349,317.98	10,127,432.50	12,015,607.66	14,370,101.29	11,468,664.29	15,042,15
Savings deposits.....	566,596.04	541,078.51	668,071.28	841,128.69	909,746.97	974,522.25	1,098,646.41	1,166,072.66	1,275,489.72	1,157,38
Current accounts.....	10,252,513.06	9,990,304.05	14,783,381.33	18,191,008.18	14,434,010.49	18,704,471.37	15,025,675.38	13,057,169.76	16,600,369.46	15,615,96
Bills payable:										
Domestic.....	11,963.31	17,786.62	22,682.10	12,280.48	8,043.37	13,381.24	82,087.09	35,484.07	12,069.59	14,58
Foreign.....	15,340.74	16,701.42	468,207.66	22,902.27	21,921.69	83,948.41	57,110.42	69,077.98	42,468.81	86,25
Cashier's checks outstanding.....	91,770.75	73,615.15	70,417.81	36,729.63	212,909.54	156,109.22	92,058.01	49,754.61	497,016.17	66,35
Certified checks.....	236,097.35	318,208.12	335,175.41	276,454.67	333,940.71	241,280.85	254,248.87	152,610.29	328,195.89	291,87
Profit and loss account.....	12,695.10	9,043.67	226,949.13	232,070.15	338,366.57	589,391.92	415,421.23	435,710.16	772,467.18	979,30
Suspense account.....	280,835.81	431,937.38	381,189.57	2,080.08	188,935.97	243,124.71	75,189.75	137,999.20	2,114.67	2,50
Liabilities other than those above.....	65,772.83	264,945.06	267,845.95	1,316,566.90	354,675.24	2,624,516.60	1,224,404.86	1,184,836.42	1,775,074.73	2,599,90
Total.....	34,104,715.30	34,908,427.85	36,276,831.11	45,712,910.45	49,115,393.72	71,771,455.70	67,403,192.95	65,745,929.22	66,639,866.94	71,542,86

T THE CLOSE OF EACH FISCAL YEAR INDICATED

DECEMBER 31							(+) Increase or (-) decrease over previous year.	
1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922		
03	¥21,585,237.07	¥52,871,372.23	¥73,565,065.69	¥95,247,721.75	¥116,023,840.77	¥131,507,519.23	¥149,717,446.34	+ 18,209,927.11
61	27,213,950.87	30,535,890.84	64,110,967.58	99,068,758.49	103,547,008.63	70,753,659.00	45,609,527.02	- 25,144,131.98
20	2,895,946.70	6,539,382.02	9,326,664.42	9,959,934.17	15,961,455.96	10,407,807.71	9,519,138.74	- 888,668.97
60	568,010.27	559,074.52	802,749.20	1,025,851.27	1,678,404.25	1,915,882.94	2,242,124.56	+ 326,241.62
30	151,160.60	386,260.36	62,000.00		63,000.00	650,370.70	4,613,756.36	+ 3,963,385.66
12	8,173,980.64	37,572,099.61	60,360,366.25	51,439,161.37	77,891,233.76	67,650,247.94	40,458,548.22	- 27,191,699.72
86	9,084,581.90	2,102,618.43	7,304,350.85	10,735,815.95	8,190,615.55	2,862,073.45	3,850,497.85	+ 988,424.40
47	25,479,720.49	46,674,293.48	39,581,578.17	17,968,917.82	9,626,100.56	6,407,068.17	5,323,481.87	- 1,083,586.30
44	9,595,006.99	23,955,954.73	62,244,065.45	20,760,347.10	42,506,966.04	19,497,052.90	15,747,963.69	- 3,749,089.21
55	9,986,867.32	10,104,111.39	16,763,944.38	19,421,109.49	12,219,668.36	15,915,519.50	14,968,281.97	- 947,237.53
25	700,579.07	2,494,008.50	2,491,776.35	3,356,278.21	1,606,297.03	1,011,652.80	1,533,338.05	+ 521,685.25
22	337,244.34	350,804.87	485,305.28	3,108,398.94	4,146,118.06	7,877,757.61	23,881,482.02	+ 16,003,724.41
34	6,181,868.04	25,101,855.46	62,709,108.36	22,495,426.15	37,944,368.03	44,046,038.19	8,737,874.49	- 35,308,163.70
99	121,954,154.30	239,247,726.44	399,807,941.98	354,587,720.71	431,405,077.00	380,502,650.14	326,203,461.18	- 54,299,188.96
00	¥10,396,420.00	¥12,568,765.80	¥14,955,358.99	¥19,747,468.99	¥23,093,289.58	¥49,393,814.02	¥48,695,900.00	- 697,914.02
64	1,930,321.28	4,121,763.66	5,826,836.38	8,215,710.24	12,151,752.87	12,007,372.80	5,119,795.17	- 6,887,577.63
70	369,336.73	160,042.90	1,299,611.92	4,573,064.06	5,334,932.67	477,325.77	38,566.86	- 438,758.91
00	5,841,327.50	10,137,357.50	10,370,212.15	23,015,706.10	33,368,941.95	42,237,751.75	41,391,580.20	- 846,171.55
76	12,461,940.86	41,001,549.72	65,884,711.37	64,427,846.53	102,758,668.25	90,812,907.10	69,386,521.23	- 21,426,385.87
58	1,725,766.44	4,376,273.40	4,017,490.27	6,390,119.73	4,630,628.29	2,291,345.60	2,091,165.95	- 200,179.65
77	429,508.77	2,167,407.30	1,992,599.93	3,584,297.32	10,602,444.67	4,916,581.29	2,823,687.96	- 2,092,893.33
50	316,265.50	786,165.40	1,007,907.76	1,236,732.53	1,444,989.25	103,159.93	2,683.03	- 100,476.90
95	326,664.20	60,326.05	197,562.55	76,166,917.59	100,912,437.41	46,967,893.24	6,092,342.10	- 40,875,551.14
63	52,137,881.74	96,751,432.30	109,701,909.37	34,189,315.05	31,751,092.93	26,151,620.77	62,063,046.82	+ 35,911,426.05
12	4,503,170.71	1,591,825.29	1,611,696.36	8,473,466.35	16,716,020.65	16,359,041.52	13,296,857.43	- 3,062,184.09
79	22,798,299.91	41,690,374.89	126,348,301.90	83,378,981.89	48,606,032.68	54,719,023.85	52,821,970.01	- 1,897,053.84
26	124,621.24	4,218.03	6,856.24	41,982.89	31,428.43	119,765.78	7,348,385.96	+ 7,228,620.18
05	59,624.37	131,389.80	113,037.09	193,673.82	129,635.43	224,592.62	336,032.20	+ 111,439.58
22	217,542.67	462,337.60	1,193,088.75	951,832.74	1,862,153.07	939,336.59	398,970.73	- 540,365.86
92	156,793.19	406,765.28	401,817.61	646,718.75	132,803.71	104,978.38	670,616.69	+ 565,638.31
52	889,007.51	1,162,413.69	1,272,677.61	2,354,859.42	6,334,254.27	7,613,171.60	1,506,626.31	- 6,106,545.29
93	2,257,770.74	658,680.81	98,809.08	410,822.63	93,612.91		185,704.19	+ 185,704.19
65	5,011,891.70	21,008,637.02	53,507,456.65	16,588,204.08	31,449,957.98	25,062,967.53	11,933,008.34	- 13,129,959.19
99	121,954,154.30	239,247,726.44	399,807,941.98	354,587,720.71	431,405,077.00	380,502,650.14	326,203,461.18	- 54,299,188.98

casting station.

"The population has increased from

7,635,426 in 1903 to
10,768,323 in 1922.

The value of exports jumped from
113,305,384 in 1919 to
128,223,201 in 1922. This was to the United States
alone.

In transportation

5,875.5 miles of roads and bridges 1918.
6,241.2 " " " " " 1922.
8,341 automobiles in 1920.
9,888 " " 1922. " (1)

The charts included in the chapters will bring out in a much
better way the improvements.

Does this sound in any measure like Spanish Ad-
ministration?

Yet it is claimed that we **have** denied them free-
dom, that after over 25 years of American control peace
has not yet been established, "that it is a crime to even
attempt to Americanize the Filipino." (2) "That the is-
lands are a source of expense and trouble to American
people and our occupation has been injurious to native
inhabitants." (3)

(1)--Statistical Bulletin for 1922.

(2)--"America's Duty to Filipino". Schurman. Page 2.

(3)--"Our Phil. Problem". Willis. Page 440.

There is constant opposition to Wood's appointments. We have failed to silence that demand for independence. Because President Coolidge failed to recognize or advocate independence recently, brought out this comment. "President Coolidge has no sympathy for Filipino aspirations, which by resolutions in Congress, the American people have pledged themselves to fulfill and see realized. His mind is essentially that of a Tory of Tories, a mind which has never grasped the simple truth of an immortal American document, which declared 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.'" (4)

That the Filipino claims that the administration of Wood is legal, arbitrary and undemocratic. Still Coolidge steadily backs Wood's policy.

The reason for our continued control is as follows. The Filipino is still considered incapable, by nature, of complete self control, and he is irresponsible in financial matters. He is said by many, to consider a public office once secured to be his own private property. The independence demands, according to authorities, are made only by a minority party, that once in control, there is no proof or reason to believe that it would continue the wise control of the United States.

(4)--Quoted from Sacramento Bee, in March.

Quezon, leader favoring independence says, "The Filipino would rather have a government run like hell by Filipinos than one run like heaven by strangers."

From the financial point of view the Philippines have been expensive not only to the Filipinos but to the people of the United States. Yet the advantage of American control is great for "The navies of the United States protect the integrity of the Philippine Archipelago. The American government means freedom of opportunity. There is no honorable pursuit calling or walk of life under heaven in which the Filipino will not find his endeavors encouraged and his success appreciated."(5)

"American opportunities in the Philippines are enormous; rubber, sugar, iron, and other industries are only waiting development."(6)

Internationally our control is needed. The great danger to the peace of the East is the political incompetency of China. If we added the political incompetency of the Philippines we should have gone far in undermining the work of the Washington Conference.(7)

The future of the Filipinos depends first of all on the Jones Bill. It constitutes a Bill of Rights. We

 (5)--"A History of the Philippines" by Barrows. Page 319.

(6)--Boston Transcript, Feb. 26, Cyrus Wood's views on Shanghai.

(7)--Feb. 1924. World's Work--Daniel Williams.

will grant independence when we believe they are capable and ready for it. This may mean a year, a century, or we may never believe they are ready for it.

The question of Americanization of the Filipino is one which the future must solve. As yet we haven't been successful. The present plan on the part of the Filipino to boycott American goods, and thus to force the business interests of the United States as affected to take up their plea for independence is an interesting light on Filipino character.

Such a policy, were it at all possible, and tariff regulations prevent its effectiveness, would probably interest a few Americans in the Philippine situation. In that respect it would be worthy, for Americans need to be educated to an interest in what American control really means. Today the ordinary public is ignorant of the questions involved and in all probability will continue to be indifferent and disinterested.

In any case, success depends on the attitude of the Filipino people and the attitude of Americans toward the Filipino. The coming of the Americans to the islands can only be for the advantage of the Filipino and his future.

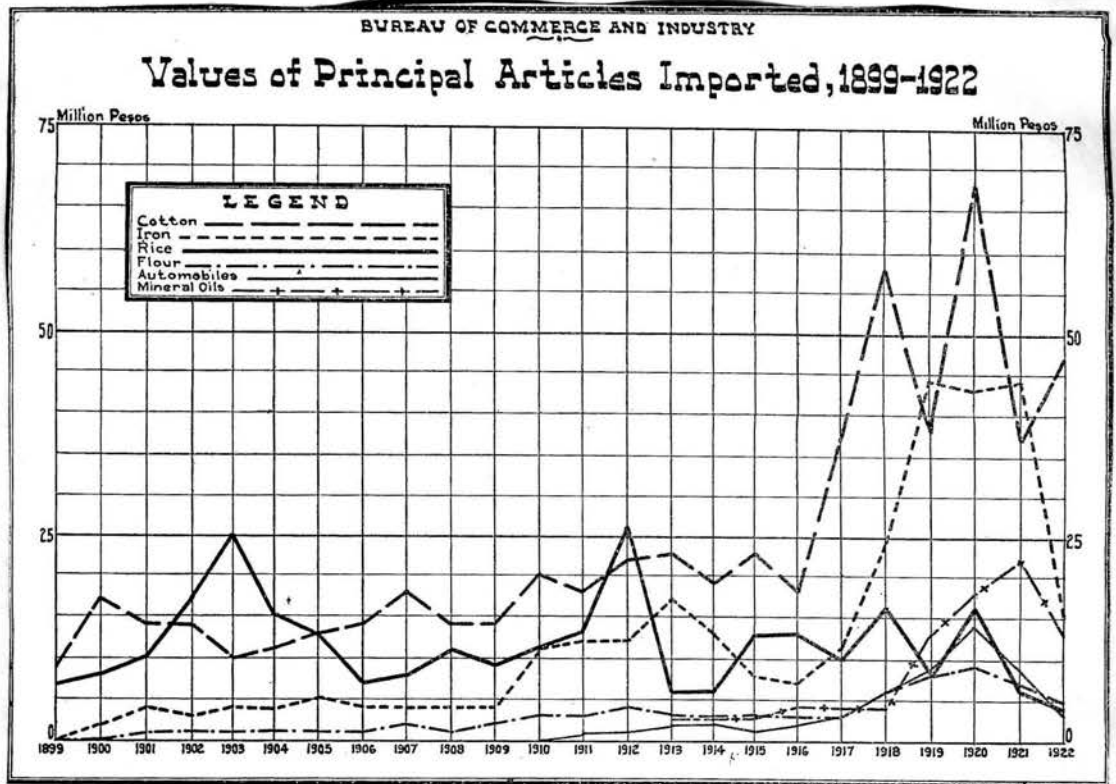


PLATE IX

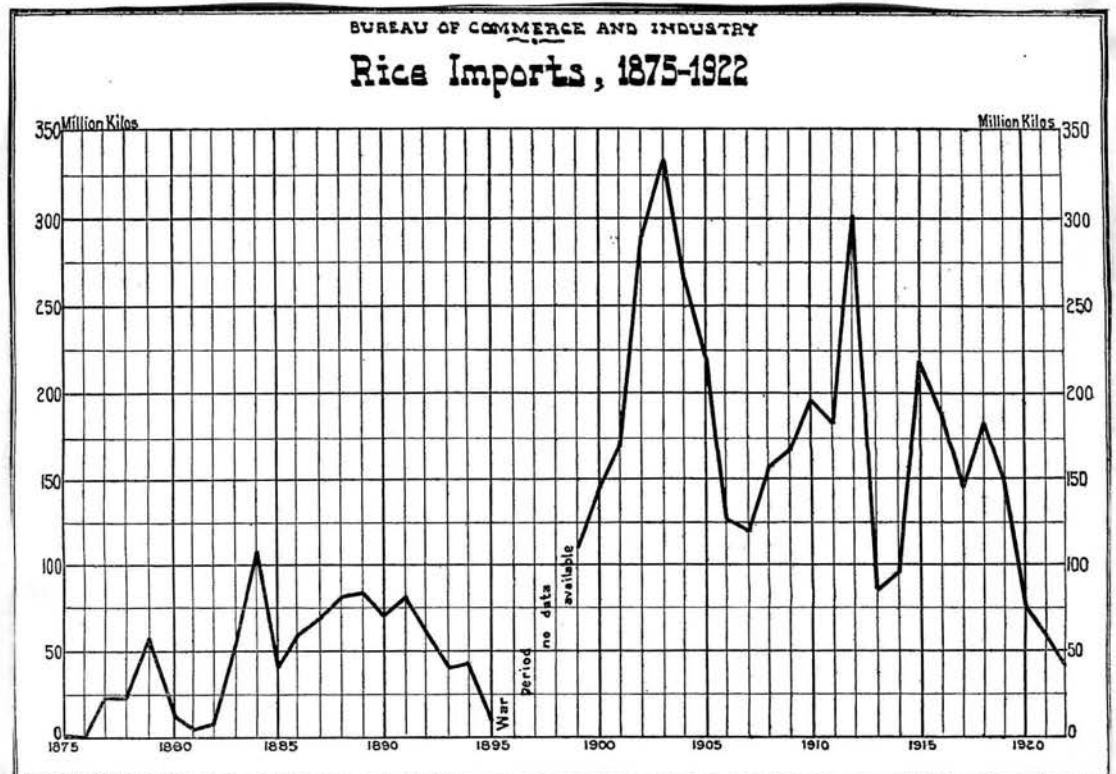
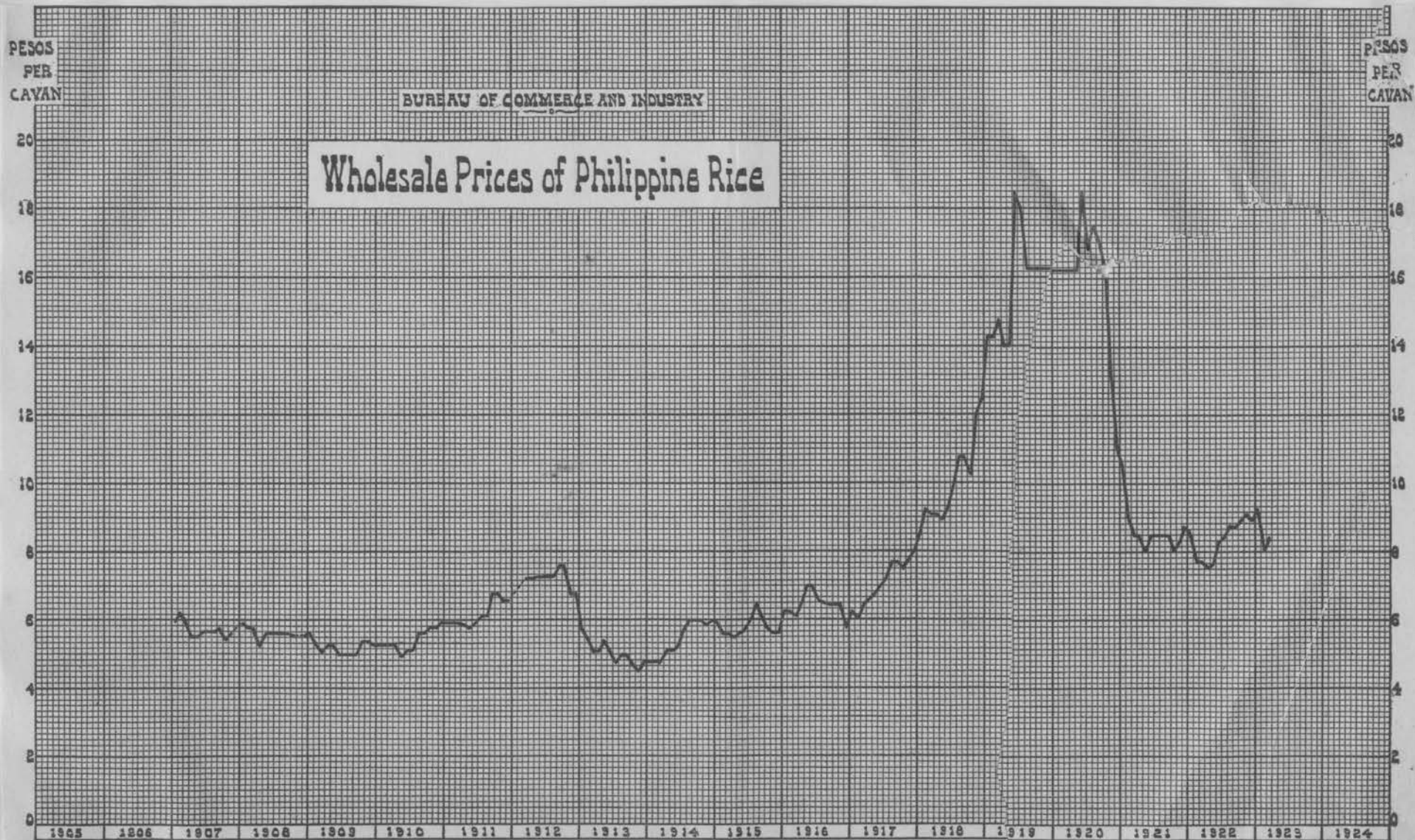
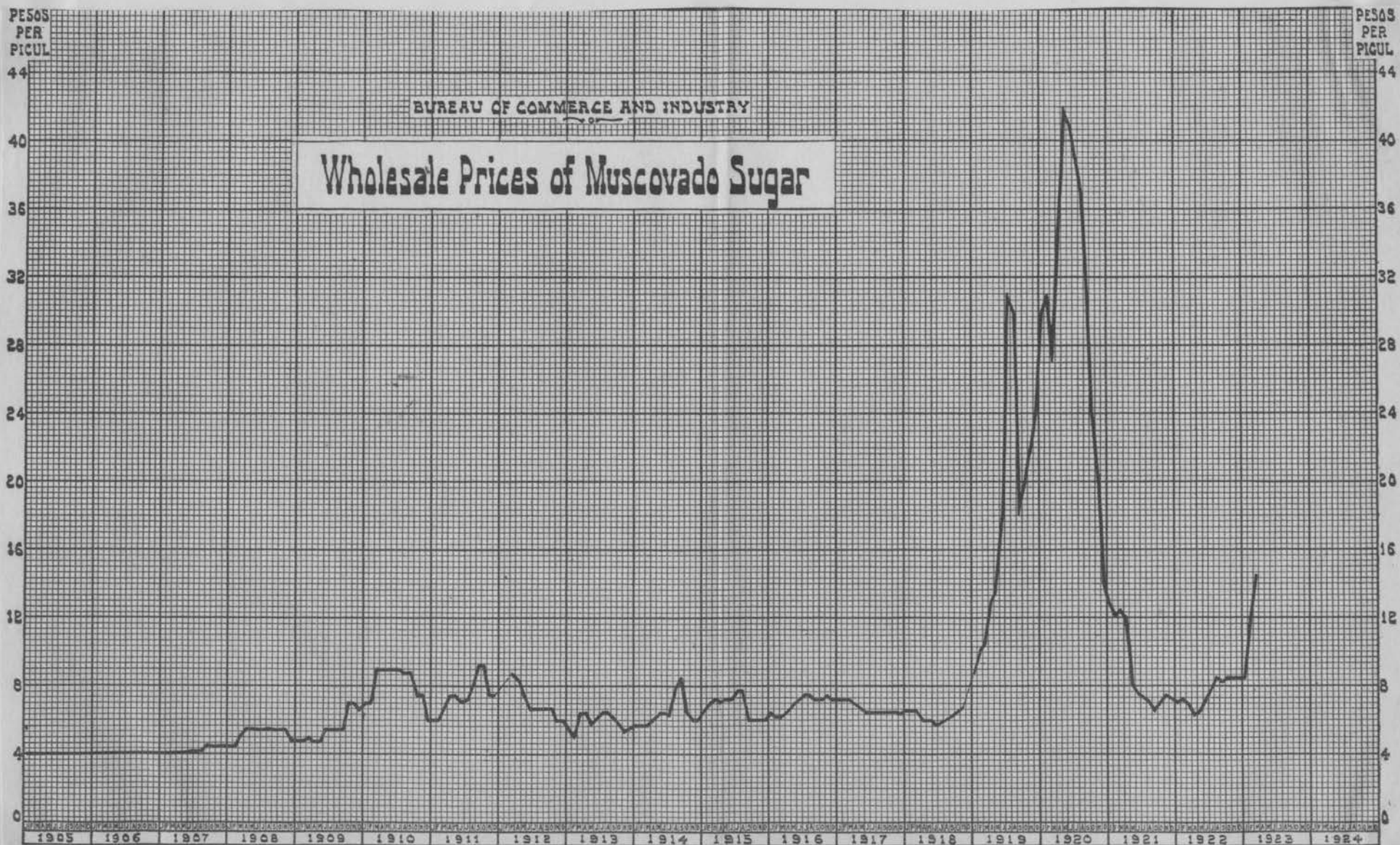


PLATE X



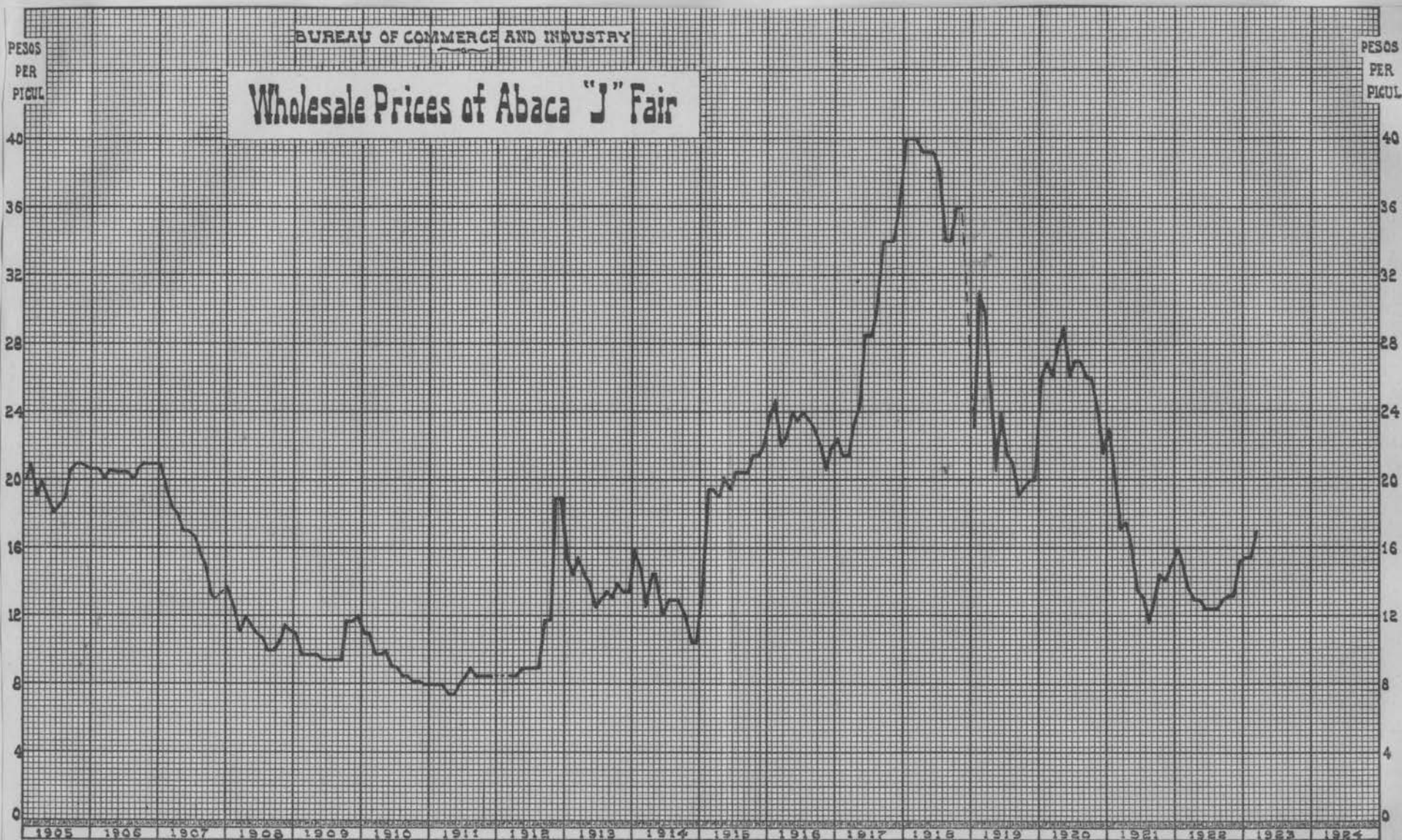
NOTE.—From 1916 to 1923, the curve represents Maximum prices



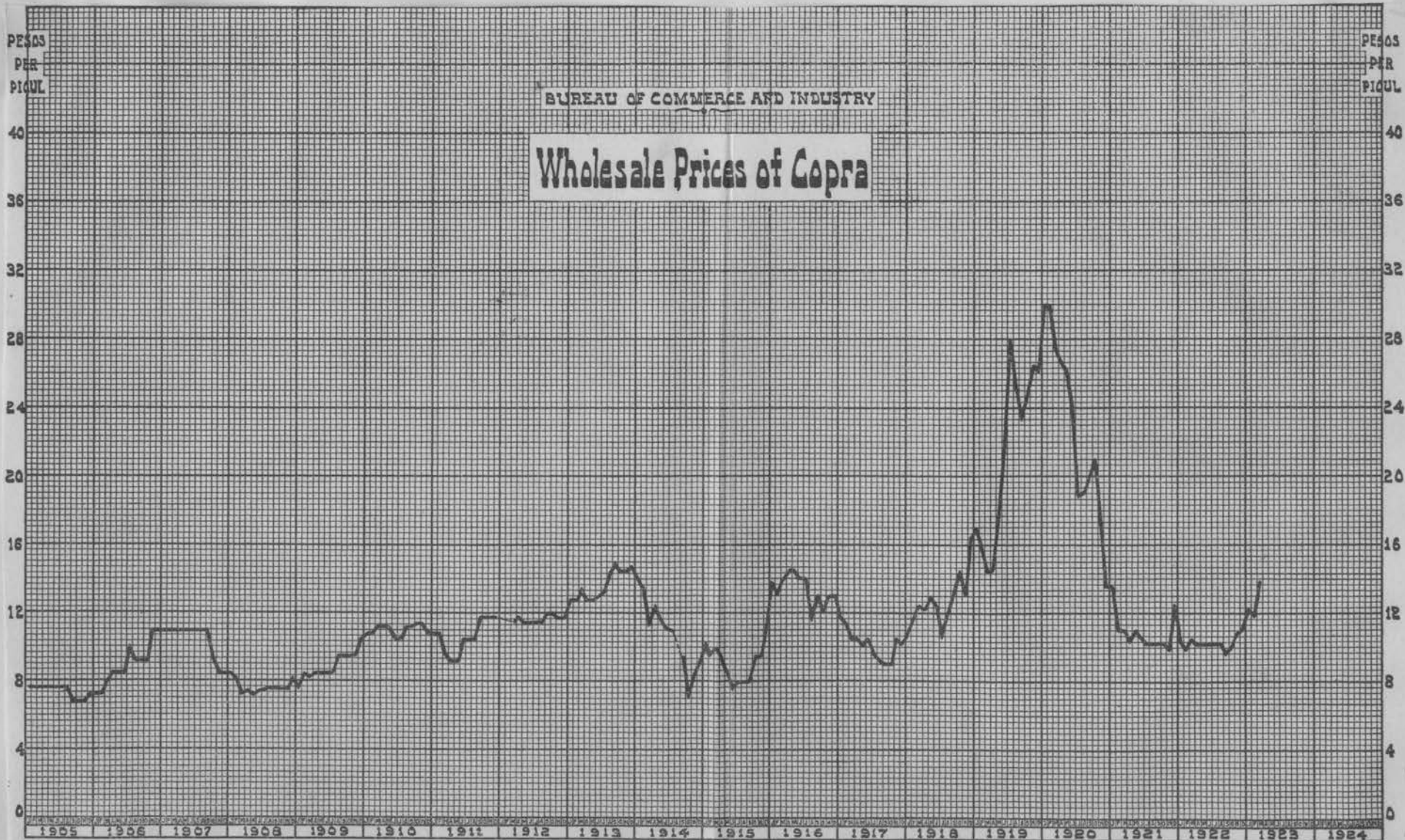
NOTE.—From 1916 to 1923, the curve represents Maximum prices

BUREAU OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Wholesale Prices of Abaca "J" Fair



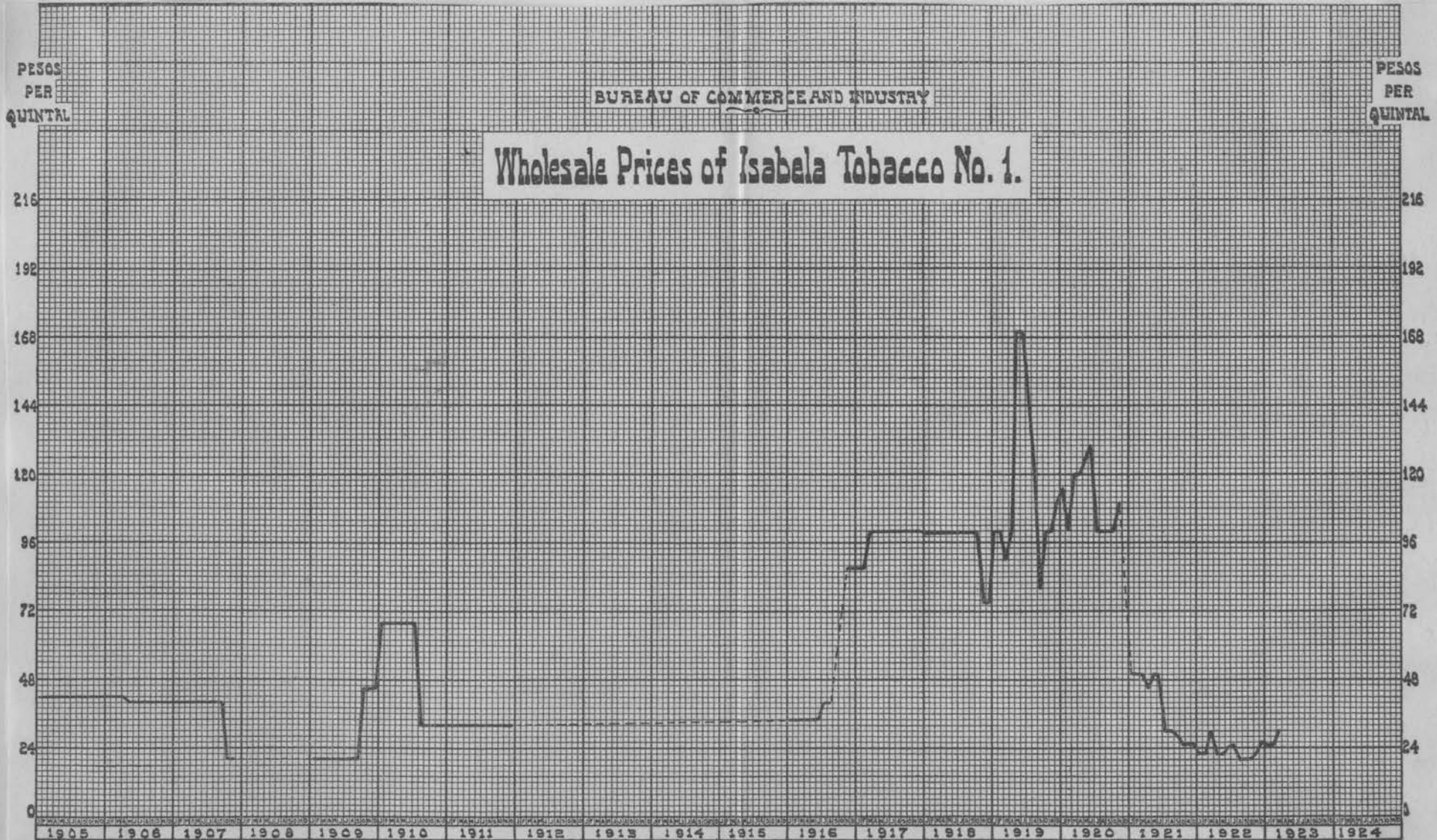
NOTE.—From 1916 to 1923, the curve represents Maximum prices



NOTE.—From 1916 to 1923, the curve represents Maximum prices

BUREAU OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Wholesale Prices of Isabela Tobacco No. 1.



NOTE.—From 1916 to 1923, the curve represents Maximum prices

SUMMARY

The first chapter treats of the results of the Spanish American War and what the problems of acquisition of the Philippines meant to the United States. How we were dependent on the example of other countries for the experiment which we decided to make in the Philippines, the consideration we had to bear in mind of the experience of these people and how the election of 1900 in the United States was interpreted as meaning the continuation of the Imperialistic policy as it was called.

The next step involves a brief discussion of the history of the islands, the results of the various and frequently short periods of control by other countries. Here it is necessary to show the defects which resulted from Spanish rule and the value of such an inheritance to the Filipino.

Chapter three takes up the four logical steps of American administration showing our tendency toward gradual growth of governmental control by the Filipino when it was felt he was ready for it. This chapter considers the present situation of Wood and attempts to show the advantages of American control and our aim for each period.

The fourth discussion is a comparison of the English colonial government and the Philippine organization, contrasting all possible departments and including the inheritance and tendency of both colonies. The result is that the likenesses are many, especially in the position of the Governor General with an emphasis on the greater power of the Governor General.

All in all there have been decided advantages from American control though the Jones Act is a deciding feature for the future independence demands of the Filipinos. The need is one of educating the Americans to the situation as well as one of educating the Filipino in the art of self government.

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COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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I have read Miss Hazen's thesis, and approve it for
degree credit.

Ralph V. Harlow
First Reader

OK A. W. L. L. L.