

FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

Interviews with Manuel Quezon, President of the
Philippine Senate; Sergio Osmena, Senator and
ex-Speaker of the Philippine Lower House,
and Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood, Gov-
ernor General of the Philippines.

By

EDWARD PRICE BELL

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To Mr. Edward Price Bell
With kind regards

Maurice J. *A. Calvache*

CAS. JERONIMO, 46.
MADRID.

FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES

I.

QUEZON ON FILIPINO SELF-RULE.

"You want complete and immediate independence for the Philippines?" I remarked to President Manuel L. Quezon of the Philippine senate, perhaps the most influential Filipino leader at the present time.

"Yes," was the reply.

"You see no danger to the Philippines or the peace of the Pacific and the world in a withdrawal of the United States from the archipelago and its waters?"

"None. On the contrary, I think untrammelled statehood for the Philippines would reinforce peace influences in the Pacific and elsewhere."

"You should expect no aggression against the islands from any source?"

"Not from any source. When people talk about warlike movements against a free Philippines, they have in mind just one nation. They do not mean Russia or China or France or England. They mean Japan. Let us, therefore, consider the question of what Japan might be expected to do if the Philippines were liberated and left to their own resources. I will say at once that Japan, in my opinion, would not dream of any hostile act toward us and I will explain why I think so.

Japan's Peaceful Purposes.

"In the first place, I believe Japan to be nonaggressive. I believe both her heart and her mind urge her to international peace. I am convinced she sees no profit, only universal disaster, in war. Japan will fight, if I understand her, only to preserve her national security and to defend those rights and interests which seem to her indispensable to her liberty and life. Such rights and interests do not beckon her far afield; they lie within the circumference of her natural and legitimate position in the far east.

"But, for the sake of argument, let us suppose that Japan is not peaceful,

but warlike. Even then the Philippines would be of very little use, if any, to her unless she contemplated hostile operations against the United States or Australia, and every student of Japanese feeling, thought and policy knows she contemplates no such thing. Were it otherwise—were her instincts and ambitions really running in the direction of expansion by conquest—how could she embark upon such a course? Let us indulge in the fantastic conjecture that she desires to attack the peaceful country of the United States.

If Japan Should Attack America.

"Let us forget the frightful devastation of the earthquake of 1923. Let us forget Japan's financial, industrial and social difficulties and the burdens that closely contiguous foreign problems place upon her statesmanship. Let us put all these things out of mind and assume that the Asiatic island empire wants to go to war with the American republic, the richest and most powerful country in the world. Japan could not strike from the Philippines; at the very least she would need Hawaii, and who does not realize that even so her enterprise would be desperate? The thought that Japan may some day want to attack the United States is to every sane mind too preposterous for even hypothetical discussion.

"As for Australia, Japan knows that any war or attack upon that country would raise against her—on the instant and with all their wealth, armament and indomitable fighting spirit—the combined nations of the Anglo-Saxon world.

If Japan Should Seize the Philippines.

"Very well, then. If Japan does not want the Philippines as a stepping stone to conquest, would she want these islands as a defensive base? I can conceive of no principle of strat-

LETTER AUTHORIZING QUEZON INTERVIEW.



SENADO DE FILIPINAS
OFICINA DEL PRESIDENTE
MANILA

July 3, 1925.

My dear Mr. Bell:

I have gone over the article which you prepared for publication in the Chicago Daily News, covering our interview on the Philippine question and other problems of the Pacific. I find my views fairly portrayed therein and I am pleased to authorize you to make such use of the article as you may deem best.

With every good wish for you and your great newspaper, I am

Yours cordially,

Manuel A. Quezon

Mr. Edward Price Bell,
Manila Hotel, Manila.

egy that would cause her to covet them for such a purpose. It is obvious, indeed, that possession of the Philippines would be a source of weakness, not of strength, to the Japanese, if they were attacked. They have Formosa and Formosa is in the right line for their defense and nearer home. If Japan were attacked, she would not scatter her forces; she would concentrate them. If she had naval craft in Philippine waters, she quickly would withdraw them to the support of her main fleet.

"If the United States removed its authority and its fighting forces from the Philippines, neither Japan nor any other power would molest us. If Japan moved against us, whether America did or did not call upon her to halt, Britain would call upon her to halt and compel her to halt. Australia's cry easily would reach to Downing street and it would be augmented by the cry of every British possession in Asia. Britain would threaten Japan, not from British home waters, but from Singapore and Hongkong, and if Japan had naval or military contingents here or on their way hither she speedily would recall them to her vital defensive lines. Surveying the whole horizon of possibilities, I can discern no presage of an attempted seizure of this archipelago as a result of an American withdrawal.

Japanese Dislike the Tropics.

"On the economic side also there is an utter absence of incentive to Japan to incur the reprobation of the world by interfering with the freedom of the Philippines. Japan does not want the Philippines for her people. The Japanese are not a tropical people. They are a people of the temperate zones. Their whole organic and temperamental adaptation is to a climate different from that of our latitude. If they do not like weather too cold—as they do not—neither do they like the meteorology of the tropics. Japanese die here in great numbers. We once had some 15,000. They came to work in the hemp fields. Probably

not more than 5,000 are left. In all the centuries of the past, before Spain came, during her 330 years here and since she went away, no considerable body of Japanese ever availed itself of its liberty to enter the Philippines at its own will.

"Why, then, anticipate at this time an emigratory flood of Japanese in this direction? They will not come. Nor has Japan anything to gain by seeking a preferential industrial or commercial position in the Philippines. Efforts of that kind would run directly counter to her interests, and she knows it, for Japan has an enlightened people and leadership in these days.

Oriental Who Are "Possessed."

"What she wants in this group of islands is what she wants on the mainland of Asia—the open door. It promises her more than anything else. 'Open door' means equality of opportunity to all states, big and little, and under the ægis of this principle Japan not only keeps the good will of the world, but enjoys all the material advantages appertaining to her geographical position relative to the Philippines and the entire far east."

"What would be the repercussion of Philippine emancipation in British, French and Dutch possessions in Asia?"

Mr. Quezon smiled a somewhat wry smile.

"Naturally," said he, "every vindication of the rights of man stimulates all who are struggling for the rights of man. Peoples do not like to be 'possessed.' They long to be free. Freedom in this archipelago, I have no doubt, would be welcomed by and would give encouragement to all Asiatics and others under alien rule. I should not be surprised if Britain, France and Holland would be pleased to see the American flag continue to fly over these islands in perpetuity. But to those nations I will say a word in all friendship. It is this: What their subject peoples ultimately do will not be determined by anything which happens in the Philippines.

When Far Eastern Peoples Strike.

"What do I mean? I mean that when the millions of the Indies, of Java and Sumatra, and of China are ripe for freedom they will take their freedom regardless of what the muse of history shall have meted out to the Philippines. If America elects to hold the Philippines she can hold them for all time, so far as we can see, because we Filipinos are numerically weak. But look at India! Four hundred millions of people! Forty millions in the Dutch islands—more than in unconquerable France! And China—her people are countless! When those peoples become nationally self-conscious, when they are unified and organized, no power on earth will be able to dominate them or retain so much as a toehold on their territory against their wills."

"How do you think Australasia would feel over the hauling down of the stars and stripes in the Philippines?"

"Very likely she would be alarmed. But I do not think her alarm would be justified in the smallest degree. White men in the south Pacific fear Japan. Their fear, I am sure, has no basis in fact. It is purely fanciful. But, as I have said, Japan would not dare, whatever might be her desire, to start upon a career of militaristic imperialism. She would not dare to trouble the Philippines and still less Australia or New Zealand.

When Colored Races Achieve Power.

"If America is defensively of importance to white civilization in the southern hemisphere—as she unquestionably is—it is not because she is in the Philippines. It is because of her tremendous, her almost measureless, strength at home, with its unmistakable implications."

"What do you expect to see if and when the Asiatic peoples shall have power commensurate with their numbers?"

"I expect to see the states of the world living together harmoniously on the basis of universal respect for their

several political and territorial rights."

"You do not expect that the colored races, by way of retaliation, will attempt to dominate white peoples?"

"I do not. International education is advancing. We are wise to-day in at least some things in which we were foolish yesterday. Our wisdom will increase with the years. Both practical knowledge and the humanities, in my judgment, are on the march against the ignorance and the inhumanity of which we have seen so much in history. It will be a century, if not more, before Asia can stand erect in the full majesty of a strength now only potential. By that time, let us hope, the moralities of the world, not armies and navies, will be the sheet anchor of its national liberties."

Fruits of Colonial Possessions.

"You think colonial possessions are mischievous?"

"I think they tend to breed war. It is a historical fact that they have bred war. They bred the world war. Germany came upon the international scene late. Earth's treasure grounds had been parceled out to her rivals. She wanted colonies. She felt that her greatness, actual and latent, demanded colonies. She was willing to fight for them. She fought and was crushed, but the world was terribly crippled in the process. Colonies are still with us and still a source of bitterness, unrest and possible war. Nations must give up the idea of seizure, of domination, of obtaining raw materials and trade anyhow, of force—nations must walk in the ways of humanity and justice—if they want peace."

"What is your estimate of America's contribution to Philippine development?"

"It has been a great contribution. America has been remarkable not only for what she has done but also for what she has not done affecting Filipino development. She had it in her power to practice in these islands the creed of the military despot, and she did not do so. She co-operated with us in our efforts to make the Philip-

pines a prosperous country. She promoted education, liberal and political. She fostered applied science. Economic and financial aid accompanied the Americans into the Philippines. All America did and all we did, as we consistently have been led to suppose, were predicated upon the theory that one day the Philippines would be free. We believe the day when they ought to be free has arrived."

Disadvantages of Alien Control.

"You think the Filipinos are able to maintain order and administer justice in the islands?"

"Decidedly so. What Filipino of any class or type could wish to see the American flag come down here, if he were able to believe that our civilization would come down with it—that we should have a welter of slaughter, villages on fire, people shelterless and hungry, a stricken country?"

"You do not believe in alien control, however benevolent?"

"No. Alien control and native progress to the maximum of native capacity are incompatible. For material and for moral reasons I am pleading for the independence of my country. It is arguable, and I consider it true, that mutual benefit may accrue for a time to a dominating country and the country dominated. There has been this time of mutual benefit as between America and the Philippines. But, in such a conjuncture, a stage is certain to be reached at which the dominating country begins to stand in the way of the interests, material and moral, of the country dominated.

Hampering Philippine Progress.

"Let us call America the most generous, as she is the most powerful, nation in the world. She always, none the less, must remain America. America must come first with Americans. American sovereignty must be inviolate. There must be no fiscal arrangements, no fixing of channels of commerce, not concordant with American interests, though such arrangements

or direction might promote Philippine interests. We claim the right on behalf of the people of the Philippines to consider their interests first, just as America has the right to consider American interests first. We want to make our own tariff laws and our own commercial treaties and do everything else belonging to national sovereignty exclusively with a view to what is best for the Filipinos.

"That is the material side of the matter. Now the moral side, in my opinion, is still more vital from the standpoint of the welfare of the Filipinos. As it is deadly to an individual to lack liberty, reasonable liberty, the liberty stopping only at the boundary of the liberty of others, so it is deadly for a nation to lack that liberty which stops only at the boundary of the liberty of other nations.

Learning Democracy by Its Practice.

"When we have our unfettered self-rule, I dare say we shall make mistakes, but in that respect we shall not be original or monopolistic. It is by our mistakes that we shall learn. America has aided us to learn much of the art of government, but we can master that art only by self-practice. In politics, as in law or medicine or music or painting, concrete achievement is not in the scholastic sphere, but only in the sphere of scholasticism applied. And, anyway, even in the United States and in England, democracy is still on its trial."

"It is better for the Philippines to be ill-governed by the Filipinos than well-governed by the Americans?"

"By the Americans or any other non-Filipinos."

"Have the diverse peoples of the islands, with their varied dialects, a recognizable psychic homogeneity—a national soul?"

"Indisputably. This national soul already has crystallized in striking national decisions—for independence, for joining America in the world war, against huge landed estates, against applying United States coastwise ship-

ping laws to the Philippines. Our people are politically keen and peculiarly democratic.

Filipinos' National Aspirations.

"There is not a barrio (city, town, village or rural district) without its political vigilance, interest and discussion. Ten per cent, over 1,000,000, of our people have the franchise and between 80 and 90 per cent of the registered electors go to the polls on election day. You speak of dialects. We have many. But our major dialects are only three—Tagalog, Bisaya and Ilokano—and whoever commands these can make himself understood in every part of the Philippines. All of our people speak one of these languages, which have an extensive printed literature.

"To regard the Filipino peoples as sentimentally and mentally diversified in proportion to their diversities of ethnography or religion or dialect is to misunderstand them completely. They all are Filipinos. They all have nationalistic emotions and aspirations. They are intelligent and proud and ambitious. Independence they know would mean equality of opportunity for Filipinos. Of a political or social caste depriving them of their liberties or otherwise wronging them they have no fear. Such reports they dismiss as contrary to their experience and knowledge. Have they not seen their humblest neighbors rise to positions of dignity and influence in the country? Do they not know that nearly all their leaders have been and are of the people?

Acceptance of Democratic Views.

"Take myself, for example. Holding the premier elective position in the Philippines, I am a farmer's son, born on the soil, born poor and without influential friends, reared in one of the remotest villages in these islands, compelled to climb over trackless mountains to come to college in Manila."

"So it will be mettle that will count in a free Philippines?"

"It will be mettle, just as it is mettle in the United States and in every other country where men are free."

"You say you are peculiarly democratic."

"We are so because we are unincumbered by monarchic or oligarchic traditions or institutional inheritances. We have nothing of that sort to destroy. Our ground upon which to erect a pure republic is clear."

"It is alleged that freedom of speech in the Philippines is suppressed—that the people fear their leaders."

"That word 'fear' should be changed to 'respect.' If respect be fear, then the Filipinos fear their leaders, as they have shown on many occasions.

Political Alertness of Filipinos.

"My advice to any honest inquirer who wishes to know whether free speech is or is not suppressed in these islands is to go out among the people and sound them on any of the burning questions of the hour. He will get their opinion without any trouble. And, if he be a Filipino politician, and venture to speak or vote against independence, he will discover on election day that while the Filipino people have no reason to fear and do not fear their leaders, their leaders have some reason to fear them. Public opinion in the Philippines is not only unsuppressed, but vocal and militant. We have two parties and they must be careful to learn what the people want. Our electors do not vote by ethnographic group nor by language or dialect nor according to their religion; they vote as their hearts and minds tell them is right and for the good of the country."

"One is told that an independent Filipino government would solve the Moro problem by stamping out the Moros."

"We practically governed the Moros during the seven years of the last administration and had no trouble with them, whereas whenever they have been governed by Americans there has been continual trouble with them.

Christian Filipinos and Moros.

"We naturally understand every element of our population better than can foreigners. We never have been guilty of persecuting the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines. We have been fair and generous to them in respect of education, roads, sanitation and everything else. From this practice there would be no departure under independence. We believe in educating all our people and promoting their prosperity and happiness in order that we may have a great and contented nation. As for the Filipino leaders, it should be plain to all thinking persons, in my opinion, that they can hope for a future only if their country has a future. They cannot build up fame, joy or even enduring material success upon the ruins of their fatherland."

"What do you think of the Mayo book on the Philippines?"

"Unilateral, extreme, grossly unfair, passionately dedicated to a particular obsession, destitute of validity as impartial criticism."

Material Side of the Question.

"Certain advocates of American annexation of the Philippines, among the points they make, state that 'we need them in our business'."

"Ah," remarked Mr. Quezon dryly, "that is not an ethical argument. That is the argument of the sugar. That is the argument of the sisal, the copra, the coconut oil, the tobacco, the rattan, the lumber, the pulp, the dye, the rubber. It is not the argument we expect to prove conclusive with the American people. But even this argument has no value because under an independent Philippines you may have our sugar, tobacco, copra, hemp and the rest."

"Opponents of independence describe your argument—the argument for independence—as 'doctrinaire'."

"Our argument is no more an argument of apriority than is that against independence. It is true we base our case, to some extent, upon principles, upon philosophy; but we base it to a

larger extent upon the general history of humanity and upon our own particular experience and knowledge. Our argument is a posteriori."

Validity of America's Title.

"It is argued that America's title to the Philippines is of triple validity, resting upon conquest, purchase and formal cession."

"Our reply is, first, that conquest is no moral justification for the seizure of a country and the deprivation of its inhabitants of liberty; and, secondly, that purchase is not valid when the seller has no right to sell, and cession not valid when the power enacting it is ceding what belongs to others."

"It is declared that no Malay people, of all the millions of Malays, ever created a nation."

"That is not true. About the thirteenth century there existed a Malay empire. But, not troubling to question the sweeping dictum concerning the political ineptitude of the Malay race, I should not regard this point as worthy of serious notice. If no Malay people in all the centuries yet has built up a free civilization of its own, I think it high time one were given a chance to try."

If Philippine Freedom Were Denied.

"What would happen in the islands if the congress of the United States declared the Philippines permanent American territory?"

"Our people would be profoundly disappointed and depressed. They also would be unutterably surprised. I do not think there would be an uprising, but the Philippine question would not be settled. It would live on as an embarrassment to Americans and Filipinos alike. You have promised us freedom. Our people are being educated for freedom. We Filipino leaders have assured the Filipino people that, if they bore themselves patiently and with dignity, if they strove to lift themselves up the United States undoubtedly would set them free. They believed us. Their faith

is unshaken to-day. To destroy their hopes would be immoral, illogical, inhuman and a blunder that history one day inevitably would put right.

Insuring Peace in the Pacific.

"Your great newspaper," concluded Mr. Quezon, placing emphasis on each word, "is endeavoring to clarify the problems of the Pacific. It is working for the peace of the Pacific and of the world. I should like to say through The Chicago Daily News that, in my judgment, the peace of the Pacific is in the hands of the United States of America. Japan, I repeat, will not fight America or any other nation except in self-defense. I believe American-Japanese relations would be improved by an American withdrawal from the Philippines—not that Japan would lift a finger to get America out and not that Japan fears American aggression based on these islands, but simply because her going would be interpreted in Japan as a magnanimous act and a definite assurance that the United States has no intention, now or forever, to use her unequaled power for purposes of material or moral domineering in the far east."

II.

OSMENA ON FILIPINO ACHIEVEMENT.

Sergio Osmena, long of great, if not decisive, weight in the public life of the Philippines—he held the speakership of the popular chamber continuously for fifteen years—will be 47 on Sept. 9, 1925. He is clean-cut in face and figure, morally earnest, intellectually acute and powerful, unassuming and charming in manner, and remarkably young looking. In his veins is a generous dash of Chinese blood. His appearance is strikingly Chinese and his temperament and mind suggest Chinese rather than Filipino genius. But he is an ardent, if restrained, Filipino patriot.

Only one other man in Filipino politics—if, indeed, there be one—can be mentioned in the same breath with

Osmena, and that is Senate President Manuel L. Quezon. Quezon has a large admixture of Spanish blood, looks Spanish and shows Spanish temperamental qualities, but he, too, is an ardent Filipino patriot. There hardly could be a sharper contrast than that between these two men. Quezon is blunt, vigorous, affirmative, rather scornful. Osmena is refined, considerate, moderate in words, sagacious, fair in judgment, given to relatively little utterance and much thought.

Leaders of the Nationalist Party.

Both men, however—Quezon is slightly the younger—are strong featured, have graceful, well-knit physiques, and esteem smartness of dress. There is latent political rivalry between them. At one time this rivalry issued in a definite rift and Quezon formed a new party to reduce the power of Osmena. Eventually Osmena and Quezon consolidated their parties and now work together at the head of the nacionalistas, the majority party, with the democrata party, a strong organization, in opposition. How long this teamwork will survive the potentially conflicting personalities, views and methods of the Chinese-Filipino and the Spanish-Filipino is uncertain, but their mutual passion for independence may keep them in double harness a good while.

Educated in law, philosophy and letters, and possessing a mind of flexibility and depth, Osmena has been distinguished in the upbuilding of Philippine institutions and in the technical discussion of Philippine constitutional questions from the first days of the civil government following the defeat of the forces of Aguinaldo. Born in the city of Cebu, province of Cebu, among the southern islands, he was a prime figure in local politics and in 1906, when the provincial governors met in Manila to pave the way for the Philippine assembly, they chose this young statesman as their presiding officer. His political star has been steadily in the ascendent since.

Filipino Passion for Independence.

"You consider there is great moral substance to the claim of the Filipinos to independence?"

Senator Osmena and I were sitting alone at a tea table in his charming drawing room on a high point in Manila.

"Great moral substance," said he, his expression something between a smile and a reminiscent sadness, "inheres in any struggle that has cost a people dearly, that exemplifies an aim more precious to them than life, and that inspires them with ever-growing deliberation and tenacity of purpose. Hearing some comments upon the ambition of the Filipinos for a country absolutely their own, one would be inclined to regard this ambition as a new-born thing, as a frivolous thing, as an insincere thing, as a shallow and ephemeral sentiment.

"It is anything but that. Filipinos have been in moral revolt against foreign domination for an indefinite time. Out of this smoldering fire burst the flames of war first against Spain and then against the United States. Those wars were fought with all that the Filipinos could put into them. Generalship among our leaders attained a high level and there never was any question of the valor of our rank and file. It was an uneven struggle. We carried on as long as we could. Our morale did not fail—not even when our flag came down—but our physical resources did.

Filipino Depression in Defeat.

"Our national aspiration for freedom survived our disasters in the field. Upon those disasters, indeed, it fed and from them it gained strength. Our heroes, both the known and the unknown, and all the memories of what we had gone through, worked silently but powerfully in the souls of our people. Filipinos said, 'Heroic things have been done. Filipino women no less than Filipino men have shown themselves great. We were defeated, not because we de-

served to be, not because we were stupid or cowardly or in any way unworthy, but because we were materially overwhelmed. A great price has been paid. It cannot be, it shall not be, that that price shall have been paid in vain.' That is what our people said. Those were the mute musings of their hearts.

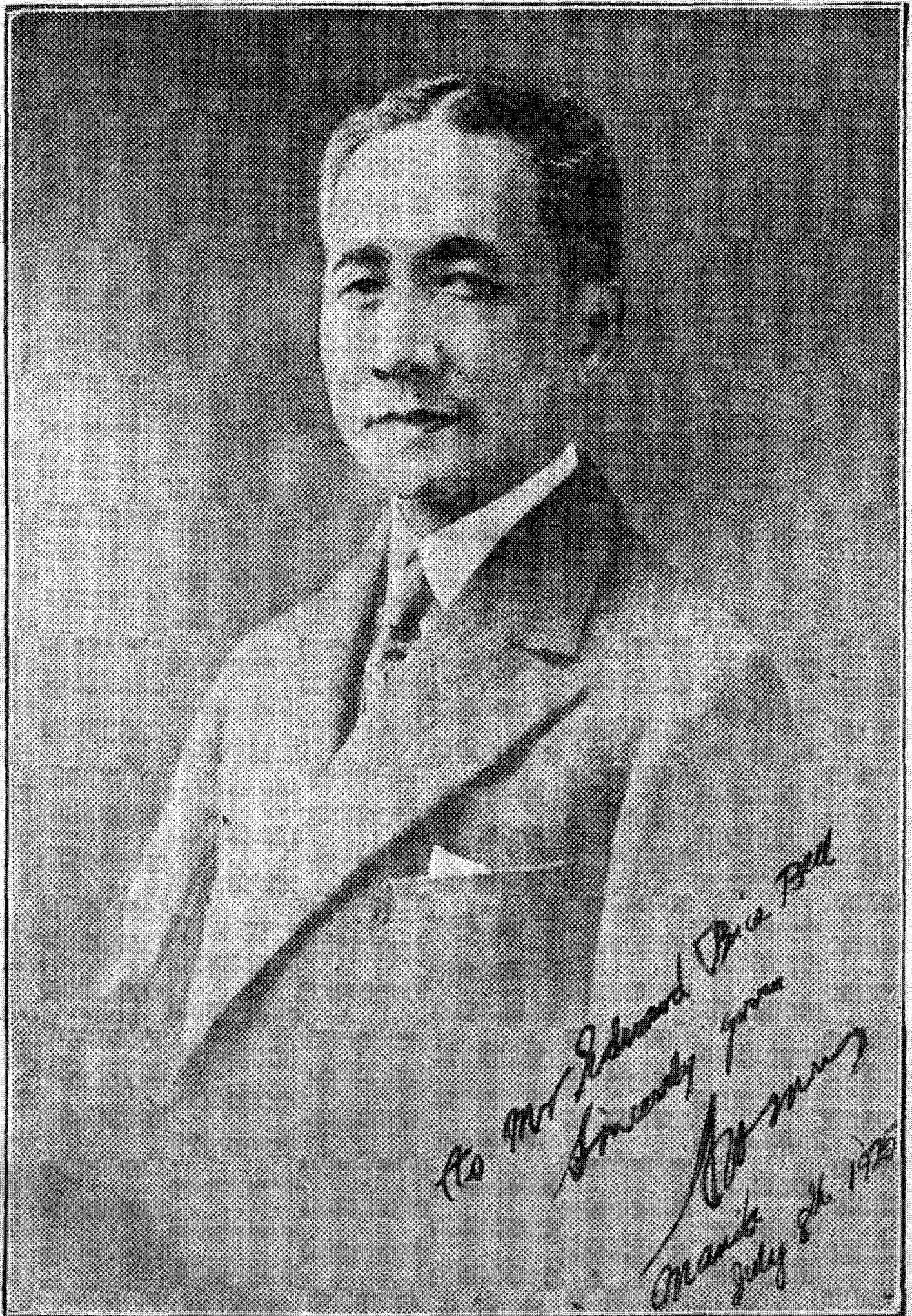
"Mute musings they were for only a time. They were such only while we were in the black shadow of our defeat. American sovereignty spread quickly throughout the islands. Filipinos prominent in the war stood aloof from the partially autonomous provincial and municipal governments set up by the Americans. An impression was produced that every vestige of the Philippine republic was gone—institutions, flag, the very soul of the republic, our aspiration for independence. But that impression was delusive. It was utterly false. There were those mute musings I have mentioned, and they were not long in finding articulate and unmistakable expression.

Working Toward Self-Government.

"We had fought for independence in the field and had lost. What happened then? There was a limited and fleeting surface sentiment for annexation to the United States—for federalism. This sentiment or suggestion had nothing to do with the deep impulses of the people. It belonged to the flotsam and jetsam of confused political thought. Filipinos, as to leadership and as to the masses, almost immediately realized that the aspiration to be free was irrepressible, and that the struggles for independence begun in war must be continued in peace."

"And how did the surviving political energy and purpose of the people reveal themselves?"

"They revealed themselves in widespread interest in public affairs and in vigorous co-operation with the Americans in the development of a rudimentary Filipino state. Our people took hold of the problems of provin-



SERGIO OSMENA, WHO DECLARES HIS PEOPLE ARE CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

cial and local government with enthusiasm and intelligence, and the men of outstanding gifts for leadership set to work to construct a national government. We were given the Philippine assembly, with representation on the legislative commission, and later—Aug. 29, 1916, a luminous day in Filipino history—the autonomous machinery of the Jones law, our Magna Charta. Solemnly and unequivocally, in that law, the American people, through their constitutional representatives, pledged themselves to grant our independence.

Tests of the Philippine Assembly.

“Through almost a full decade the Philippine assembly, with extraordinary diligence and wisdom, progressively demonstrated the political capacity of the Filipinos. In this work the leaders were guided and sustained by public opinion throughout the archipelago. There was no political lethargy. All the people were as keen as were their chosen representatives to show the world that doubts and misgivings touching our experiment, the first to be tried among a Malayan people subject to the sovereignty of another, were unwarranted. Our electoral battles were contested sharply in the midst of universal attention and the vast majority of our voters went to the polls on election day.

“Our parliamentarians, from the opening hours of their opportunity, displayed a consciousness of our national peculiarities, traditions and culture and also disclosed parliamentary originality. We were not noncreative. We were not blind copyists. We made many departures from American parliamentary practice and should have made more except for the dual nature of our form of government and the desirability of adopting methods and procedure with which the Americans were familiar. In our assembly, for example, we avoided two evils—excessive power in a few hands and parliamentary prostration. We preserved

the democratic principle in our organization of the house and yet secured the prompt dispatch of public business. Our majority was made effective, but not tyrannical. Though the minority at no time exceeded 20 per cent of the membership, it was given chairmanships of committees, contrary to the practice in the American lower house. We believed thoroughly in a minority cohesive and efficient as a vital part of a sound democratic legislature.

Enacting Beneficial Legislation.

“Concern for the good of the people has been conspicuous in the whole of our parliamentary life. We knew we were on trial. Every member loved his country, longed for its independence and consequently was actuated by a high sense of responsibility. Dereliction wore the color of treason. Expected fratricidal antagonisms did not develop. Debates were earnest and sometimes fiery. We have had our tumultuous sessions, as do all the legislatures of the world, even the oldest and most dignified. But, the debates over, the conflicting standpoints put with all the brilliance and force their partisans could command, we all were friends, and sincerely indulged in the usual expressions of courtesy and generosity. Our legislative halls are not bear gardens, firmly though some foreign observers believed they would be.”

“What is your record relative to popular education?”

“Our first measure—the first measure of the assembly—was an act appropriating a million pesos (\$500,000) to build and equip schools in the barrios. Hard words are used about Filipino leaders or politicians. They are represented as disposed to intrench themselves in power and exploit an ignorant and helpless people. If they were so disposed, why should they foster education? Why should they be doing all in their power to produce an educated citizenry? American schools we want to preserve. Every means

NOTE APPROVING OSMENA INTERVIEW

SENADO DE FILIPINAS
MANILA

July 19, 1925.

Dear Mr. Bell:

The statement you have kindly sent me for perusal today regarding our interview embodies substantially my thoughts on the matter.

Very sincerely yours



of elementary and of advanced education we want to promote.

Popular Passion for Independence.

"There is no spirit in the world more democratic than is that of the Filipino nation, and its abused leaders hold positions of leadership only because of their representative character. If these men entertained wicked designs of exploitation they would not be found appropriating all the national exchequer will bear for primary

instruction, for higher special courses for teachers and for the establishment of an institution such as the University of the Philippines. Education, as every one knows, is the relentless and resistless foe of wrong and of tyranny."

"Is there any considerable body of Filipino opinion against immediate and complete independence?"

"No, sir. There may be a few—a very few—men who do not want in-

dependence. They are absolutely anti-typical. They are men who think of their money first and of their country afterward. They have no public influence. There is not and never has been a Filipino national party opposed to independence. No man against independence ever has been or can be elected to a post of any kind in the Philippine islands. Our people's one passion that never will cool and their one vision that never will grow dim are the passion for and the vision of freedom. After all, love of liberty is a universal and immemorial human emotion."

Unity of the Filipino Peoples.

"Why should some of your rich men be afraid of independence?"

"There is no just reason for them to be afraid of independence. Most of them are not. But there are a few whose peculiar mentality and whose special interests and connections turn them away from the independence movement. Both life and property would be perfectly safe under Filipino sovereignty. We have proved our capacity to govern."

"What is your attitude to American capital?"

"Our attitude to all foreign capital is friendly, so long as its investment does not move in directions inimical to the principle of the Philippines for the Filipinos. Every nation has an inalienable right to safeguard its national patrimony."

"What is the actual position between the Filipinos and the non-Christian elements in the islands?"

"In the first place, we all—Christian and non-Christian—are Filipinos. Religious and ethnologic differences we have, as have other nations, but we all are Filipinos. Our national psychic identity has been increasing in definiteness and in vitality with great rapidity for a quarter of a century. This development grew naturally out of improved communications of every kind, insular and interinsular, and out of the diffusion of edu-

cation and cultural influences of all descriptions. Linked together as a nation geographically and acquiring therefrom a distinct national destiny, our peoples long were kept spiritually more or less apart by impassable distances and by a lack of a universal tongue.

Christian and Non-Christian Filipinos.

"But good roads, the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, safe and quick interisland ships and a marvelous awakening of popular intelligence have brought our spiritual and mental unity into precise conformity with our geographical unity. This outcome, of course, was certain from the first. It was only a question of time. We now get national decisions on great public matters as readily and as accurately as they are obtained in the most advanced societies.

"Now, with reference to the Moros and the pagans. Supposed irreconcilable hostility between them and the Christian Filipinos is a myth. It is a myth built up and assiduously propagated by two foreign dominations. These dominations strengthened themselves by weakening Filipinos through division. Their theory was to rule by dividing. During the seven years of our greatest degree of autonomy—1914 to 1921—when Filipinos were given relatively a free hand in dealing with the non-Christians, the wall of prejudice deliberately constructed between them and their Christian Filipino brothers was torn down. We got on with the non-Christians harmoniously. They shared with us the consciousness of nationhood. Our language difficulty—the language difficulty of the Philippines as a whole—has been exaggerated to the point of grotesqueness. Every one opposed to independence descants upon our numerous dialects and their fancied segregating and nationally disintegrating operation. In truth, three dialects are a key to the entire Filipino mind, not to mention the constant spread of English."

Genuine Legislative Development.

"There has been continuity of purpose and practice in your legislative development?"

"Absolutely. We did not build thoughtlessly. Principles were our guide. We had knowledge of history and of the tried maxims of free government. Besides, we had our own experience of civilized life—our long contact with western ideas—and our own separate and unique racial inspiration. There is no other way to constitute a national organism—no other way than by consultation of racial fundamentals in the light of the common culture of the world. We did that. If we had done otherwise—if we had depended altogether upon foreign experience and thought—our title to independence would not be what it is. No great oak can rise from or rest upon anything but its own far-spreading roots. Any student of our parliamentarism will have no trouble in picking out its proofs of originality and catholic eclecticism. I may remark, in passing, that we adopted the national budgetary system some years before the United States adopted it and that our secretaries of departments have the right to appear on the floor of the houses of the legislature."

Interpreting the Jones Law.

"What is the crux of the trouble between the Philippine legislature and the governor-general?"

"Antagonistic interpretations of our organic law—the Jones law. It is a constitutional controversy. We hold that the intent of the law was to confer complete internal autonomy upon the Filipino nation. I say 'internal autonomy.' I recognize without question the right and the duty of the United States, having regard to its responsibilities in the existing situation, to exercise sovereignty over our external relations. I do not contend that we legally can take away from the United States the attributes and functions of sovereignty. But I do

contend that the Jones law gives us, and was designed to give us, unrestricted freedom in the weaving of a fabric of internal political and social economy. It is, in my opinion, inconsistent with the purpose of the Jones law for the governor-general to veto any act of the legislature affecting exclusively our domestic affairs. At the heart of the Jones law, as I understand it, is the intention to liberate the Philippine legislature to act wisely or foolishly, according to its own volition, in developing a democratic government in these islands. We say to the United States, 'Let us hammer out our own shape upon the anvil of experience.'"

The Constitution Does Not Apply.

"Do you not accept the American constitutional principle of the separation of legislative, judicial and executive powers?"

"That principle does not apply to the Philippines. Our basic law is not derived from the American constitution. Our government is not of the presidential type. Let me explain. Parenthood of the Jones law is found in the act of the American congress of July 1, 1902, and the predecessor of that act was McKinley's command to the Philippine commission. Neither the act nor the command, organically, is based on the constitution of the United States. Immediately, their source is the American system of territorial government—more particularly the Jeffersonian plan for the government of Louisiana—and, remotely, the system of colonial government existing in America before the thirteen colonies obtained their independence. In none of the organic charters of the American colonies, nor in any American territorial law, is there identity with the type of government established by the constitution of the United States. Obviously our government is not of the presidential type. We have no president. Our supreme executive is not elected by our people and is responsible to a for-

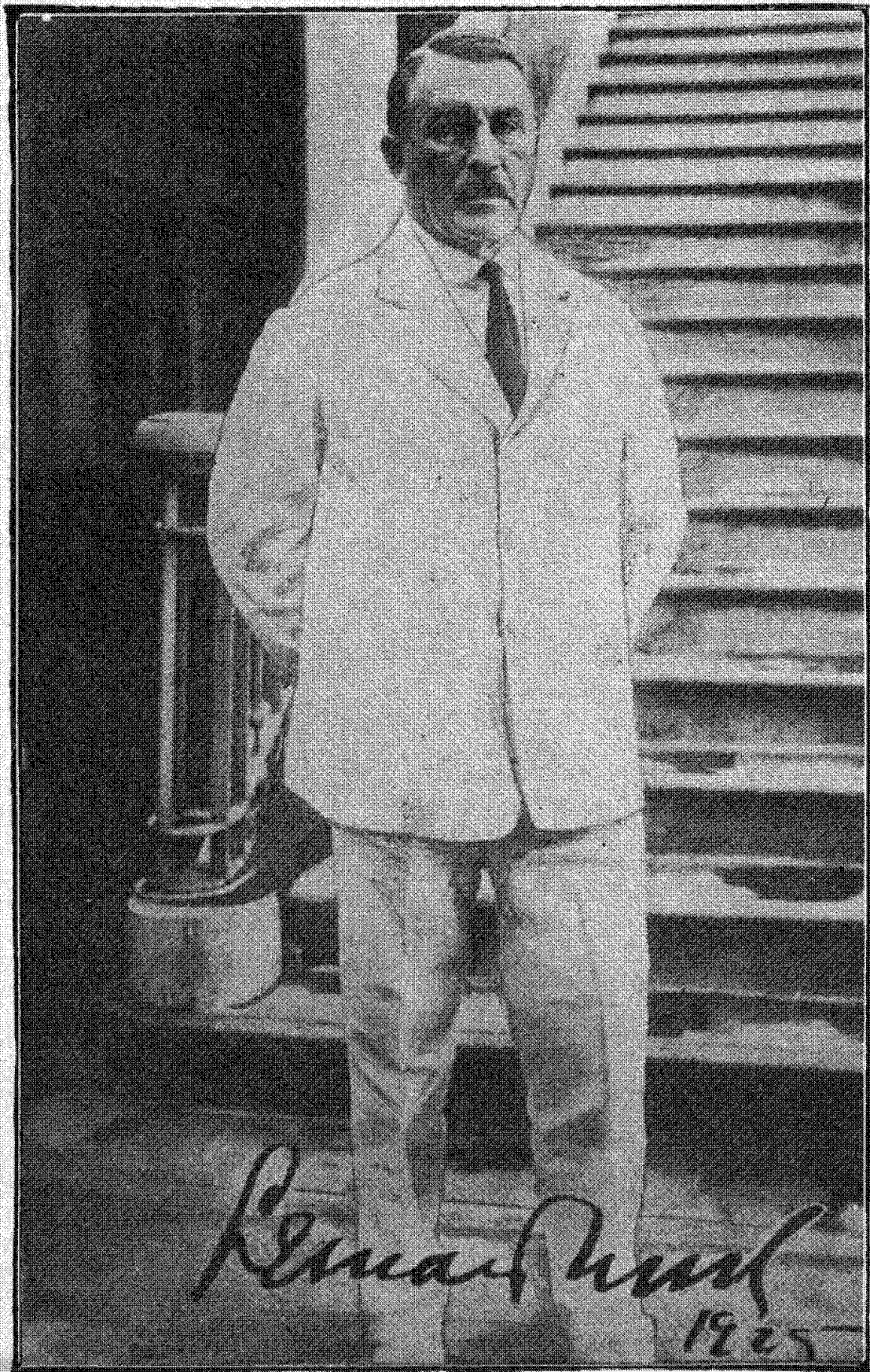
eign government. Categorically, moreover, the Supreme court of the United States has declared that 'the constitution did not follow the flag into the Philippines.' Like a golden thread, through American law and through all American utterances of high official authority, runs the theory that the American people and their statesmen always have meant that the Philippines should develop according to their own genius and should be free."

Peace for a Free Philippines.

"You have no doubt a free Philippines would be peaceful itself and peace-conserving?"

"None. We are a peaceful people. We are a law-respecting people. We

are a property-cherishing people. We work hard. We ask nothing of America and the world except to let us follow unfettered our path of destiny. We shall cause no trouble. We are not uninstructed in either the arts or the proprieties of diplomacy. Nobody will bother us when America removes her sovereignty. National ambitions are not running in the direction of strife now. Governments and peoples want peace. Statesmen are going into the international council chamber instead of dispatching field marshals at the head of troops. I feel the world is on the threshold of that peace for which it has paid so much and for which it has waited so long."



GOV.-GEN. LEONARD WOOD. WHO SHOWS WHY THE UNITED STATES MUST RETAIN CONTROL OF THE PHILIPPINES.

AMERICA'S DUTY

VIEWS OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL WOOD.

Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood, governor-general of the Philippine islands, is probably without a rival, Caucasian or non-Caucasian, in his knowledge of the archipelago and the people for which he has supreme immediate responsibility. Certainly Gen. Wood is America's greatest authority on the Philippine question—one of the most peculiar, important and difficult questions that ever preoccupied American statesmanship.

Gen. Wood has come to know the Philippines as a result of prolonged first-hand study. This study has been unremittent for more than twenty years. Arriving in the islands in 1903, after his distinguished services in Cuba as military governor of Santiago and as governor-general, he was appointed governor of the Moro province, comprising the southern islands and Mindanao, populated principally by Moros and pagans—in all some eighteen tribes. Gen. Wood was not only head of the civil government, with a legislative council, responsible for five districts, but commanding general of the troops in the department of Mindanao and Sulu.

Intensive Study of the Philippines.

For three years, in the capacities named, Gen. Wood was constantly among the people, frequently visiting every tribe and settlement. Then he became military commander of the Philippine division, with headquarters in Manila, whence he continued his diligent investigations. Following this work, he studied the Philippines as chairman of the special mission of investigation, together with W. Cameron Forbes and a staff of experts, in 1921. This investigation lasted four months and covered forty-eight of the forty-nine provinces into which the islands are divided. It was a systematic and thorough investigation of all phases of Philippine conditions, geo-

graphic, climatic, natural, human and governmental.

Out of these painstaking inquiries, reaching into 449 cities and towns and involving eleven weeks of travel by sea, rail, motor car and horse, sprang the great classic on the Philippines—the Wood-Forbes report to the Harding administration. In this report are embodied the fundamentals of the Philippine problem. It is full of illumination to the historical and philosophical mind. Its discoveries and conclusions were the priceless possession of Gen. Wood when he came to the Philippines as the chief officer of the sovereign power, and his knowledge of the islands and the islanders has been ripened and extended by four years of further traveling and by arduous administrative experience.

American Control Must Continue.

Gen. Wood, gray, ruddy, sturdy, dignified, received me in the governor-general's private office, Malacanang palace, Manila. He sat in a wide, tall, dark hardwood chair, with bottom and back of cane, and talked rapidly in a low voice. His voice was so low that now and again I had difficulty in catching every word. For the most part the veteran soldier and administrator wore a look of seriousness, if not severity, but two or three times during the conversation his features relaxed, he smiled, and there was an extremely pleasant look in his blue eyes. He has character. He has magnetism. He has brains. He is not only a military man; he is a thinker and a statesman.

"What do all your inquiries, experience and thought tell you we ought to do about the Philippines?" I asked the governor-general.

"That we ought to see our great enterprise through," he replied.

"That we ought to stay here indefinitely?"

"Indefinitely."

"Why?"

GEN. WOOD'S APPROVAL OF INTERVIEW

Office of the Governor General
Manila

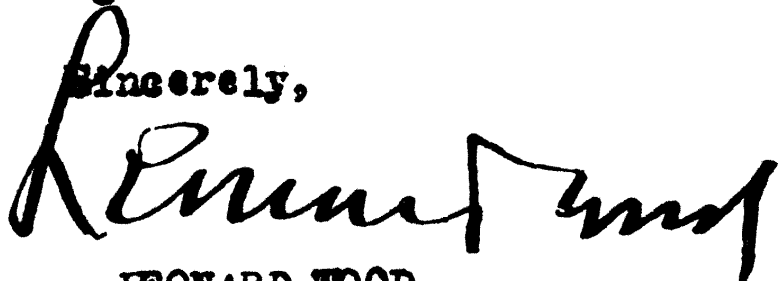
July 14, 1925.

Mr. Victor Fremont Lawson,
Editor-in-Chief of The Daily News,
C h i e a g o.

Dear Mr. Lawson:

Your correspondent in the Pacific, Mr. Edward Bell, in the accompanying interview, faithfully reflects my feelings and convictions relative to the Philippine problem. It has been a pleasure to me to do what I could to cooperate with you in your great work of spreading light and sympathy among the nations.

Sincerely,



LEONARD WOOD.
Governor-General.

"Because the work we set out to do is only begun. How long it will take no one can say. If we withdrew now, all we have done would be undone, our investment of blood and treasure would be wasted, twenty-five years of idealistic labor would be thrown away, the Filipino people would be heartlessly betrayed and we should do a criminal disservice to the stability and the highest interest of the world."

Education Must Come First.

"You believe the Filipinos to be potentially capable of self-government?"

"Potentially, yes. But to translate this potentiality into an actuality will take a long time—somewhere perhaps between a quarter and a half century. It is a matter of rearing and educating occidentally enough Filipinos to govern the country. There are far from enough now. Young educated people are still a small proportion of the population. We need more schools and teachers and a great extension of the English language, which alone can serve as a medium of psychological consolidation among peoples dispersed over thousands of islands and divided by eighty-seven different dialects."

"What are some of the evidences of latent Filipino capacity?"

"These people are property-loving and law-abiding. They are sympathetic, intelligent, hospitable and neighborly. Their keenness for education is unsurpassed. Parents are willing to make almost any sacrifice to keep their children in school. Filipino teachers are zealous and hard-working. Intellectual activity is apparent in all directions. Political affairs receive more and more popular attention and there is a growing interest in public health and public works. Assimilability to western ideals is marked. Aptitude for politics and a desire to participate in government are conspicuous Filipino qualities.

Folly That Brought Retrogression.

"But all these things in the Philippines are merely tokens of what can

be—not what is—in the way of capacity for self-government. Intellectualism is not a sufficient qualification for the tasks of statecraft and administration. Intellectualism, indeed, may be an evil rather than a good. It is an evil if, as in the Philippines, it tends to run ahead of the more substantial virtues of character. Before you have a government you must have a country to govern; you must have agriculture, industry, commerce and finance. You must have credit. Too many educated Filipino minds are dazzled by political and professional ambition, too few attracted by the harder and more important tasks of maintaining a civilized society.

"That the Filipinos have undeveloped gifts for government has been proved by American experience in the islands. Our earlier efforts here were well-conceived and skillfully executed. They bore excellent fruit. We were making splendid progress. Our Filipino pupils in the theory and practice of democracy, responding eagerly to the experience, ideals, methods and authority of the Americans, acquired discipline, efficiency, thoroughness, a high sense of responsibility. Then injudicious idealism entered. A great folly was committed. Excessive and too rapid Filipinization from 1914 to 1921 eliminated American experience and installed Filipino inexperience to such an extent that there was an all-around retrogression, legislative, executive and judicial and in the Philippine constabulary.

Self-Rule Would Bring Disaster.

"We must return to our old slow-but-sure method; short cuts are alluring but perilous. I do not mean that the system inaugurated by the Jones law—the system of house and senate and sovereign executive—must be abandoned. It probably should be somewhat modified and it certainly should be made to work. It did not work during the period of our backsliding in the Philippines. There was not a strict performance of the duties

of the governor-general under the law. There was too much surrendering of executive authority, combined with too much legislative usurpation, interference of political leaders in the general supervision and control of departments and bureaus and the infection of the civil service with politics. Disastrous socialistic experiments were made and the Philippine National bank lost \$35,000,000 gold—one of the darkest pages in Philippine history. It has been my work, with the unmistakable good will of the people—of every one but a few leaders—to restore the authority of the governor-general under the law.”

“What do you think would be the immediate results of our leaving?”

“Strife, disorder, bloodshed. They might not come instantly but they would come soon. Moros, whom we have disarmed and who want us to stay and protect them, and Christian Filipinos would fight. Industry, trade and credit would be ruined, with the inevitable concomitants of idleness, hunger and anarchy. We should look back upon the plight of these 12,000,000 people, who never have known what it means to defend or sustain themselves, who never have known any freedom except what our flag has given them—we should look back upon their plight with national sorrow, pity and shame. Japanese would come in, not necessarily as an army, but with their vigorous business methods, and Chinese would swarm hither for all sorts of pursuits. As I have said to Filipino friends, ‘Chinese would hold your valleys; you fellows would be sitting on the hilltops.’”

Unsettling the Far East.

“Would that be all?”

“No; that would not be all. We should unsettle the Pacific and the far east. We should create a situation replete with sinister possibilities. Political impotence, social disorganization and intertribal conflicts in the Philippines would not be allowed to continue for a great while. Civilized strength,

from one quarter or another, would move toward this vortex of trouble and suffering and such a movement might precipitate the worst consequences. In any event, the hope of Philippine independence would be dashed for ages if not for all time. Filipino leaders should be able to see these dangers, but they see only a vision of personal powers. They are insensate to encompassing realities. They are bent upon gambling with the fate of their own people and with the peace of the Pacific.

“Conceivably, this peace might not be broken, but the risk is there and if there were no other consideration in the matter, that risk should impose upon America a sacred obligation to hold the Philippines until it is reasonably sure that all such peril was past.”

Benefits for Oriental Peoples.

“Our presence here, in existing conditions, is needed on the side of the occident?”

“It is needed on the side of both occident and orient. Equilibrium between them promises stability; disequilibrium threatens instability. Our position in the Philippines does not give the occident overweening strength in the Pacific. It in no sense jeopardizes either the peace or the peaceful trading rights of any power. We are here with the loftiest ideals, not only toward the Filipinos, but toward all our Asiatic neighbors. We want to live on terms of amity and equality with them all. We stand for the open door. We stand for a solution of every industrial and commercial, as well as every political, question on a basis of reason and justice and not of force. We have earned, we have paid for our right to carry our experiment in the Philippines to full fruition, and meanwhile the possession of this archipelago re-enforces our diplomacy touching all international matters in the orient, among them the principles of the Washington treaties and the open door.

Advancing Christian Civilization.

"We cannot think of this Philippine question," said Gen. Wood, with intensified earnestness, "without thinking of civilization as a whole. And civilization, to us, is Christian civilization. We are a stone, if not the keystone, of the arch of Christian civilization in the Pacific. Filipinos, as to all but a tenth of the population, are Christians. Christianity's humanizing influence shows in their faces and is recorded in their steady moral advance. Paganism and non-Christianity can be broken down only by the impact of spiritual and cultural influences and these will be projected from the base of a highly-developed Christian Philippines as they cannot be projected from the distant bases of America and Europe.

"America in the Philippines, in other words, insures the effective deployment of Christianity for the regeneration of the world. These are solemn obligations and great opportunities. We can be false to them only at the cost of treason to that faith which we believe to be essential to the highest human development. Let us go out of the Philippines only when we can leave the torch of that faith in strong hands. If we and those who believe as we believe can Christianize the world, in the full psychic and ethical sense of that phrase, we shall rid it of injustice, of human degradation, of social cleavage and conflict and of international slaughter. I attach immense importance to developing the Philippines as Christianity's great peaceful outpost in the Pacific."

Defects of a Childlike People.

"You have every respect for the sentiment of nationality "

"I have every respect for the sentiment of nationality. But the possession of sovereign national status can be a blessing to a people only when it means national security, when it means sagacity and restraint in for-

ign affairs, when it means political and economic competence, when it means established law and order, when it means sanitation, education, social justice, personal and religious liberty. National development of this order can rest upon nothing but the development of the individual citizen. Every society stands or falls according to the presence or absence of ability, perseverance and self-command in its individual members. No society can be made or preserved by a group of politicians or by a group of groups of politicians, however notable their intellectual dexterity.

"Our task in the Philippines is to bring up the general level of education and efficiency to a point where the individual citizens of competence are sufficiently numerous to support a stable structure of government, of social relations and of industrial and commercial prosperity. There is no such general level of education and efficiency now. Filipinos, despite their human charm and their many encouraging moral and mental endowments, are generally unoriginal, non-initiatory, nonconstructive and dilettante. They are too childlike, too feeble, for the heavy burdens of statehood."

Liberty Under the American Flag.

"What will you say of the claim that Filipino progress to the highest extent is impossible without liberty?"

"I will say that the Filipinos, in their present backward condition, have under our flag the only liberty they can hope to enjoy. Their leaders are ready to give up the substance of liberty in a wild grasp for its shadow; they are ready to lead their people into disaster. Lord Northcliffe was right when he told the Filipinos they had more liberty than any other people in the world—shielded from external and internal molestation, were lowly taxed, surrounded by the safeguards and ministrations of science, blessed with churches and schools and communications, left entirely free to

use their hands or brains as best they can, launched on an even keel on the main stream of modern progress.

"They talk about liberty. Why, America is the mother of liberty as the term is understood in the world to-day. It is precisely because we love liberty that we are disinclined to leave these islands prematurely and permit them to relapse into slavery. We came into the Philippines not to take away, but to give, liberty. We cannot accomplish our task by scuttling. Filipinos can have liberty only if they accept it from the Americans in the form of that comprehensive culture and discipline, those moral, intellectual and civic virtues which alone make liberty possible. I note a Filipino leader's remark that while his people are grateful to America for what she has done here, they cannot pay their debt of gratitude in the currency of independence. We are not asking for gratitude. We are not working for gratitude. Our aims are not so low as that. Our aims are to found a strong, free, Christian nation in the west Pacific for the sake of that nation, ourselves and our fellow men in general."

Friends of American Rule Muzzled.

"If the Philippines were near our shores, would your attitude be different?"

"In that case, I should say, 'Let them try it.' We could take the risk then. But they are too far away. Once we leave these islands, we are gone for good. We shall not come back. There are no more Perry or Dewey opportunities contiguous to the eastern coastline of Asia."

"Is it true that free speech is suppressed in the Philippines by fear of the leaders of the independence movement?"

"To a very considerable extent that undoubtedly is true. Nonpolitical Filipinos of education and understanding must be courageous, indeed, if they voice the opinion they actually hold, namely, that it is better for the coun-

try as a whole that America should remain as she is for an indefinite time. Surely any thinking person can realize that this naturally would be so. Persons against immediate independence are denounced as traitors—not openly, perhaps, but none the less effectually, for most of the intelligence circulating in the Philippines circulates by word of mouth. Ignorance is widespread among the masses. They are for independence, when energetically stimulated on the subject by the leaders, for they have not the slightest conception of its practical significance. Can you believe it would be healthy for a Filipino champion of deferred independence to fall among ignorant compatriots to whom he had been described as a traitor?

Ignorance Swayed by Politics.

"Get firmly in mind the fact that there are three classes in this drama of Philippine agitation respecting independence. There is the small political class hungry for the loaves and fishes, the enlightened class (larger than the first, but not large enough for prevalence) interested only in the welfare of the people, and the uneducated bulk of the population. Patriotic and useful public opinion belongs in the main to the second of these classes. It is this public opinion which is suppressed by fear of the leaders—fear of them as instigators of the ignorant majority against any one who counsels prudence and delay in the matter of independence. Relief for this unfortunate situation can be had, of course, only in widening the circle of unselfish public opinion—only in educating the majority. When observers inquire why it is, if the Filipinos do not want immediate independence, that they elect the champions of immediate independence, the reply is that the ignorant portion of the electorate is misled by self-seeking politicians."

"And you do not think the Filipinos should have what is bad for them, even if the majority wants it?"

"I do not. They are not entitled to have what is bad for them, even though they want it, for what is bad for them is bad for a lot of other people who do not want it. It is intolerable that an uneducated electorate, harangued by political aspirants to power and emolument, should frustrate America's long, laborious and expensive struggle to build a firmly-based Christian state in the Philippines and also should jar the delicate interracial and international balance in the Pacific inimically to the cause of world peace."

Filipinos Happy and Satisfied.

"Would the masses be satisfied if they were left alone by the leaders?"

"Perfectly. There is not a more satisfied or happier people in the world. I go among them continually and everywhere am received with the greatest courtesy and hospitality. I have just returned from a voyage of 3,000 miles among the scattered islands. I visited fifty centers of life and motored extensively in the rural regions. I carried no arms. Not a weapon of any kind was needed in my party. Cordial popular welcomes greeted me at every turn. Illiterate though vast numbers of these people are, they know enough to know they never before were so well off in every moral and material way as they are now."

"What is the percentage of literacy in the islands?"

"About 37 per cent would be a liberal estimate."

"Manuel Roxas, speaker of the Philippine house, stated before a congressional committee in Washington that it was over 60 per cent."

"Yes, he made that misstatement and others. His statistics were wrong. He compared dialectic differences in the Philippines to the slight differences of this kind in the United States. That is ridiculous. There are here eighty-seven distinct dialects, many of them as unlike as

are the modern Latin languages and some of them differing as radically as do English and German. English is the only hope of a national medium of communication in the Philippines.

Samples of Filipino Rule.

"Let me briefly illustrate further how unreliable were the statements of Roxas in Washington. He asserted that during the administration of Gov.-Gen. Harrison when that officer, according to Roxas, abdicated his military duties under the law and left the constabulary in the Moro region to unrestricted Filipino command—a period of seven years—there was not a single killing in that region. As a fact, during that period, the records show 124 conflicts between the constabulary and the Moros, 499 Moros dead, twenty-two constabulary soldiers dead, one officer dead and many wounded on both sides.

"Nor is this the whole story of that 'peaceful' reign. In the same region Bogobos killed fifty Japanese over land troubles. It was during the time in question that occurred the most serious breach of public order since the foundation of the civil government. That breach consisted in a fight between the constabulary and the police of Manila. As a result of that clash a number of both combatants and innocent citizens were killed and many of the constabulary were sentenced to death or to life imprisonment.

"Furthermore, the assertions of Roxas in commendation of the health service were untrustworthy. During the time under review cholera in the Philippines destroyed 17,000 and smallpox 73,000 lives. We are now free from all sorts of epidemics. In their statistics and in their affirmations Filipino politicians want checking up."

Obstacles to Filipino Progress.

"What would be your concluding word of counsel to Filipino politicians

and to the Filipino intelligentsia in general?"

"I should counsel them at once and without reservation to drop the idea of immediate independence and dedicate themselves whole-heartedly to co-operation with the Americans in creating a Filipino citizenship capable of orderly, just, progressive, prosperous and self-defensive democratic rule. For such co-operation the road lies wide, smooth and open. Petty Filipino politics should be cut out as a cancerous growth. Deliberate annoyance of the representatives of the sovereign power should cease. Abortive extralegalism—abortive, but per-

nicious—should be abandoned. There should be no pettifogging opposition to the clear authority of the governor-general, whoever he may be, under the organic law. If the Philippine legislature and the governor-general disagree, and if their disagreement reach a deadlock, then the president of the United States should decide.

"My advice to the educated Filipinos would be frankly to accept all these conditions and to change their appeal to the people from a call to illusory independence to a call to that moral and mental advance which is the sine qua non of real independence."