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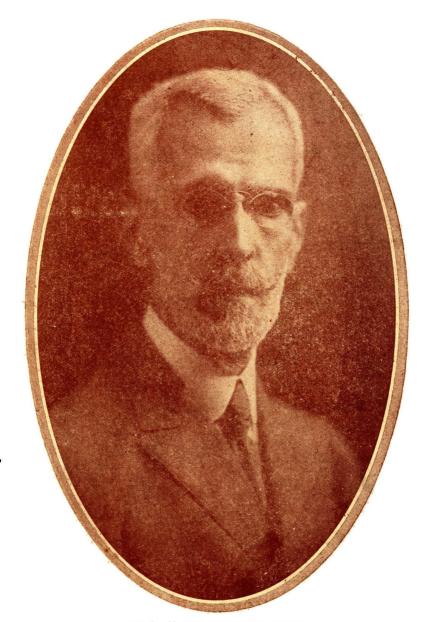
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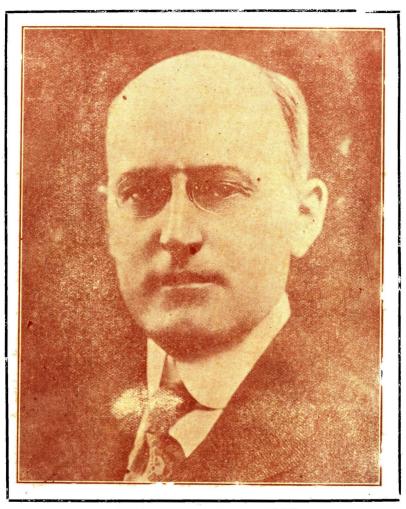
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DR. T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA

The greatest living Filipino scholar: a scientist, an author, and a statesman. Member of the Malolos Constitutional Convention; Member of the Philippine Commission; President of the Commission of the Fourth Centennial of the Discovery of the Philippines, 1921. Wrote "Reseña Historica de Filipinas desde su Descubrimiento hasta 1903," "Medicinal Plants in the Philippines," etc. A keen observer, a great traveler, and truly a world citizen.



HON. EUGENE A. GILMORE

The new Vice-Governor of the Philippine Islands and Secretary of Public Instruction. Formerly a professor of law, University of Wisconsin. A man of high ideals and a believer in the education of the masses.

For Real Education and Real Educational Institutions

Everything that is done in the name of education is not necessarily education. Merely calling an institution a school does not make it one; merely going to school is not equivalent to becoming educated. lipino people have a very keen and laudable interest in education. They are devoting themselves to it with enthusiasm. They are taxing to the utmost the existing educational facilities, both public and private. There still exists a strong and unsatisfied demand for education, Where demand is strong, however, discrimination is often lacking. The endeavor of the Department of constant Public Instruction will be to see that what is offered to the Filipino people as education is really education in the highest and best sense; that our schools are really schools that those who attend them are engaged not merely in acquiring detailed information and capacity to do specific things, but also acquiring genuine intellectual interests. sound character, and noble ideals of service

EUGENE A. GILMORE

Vice-Governor General and Secretary of Public Instruction.

National University President's Educational Creed

I believe in education that seeks to secure for humanity and for every human being the highest and fullest measure of freedom, happiness, and efficiency.

I believe in educational administration founded upon the principle of nationalism, the principle of democracy, and the principle of internationalism.

I believe in an educational institution that stands (1) for service to worthy private interprises, (2) for assistance to legitimate government activities, (3) for patriotic service to the country and loyal devotion to the people.

I believe in a higher institution that promotes dynamic Filipinism—Filipinism which means faith in the essential principles of nationality, in the sacredness of our ideals, and in the perpetuity of our institutions.

I believe in sane patriotism which means patriotism of action rather than one of passive admiration.

I believe in the National University, a university that stands for national service and for a greater Philippines of tomorrow.

CAMILO OSIAS.

Guiding Principles in Educational Administration

By CAMILO OSIAS President, National University

Ladies and Gentlemen:

You are witnesses to my taking the oath reconsecrating myself to the cause of education and to the service of mankind, especially, of course, the people of the Philippines. In making this my sworn duty I chose to place my hand upon these immortal and inspiring words of the Holy Book: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." And it is my purpose to abide by the letter and spirit of this injunction.

This is verily a solemn occasion in my life. It is in truth a day of rededication. It is not in a spirit of vainglory that I take upon myself the great and serious charge of being President of the National University. I feel in my very being the sobering influence of a deep sense of responsibility. I see clearly the challenge of a difficult task. I realize fully the urge of a new venture along channels of national service thru private ini-

tiative.

ATTITUDE TO GOVERNMENT SERVICE

I wish at the outset to correct a possible misconception regarding government service because my decision to cast my lot with those who are serving the country in private enterprises may be interpreted by some as indicative of a weakening of faith in the government or of respect for government service. If any there be who thus construes my resignation from a stable, pleasant, and useful government position, I wish to rectify him here and now.

My sincere belief is that there should be a close partnership between private endeavor and public governmental venture. Private initiative based upon the solid rock of humanized patriotism and the foundation stone of disinterested service is in a very true sense a genuine contribution to the state and the nation. On the other hand, a good government exists not for itself primarily but for the people. I consider it fatal for men and institutions everlastingly to discourage those who are in government employment to discontinue government service. Service to the government is honorable and patriotic. It is desirable that in the recognition of private initiative and government enterprise we should encourage the best men and women of our citizenry to assume an attitude of respect and cooperation toward the government and government service. I have long wanted to voice this conviction but I could not express it with as telling effect while I myself was in the employ of the government. In my present post I wish to state in all earnestness that if the people and the press persist in continually discouraging talented public servants from going to the government and engaging in government service, some day we shall reap the results of this fallacious and suicidal tendency.

I left my government position absolutely satisfied. I have been happy in government work and after eleven years of continuous service, I am leaving "with malice toward none, with charity for all." In so far as the administration of the National University is concerned, three things will stand preeminent in the definition and application of institutional policies. These are: (1) service to worthy private enterprises; (2) assistance to legitimate governmental activities; and (3) patriotic service to the country and loyal devotion to the people.

IDEAL ABOVE SALARY

I would like my fellow-citizens to believe me when I say in all sincerity that service is essentially the ideal that grips men in educational work, be it public or private, and it is this spirit that shall continue to animate me in my work in the National University. My decision to sever my connection with the government educational service is not an abandonment but merely a different application of the same patriotic motive.

In the published news items regarding my acceptance of the university presidency, the question of salary seems to have been given considerable prominence. I want to make a few frank statements on this point to forestall a possible injurious effect upon the tendency and ambition of the Filipino youth. The salary I am to receive in the National University is exactly as I fixed it, not a cent more not a cent less. True, it is greater than what I received as Assistant Director of Education but I want to say that the salary I am to get in this new post is not as large as the combined salaries I received formerly from the Department of Public Instruction, from the University of the Philippines, and another entity of the government. A decent regard for the welfare of our future citizens leads me to mention this fact, because I do not wish my action to be looked upon as an attempt to exalt materialistic considerations above principles and ideals.

UNDERLYING MOTIVE

Patriotism and service should be the ruling principles of individual and national conduct. I decided to engage in this new enterprise because I saw in the presidency of the National University an opportunity to work out certain educational ideals under a closer personal direction. This new task enables me to be in a more direct contact with elementary, secondary, collegiate, and university problems. I saw in this post an opportunity to enter upon a more aggressive period of productive scholarship. I also thought it would make possible a more rapid working out of some of my cherished ideas of nationalization. Furthermore, I shall be able to show better the validity of my belief in the need of putting a stamp of intenser Filipinism and deeper spirituality upon the education for Philippine citizenship—a Filipinism that is compatible with world progress and a spir-

ituality which admits of universal culture and kinship. I also saw in this new charge a freer exercise of that academic freedom so dearly prized by men who value scholarship and worship reason. Then, too, I craved for a wider opportunity to help develop that indomitable collective Filipino will with the power of national compulsion which I deem essential as a safeguard and an instrument in our domestic life and in our international relations.

PERIOD OF MATURITY

I believe this country has now entered upon its stage of manhood and maturity. It need no longer tie itself to the apronstring of a benign and helpful parent. Such a period demands democratic self-assertiveness and cultivated public sentiment. At such an age the Filipino people need to adjust themselves to the demand of greater professionalism and increased scientific spirit. This demand in turn presupposes reasonable obedience and vigorous leadership. In the National University I shall be connected with elementary education, which is essentially the basis of a democracy, and with higher education, which is the laboratory and training ground for leaders—leaders who lead, not drive; leaders who minister rather than expect to be ministered unto; leaders whose source of authority is not position but reason. The demands of such an age are rigid and implacable, and it is partly to meet these demands that I accepted the offer to be President of the National University, considering it as a dare to Filipino manhood and to Filipino leadership.

AIM OF EDUCATION, THE CHIEF GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF AD-MINISTRATION

In educational administration there are manifold guiding principles that could be mentioned. In every case, however, the aim of education is a controlling and determining factor. It is universally admitted that the conception of education determines the aim, content, and method of education. This being so, all conception of efficient administration must rest upon an adequate understanding of the chief and ultimate aim of education.

Without analyzing the numerous aims of education advanced expressed in terms of utility, culture, knowledge, moral character, adjustment or social efficiency, I would like to say that it is my belief that efficiency is an insufficient factor in an adequate formulation of the aim of education. Efficiency is important and it must be preserved. In the present eclectic tendency in educational philosophy, however, it is not enough that an individual or a nation be efficient to be educated. In fact we have seen that there is real danger of thinking too much of efficiency and not enough

of freedom and hapiness. With individual freedom and happiness lacking, a nation would experience spiritual bankruptcy. The factors of freedom and happiness must be added to efficiency. We may therefore say that education seeks to secure for humanity as a whole and for every human being the highest and fullest measure of freedom, happiness, and efficiency. This concepction of education shall be the one supreme guiding principle in the formulation of educational theories and practices essential to the successful administration and management of the affairs of the National University.

THREE MORE SPECIFIC GUIDING PRINCIPLES

While it is true that the aim of education is the one great broad guiding principle in educational administration, it is necessary that more specific principles be formulated. Three specific principles I shall here mention as great guiding principles in educational administration. These are the principle of nationalism, the principle of democracy, and the principle of internationalism. I shall now briefly discuss these principles.

THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALISM

In my labors in the field of education extending over a decade, I have steadfastly espoused the principle that our education contribute in full measure to the training of the youth of this country for a free, happy, and efficient citizenship in a self-governing Philippine state. I have at all times sought to deprecate whatever tended toward the denationalization of the people of these Islands and I have also consistently sought to foster whatever contributed to the strengthening of our national solidarity. I shall now seek to widen the scope of application of this principle and shall continue to combat men and institutions that alienate our boys and girls, our young men and women, from the noble traditions and sacred ideals of the Filipino people, for I believe in the principle of nationalism as a guide in educational administration.

Educational institutions, public and private, must consecrate themselves to the principle of nationalism. Sane, disciplined, humanized patriotism will ever and always be a virtue. The modern conception of patriotism is contrary to the narrow, bigoted sectional feeling, on the one hand, and supra-nationalism, on the other. Time and again I have voiced the conviction that altho this is an age of internationalism, there is no concerted movement—there should be none—to eradicate or to weaken the feeling of nationality. The fact is that in every civilized country, people more than ever before are engaged in the intensification of their national spirit not only for the purpose of strengthening their national existence but for the purpose of laying a foundation upon which the superstructure

of a new humanity shall rest.

The people of this country clamor, and rightly, for the teaching of dynamic Filipinism and for more things Philippine thru the agency of our educational and educative institutions. The people expect, and justly, that Filipino children imbibe in their youth the spirit that moved our historic martyrs and heroes. Leaders exact educational results which shall safeguard our national welfare, further our prosperity, and increase our happiness. Forward looking men and women desire administrators to utilize education for the cultivation of a deeper sense of civic responsibility and a more intelligent and tolerant patriotism.

The nationalization of our education is by no means an anti-foreign movement. It is not an expression of antagonism for anything that is not indigenous in the country. It is not an exclusivistic tendency. It does not mean a discarding of subject matter and method of education which is not distinctly local. It is not an ungovernable tendency on the part of the Filipinos to seek office or post regardless of merit. And certainly, it does not mean a sacrifice of efficiency at the altar of narrow and superficial nationalism.

Proper nationalization means intellectual charity toward the universal. It is increased knowledge of, and love for, the Philippines and for things Philippine without prejudice against the good that is foreign. Sane Filipinization seeks the best that is foreign and grafts it on the best that is Philippine. This principle applied to education seeks a re-definition of Filipino character and analysis of it in terms of our virtues and our weaknesses. It calls for a systematic program for the reduction of illiteracy and the promotion of general culture. It means continuous adaptation of the course of study to the individual and social conditions of the Filipinos. It advocates for the inclusion in many of our texts of a reasonable proportion of Philippine subject matter with due regard to matters of universal import. It does not do away with the welcoming of foreign coworkers in our administrative and teaching staff, but at the same time it insists upon the necessity of identity with, or at least a sympathy for, the people, their ideals, their interests, and their aspira-In short, the policy of nationalization calls for the reshaping of a philosophy of education which is conducive to the maintenance of increased solidarity and the perpetuation of the principles of democracy and republicanism.

In the administration of the educational affairs of the National University and in the application of the principle of nationalism, it shall be my purpose to help train our youth to be intelligently and whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of a Philippine Republic. Dependent, our young people, our citizens, our leaders, must live and labor for the early estab-

lishment of a free and independent Philippine Republic. Independent, our education should contribute to the improvement and perpetuation of that Republic.

The cause of a Philippine independent government can be served greatly thru the agency of education. We can help stabilize our existence by training men and women adequately prepared to help solve our domestic issues. We can strengthen it by training the masses and developing citizens who spontaneously and disinterestedly assist in the solution of present-day home, community, and national problems. Education can insure preparedness for a democratic and republican existence thru a more adeguate training in the rights and duties, the prerogatives and responsibilities of true self government. Education, too, can and should keep alive our devotion to our ideals thru the study of our history and government. thru a proper insight into the unlimited resources of our country, and thru increased knowledge of our psychological and sociological nature. One of the most important educational functions in obedience to the principle of nationalism is the conservation of the stability of Philippine family life, for we have here an asset of incalculable worth. Family instability is a liability and family disrupt on is a calamity. We can hasten our progress by furthering our cultural advancement and by creating a strong social determination to want no other earthly form of national existence except a free, happy efficient, and independent existence.

Dynamic Filipinism can and must be nurtured in our educational institutions. Perhaps there could be no fixed time for recitation as there might be for an ordinary subject lesson. The time for teaching Filipinism is practically all the time and the place to teach it is practically everywhere. Filipinism is a faith in the essential principles of nationality, in the sacredness of our ideals, and in the perpetuity of our institutions. It is respect for law and constituted authority. It is devotion to liberty and justice. It is belief in truth and right. It is a recognition of the inevitable victory of merit and reason. It is love of country where sanity and breadth of view loom large. It is service to the people where patriotic citizens do not worship false gods and pursue selfish and ignoble ideals.

I am myself a Filipino, and, God helping me, I hope to make my words, my life, give added dignity and honor and luster to the Filipino name. I want to see the Filipino soul illumined to the fullest extent. I wish to see the Filipino spirit awakened to the highest point. A Filipino forsooth! That is what I wish every young boy or girl, every young man or young woman, in the National University or under the influence of this institution to become and be. That should mean a kind of being proud, tho not arrogant, for having been born in Philippine soil; a person of sterling character; an individual of rugged honesty and tenacity of purpose

determined to triumph.

THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY

I believe in the principle of democracy as a guide in school administration. Our education must function to bring about greater democracy. Peoples the world over are desirous that the people shall govern and that the principles of democracy shall rule. Monarchies that have long existed are either disappearing, making way for democracy, or are becoming more democratic in their nature. Our young people must be made aware of this great movement. It behooves our leaders to depict more clearly than heretofore the democratic scene of action. There has been in the past a great deal of talking about democracy. There must be from now on more living and practising democracy. The democratic ideal needs to permeate our educational thought and practice.

An enduring democratic life demands less illiteracy and more wide-spread cultivated citizenship. The atmosphere of democracy must saturate the spirit of the school and school methods. Our citizens must acquire a deeper sense of public duty and readier responsiveness to their civic responsibility. Educational administration must foster intolerance of mobocracy and passion for democracy. Scientific and universal education, training citizens to think and reason, should result in an aversion toward the assumed infallibility or coercive control of one man or a few men, and in a corresponding fondness for the people and the people's rule. Democracy thus requires the enlightenment of the masses; it presupposes the impulse to sacrifice individual interest at the altar of human good.

In a democracy there is a cheerful yielding of will or deference on the party of the minority to the majority, tho not necessarily a sacrifice of opinions or convictions. Anarchy thrives best where the people's thoughts are repressed and where people's convictions are muzzled. That education which teaches respect for expert service, loyalty to law and principle, devotion to truth and the eternal verities, obedience as well as leadership-that education, I say, is in accord with the principle of democracy. Democracy prompts men to look upon an office not as an opportunity to shirk work but to shoulder hard work; to consider a public trust as a privilege for service not a chance for rulership. This precious word, often abused, is freedom of opportunity and equitableness of rewards. It is equality of opportunity and inequality of compensation, unequal because it is in proportion to worth and merit. Democracy, furthermore, means the same chances for all and special privilege to none. Cultivated democracy makes for unity of purpose, mutuality of sympathy, community of ideals, loyalty to public ends, devotion to righteous causes, and identity of human goal. This democratic principle in educational administration demands respect for intelligent public opinion, intellectual tolerance, and an abiding faith in, and a clear vision of the highest good to each individual as a human being and to humanity as a unified whole.

If we are to be democratic as a people, our young men and young women must have democracy ingrained in their character. If we are to make democracy a reality in our country, every potential citizen must be schooled to share in the duties, sacrifices, and responsibilities which democratic life entails. Our students must be habituated to cooperative national service. School life properly administered is rich enough in possibilities to accustom students to love social, political, and vocational enterprise. Our school curriculum is wide enough in its scope to offer occasions for the formation of habits which are required in the democratic organism. Our school activities in the classroom, in the shop, in the assembly, in the library, and on the playground—these may be managed so as to prepare students for that intelligent cooperation, which is one of the most precious attributes of a democratic order. The patriotism of action rather than one of passive admiration or transient emotion is the type which keeps burning the fire of democracy.

THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONALISM

We are living in a world groping anxiously for a freer, happier, and more efficient existence. New world relations are being sought. New readjustments in international dealings are being made. Progressive educational thought and practice must be in harmony with the dominant tendencies and aspirations of the times. I believe in the principle of internationalism as a guiding principle in educational administration.

We are living in a historic epoch, an epoch of cosmopolitanism. Conference among master minds of the world are being held to minimize, and, if possible, abolish secrecy and intrigue, suspicion and greed, sorrow and hatred. The remedy for humanity's ills and the realization of the dreams of visioned poets and far-seeing sages are dependent upon, and conditioned by, the moods and attitudes of the masses. Proper international ethics is controlled by the mentality of the peoples inhabiting this war-weary world.

The traditional policy of "splendid isolation" so popular in bygone days has now been practically discarded. Leaders and educated citizens now see clearly the interdependence of nations. Peoples the world over are interbound. They are interrelated and interpenetrating in matters of sanitation, commerce, industry, transportation, production, customs, morals, religion, and education.

The youth of our land must be trained to look beyond our national

borders. The early Filipinos had trade relations with their Asiatic neighbors. Political ties were established between our country and Europe, and more recently the fortunes of war brought us in touch with the English-speaking nations. Already, we have thus had active participation in a certain sense in world relations. It is proper that we accentuate world consciousness especially now that the prophecy of the Pacific becoming the theater of momentous international events has become a reality.

The education of the Philippine Islands has attracted wide attention. Commissions after commissions have visited these shores to study and investigate the Philippine educational system. The Philippines in Far Eastern athletics has taken the lead not only in the organization of the Far Eastern Athletic Association but in her achievements. The last championship games staged in our neighboring republic witnessed the Filipinos establish their athletic superiority among Far Eastern nations. The active participation of the Philippine Islands has been made possible largely thru the instrumentality of the Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation, the greatest existing amateur body in the world. Not only because of the great physical and moral good that results from athletics have I associated myself so readily with athletic movements but because I see in these athletic activities a power for cementing friendship upon the enduring basis of understanding and peace. In my new post I shall continue to lend a helping hand, and as Vice-President of the Far Eastern Athletic Association, I shall do my full share to utilize these relationships of countries in the Far East and help establish a real international good will.

The young people of the Philippine Islands, too, are represented in the newly organized Far Eastern Students Alliance. The youth thus have a very vital way of becoming internationally minded thru their intellectual and spiritual relations. Our religion in part makes us citizens of the world. Then, just now, the eyes of all civilized peoples are turned to that epoch-making disarmament conference being held in America; and living as we do in the midst of the Pacific, it is natural that we should with anxiety look forward to the results of the deliberations and agreements reached. It must be the fond hope and sincere prayer of the people of these Islands that such a meeting of minds may be instrumental in the proper solution of Pacific problems, the international status of the Philippines included. Acting upon the principle of internationalism, we may well make our education in the Philippines an agency for the harmonizing of the cultures and civilizations of the East and of the West.

One of the functions of education in accord with this principle is to teach peace as humanity's vested right and war as a wasteful and destructive agency for the settlement of national and international questions.

In our schools we have heretofore been wont to present the hero always in armor. From now on we must present the hero as a being not always with the sword but one who by his industry, by his talent, by his patriotism, ves, by his humanity, disinterestedly renders effective service in the domains of peace. The hero, too, it must be remembered, is not alone to be found on the highways; very often he is discovered in obscure byways. Perchance the great and distinct contribution of weaker nations may lie just in this, that in the definition of international philosophy they more than others the smaller nations more than the bigger ones may be the instruments of Divine providence for the teaching of the wisdom of peace and the criminality of war—peace as an attribute both human and divine and war as a grievous wrong and an enormus crime. The principle of internationality in educational theory should lead to a greater study of nations, this study being essential in my opinion to modern leadership. A knowledge of the psychology of nations is necessary to twentieth century citizenship. As a general rule, we love most those we understand best; we are most indifferent to those we know nothing about; and we hate most bitterly those we misunderstand most fully. Modern fraternity among peoples demands a different type of brotherhood from that entertained toward Abel by Cain of old.

Our very definition of education must be nationalized, democratized, and internationalized. The aim, content, and method of education must likewise be humanized. Education to be all that it should be must make for the development of a national mind and a national spirit, a democratic mind and a democratic spirit, and an international mind and an international spirit. And my guiding principles in educational administration shall be the principle of nationalism, the principle of democracy, and the principles of internationalism,—these three, but the first of these and the one of most immediate concern to the individual and the nation

is the dynamic principle of nationalism.

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Material Progress

by Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera

Those who are wont to despise civilization and material development to the point of being inexact, cite the voyage of Magellan as an enterprise moved solely by religious ideals and by sincerest and purest charity. In fact, they misrepresent and even forget two incontestable facts which no one can deny: firstly, the voyage of Magellan was proposed to the king of Spain, accepted by the latter and approved by his ministers and effected by Magellan and his companions for the MERCANTILE PUR-POSE OF DISCOVERING, SAILING TOWARD THE WEST, THE ROUTE TO THE MOLUCCAS ISLANDS and wrest from the hands of Portugal the RICH COMMERCE FROM THE ISLANDS which pro-This and no other was the origin, inspiration, and object duced spices. of that famous expedition. In the second place, such purpose could be realized precisely because the Spaniards had achieved a material development which inspired and made possible that enterprise. And with respect to the conquest of the Philippines it is certain that they would not have achieved it were it not for the superiority of their MATERIAL STATE, that is to say, because Spain was a nation of greater material development than the Philippines.

It is therefore perfectly absurd to try to undervalue material progress much less to belittle the task of MAKING MONEY because the office of a producer is more noble than that of dilapidator of others' profits, which is the role our critics play in society.

We candidly attribute to the government the existence of the City of Manila with its buildings and its bridges that cross its river when in reality it is the result and product of commercial activity, just as to the same cause is due the existence and development of Cebu, Iloilo, and Zamboanga.

If we leave the Philippines reaching only as far as Hongkong, we find another product of commerce because, on that rock of the Chinese coast which the Englishmen took for themselves for the purpose of converting it into a commercial depository, the efforts of men devoted to commerce made that great city possible which flourished materially without the necessity of promises of liberty nor of literary concepts and solely by virtue of the creative power of commerce.

Thru commerce are formed first establishments purely for trade purposes which go on developing until they constitute the modern cities which we admire. And thru material development societies later acquire force and means to reach the highest position in a life purely intellectual and moral. New York did not arise spontaneously; rather it is the product of the work of men, daily more intense and more perfect, especially in their intellectual and esthetic civilization, which could not possibly exist without the indispensable foundation of material progress.

The evolution of the intellect, the development of thought, followed as a natural consequence the development and evolution of material production, that is to say, the concrete creation of human industry. Labor and competition, which are nothing less than the struggle to produce something better and more useful, have been the cause of all social progress founded, based upon, and originated in, the perfection of the manual labor of man.

In proportion as material production was perfected, so the mental capacity of man widened, because everything that we conceive in the domains of the abstract is nothing more than the transformation, expansion, idealization of previous concrete forms. How can we consider or conceive quality (which is the abstract) without the previous existence of a subject which is precisely concrete?

Material production generates ideas, representations which are its immediate and natural consequence. Later, in turn, material progress, by the law of mutual reaction, improves, increases, grows thru the development of knowledge. Thus material progress precedes and generates intellectual growth; it is its effect which later reacting as a cause originates the betterment of the latter.

I do not wish to write at length but I desire to be permitted not to finish without urging you, my readers, in all sincerity to labor to make the largest possible amount of money that you can and acquainting you with that useful classification of human types which Demolins based upon the capacity of earning and spending and which is as follows:

- 1. Type better fitted to make money than to spend it.
- 2. Type better fitted to spend money than to earn it.
- 3. Type equally unfit to earn money as to spend it.
- 4. Type equally fit to earn it as to spend it.

Naturally this last type is what I desire to see extended among us. But in order that there will be no misunderstanding since there is prevalent among many a sort of tendency to despise riches, I should speak the same words with which Demolins treated this subject.

"Money," he says, "is an element of individual moralization and of social progress under the two following imperious conditions: It is necessary to earn it LABORIOUSLY and HONESTLY; then it is necessary to spend it USEFULLY and GENEROUSLY." Money earned laboriously educates man in the practice of effort, develops energy and resistance, making him love obstacles and habituating him to triumph. Money spent

usefully and generously elevates and ennobles the soul. Instead of being a selfish end, to earn money becomes a means, A MEANS OF IMPROV-ING THE HUMAN STATE, creating institutions of public welfare, benefitting both the present and future generations. It is a matter of pride to us Filipinos to know from experience that to the latter type belongs my good friend, Mr. Teodoro R. Yangco.

I desire that most of us and that most of the Filipinos seek to follow the type of man who seeks to earn the greatest amount of money laboriously and honestly, later to spend it usefully and generously for the

progress of our country and of humanity in general.

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El Progreso Material

por

T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA.

Los que alardean de despreciar la civilización y el desarrollo material. llegando al extremo de la inexactitud, citan el viaje de Magallanes como una empresa impulsada unicamente por ideas religiosos y de caridad mas sincera y pura. En realidad disimulan, hasta olvidarlos, dos hechos incontestables que nadie puede negar: primeramente, el viaje de Magallanes fué propuesto al rey de España, aceptado por éste, acogido por sus ministros y efectuado por Magallanes y sus compañeros con el proposito MER-CANTIL DE DESCUBRIR. NAVEGANDO HACIA EL OESTE, EL CA-MINO DE LAS ISLAS MOLUCAS y arrancar de manos de Portugal el RICO COMERCIO CON DICHAS ISLAS que producian las especias. Esto y no otro fué el origen, inspiración y finalidad de aquella famosa expedición. En segundo lugar semejante propósito pudo realizarse precisamente porque los españoles habían conseguido un desarrollo material que les sugirió e hizo posible aquella empresa. Y, en cuanto a la conquista de Filipinas seguramente que ellos no la hubieran conseguido a no ser por la superioridad de su ESTADO MATERIAL, es decir, por ser una nación de mayor desarrollo material que los filipinos.

Así, pues, es perfectamente absurdo tratar de menospreciar el pregreso material y mucho menos de tener en menos la tarea de GANAR DINERO, porque el oficio de productor es más noble que el de dilapidador de la ganancia de los otros, que es el papel que nuestros críticos juegan en la sociedad.

Candidamente atribuimos a la acción del Gobierno la existencia de esta ciudad de Manila, con sus edificios y los puentes que cruzan su río, cuando en realidad es el resultado y el producto de la actividad comercial, a la que de la misma manera se debe la existencia y el desarrollo de Cebú, de Iloilo y de Zamboanga.

Si se sale de Filipinas, llegando solamente a Hongkong, hallamos otro producto del comercio, porque en aquella roca de la costa China que los ingleses tomaron para ellos con el objeto de convertirla en un depósito mercantil, el esfuerzo de los hombres dedicados al comercio ha conseguido formar la gran ciudad que floreció materialmente sin necesidad de premesas de libertad ni de conceptos literarios y solamente en virtud de potencia creadora del comercio.

Por el comercio se forman primero establecimientos puramente de contratación que se van desarrollando hasta llegar a constituir las ciudades modernos que admiramos. Y por el desarrollo material llegan luego las sociedades a tener fuerza y medios para ganar las situaciones más elevadas en la vida puramente intelectual y moral. Nueva York no ha nacido espontaneamente, sino que es el producto del trabajo cada vez más intenso y más perfecto de los hombres precisamente en su civilización intelectual y artistica, que no podria existir sin el fundamento indispensable del adelanto material.

La evolución de la inteligencia, el desarrollo del pensamiento ha seguido, como consecuencia natural, al desarrollo y evolución de la producción material: es decir, de la creación concreta de la industria humana. El trabajo y la competencia, que son nada más que la lucha para producir algo mejor y más apetecible, han sido la causa de todo el progreso social fundado, basado y originado en el perfeccionamiento de la obra manual del hombre.

A medida que la producción material se perfeccionaba así tambien la capacidad mental del hombre se ensanchaba, porque todo lo que concebimos en el terreno de la abstracción es nada más que transformación, ampliación, sutilización de las formas concretas precedentes. Efectivamente, cómo podriamos considerar ni concebir una cualidad (que es lo abstracto), sin la previa existencia de un sujeto, que es precisamente concreto?

La producción material engendra ideas, representaciones que son su consecuencia inmediata y fatal. Luego, a su vez, el progreso material, por la ley de reacciones mútuas, mejora, aumenta, evoluciona por medio del desirrollo de los conocimientos. Así el progreso material precede y engendra al intelectual, es su efecto que reaccionando luego como causa origina el mejoramiento de aquel.

No quiero escribir extensamente hoy, pero séame permitido no terminar sin excitaros mis lectores ardientemente a trabajar para ganar la mayor cantidad de dinero que podais, poniendo en vuestro conocimiento la útil clasificación de los tipos humanos que Demolins fundó sobre la capacidad de ganar y gastar, y es la siguiente:

1. Tipo más apto para ganar el dinero que para gastarlo.

2, Tipo más apto para gastarlo que para ganarlo.

3. Tipo igualmente inepto para gastarlo como para ganarlo.

4. Tipo igualmente apto para ganarlo como para gastarlo.

Naturalmente este último tipo es lo quo yo deseo que se extienda entre nosotros. Pero para que no haya equivocos ya que persiste en muchas una especie de desprecio de las riquezas, debo decir las mismas palabras con que Demolins trató este sujeto.

"El dinero, dice, es un elemento de moralización individual y de progreso social bajo las dos imperiosas condiciones siguientes. Es menester ganarlo PENOSA Y HONRADAMENTE; después es necesario gastarlo

UTIL Y AMPLIAMENTE." El dinero ganado penosamente educa al hombre en las prácticas del esfuerzo, desarrolla la energía y la resistencia, haciendole amar los obstáculos y acostumbrándole a vencer. El dinero gastado útil y ampliamente levanta y ennoblece al alma. En lugar de ser una finalidad egoista, ganar dinero resulta un medio, UN MEDIO DE MEJORAR LA CONDICION HUMANA, creando instituciones de bien público que aprovechan tanto a las generaciones presentes como a las generaciones futuras. Es un orgullo para nosotros filipinos, saber por experiencia, que pertenece al último tipo mi excelente amigo, el S. Teodoro R. Yangco.

Yo deseo que la mayoría de nosotros y que la mayoría de los filipinos traten de seguir el tipo del hombre que trata de ganar la mayor suma de dinero penosa y honradamente para después gastarlo util y ampliamente, para el progreso de nuestra patria y de la humanidad en general.

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Commercial and Financial Ventures

by

FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON.

From the beginning of American civil government in the Philippines, the administration had taken in hand the management of various utilities for which there was then offering no adequate private enterprise: thus, the Insular Government owned and operated an ice and cold-storage plant: a printing-office for official publications; various coast-guard ships; the telegraph and inter-island cable systems, with a cable-ship for the repair of them; a purchasing agent and a Bureau of Supply for all the departments of the Government and, of course, a Bureau of Public Works. officials of the Bureau of Supply were always instructed to purchase when possible from local merchants, but the existence of this bureau was from the beginning a source of criticism and attack. The ice-plant was a powerful influence in keeping down the price of ice, but efforts made by the Government in 1914 to sell the ice-plant, and in 1920 to abolish the Bureau of Supply, met with no success. The price-fixing of staple commodities by the Government during the years of war, 1917-18, was generally recognized as being dictated from Washington and regarded as a necessary incident of the war; on the whole, it may be said that price-fixing, except in the case of the rice crisis was a failure, and did more eventual harm than temporary good.

The first step in "interference" with capital by the new Filipino-American administration was the creation early in 1914 of a Public Utility Commission on the model of the New Jersey statute; this has proved a success and has rendered generally appreciated services to the public. Then came the purchase by the Government in 1916 of the main transportation system in the islands, the Manila Railroad company.

Whatever may be the view of the reader as to public ownership of railroads in the United States, he must remember that the situation is entirely different in the Philippines. Indeed, attention should be given to the fact that the railroads are generally owned and operated by the governments in all near-by countries and colonies. Government ownership of railroads is the rule in Japan, Indo-China, the Federated Malay States, Java and Sumatra, Burma, Ceylon and British India. In China the administration is now trying to get back the railroad concessions from the aggressive groups of foreign capitalists who own them: the Chinese have been thoroughly alarmed by the political use made of railways in their country as the opening wedge of territorial conquest by the great powers.

The causes that led to the acquisition of the system in British India

by the Government were, it is said, similar to those in the Philippines. The Manila Rairoad Company was an English enterprise, first started in 1888; the lines are entirely in the island of Luzon, and extend north and south from Manila for, altogether, about one thousand kilometers. New railroad construction was government-aided soon after American occupation by an agreement on the part of the administration to guarantee the interest on the bonds to be issued. The line had never been very profitable, and no doubt the English capitalists were getting tired of it; at all events, after the outbreak of the war in 1914, no more English capital was forthcoming. The Philippine Government, from 1911, had been lending from the Gold Standard Fund all sums for new construction, and were usually required to pay a substantial sum each year in default on the interest on the railroad bonds. The management was still all English, but an American government railway supervisor was detailed to see that the construction money was properly spent. In spite of his efforts, the construction work, especially in the right-of-way department, had by 1912 become a public scandal. Through 1913 and 1914 constant efforts were made to force the company to change its methods, but in vain. This scandal arose through the practice of the railroad company's agents buying up the necessary land at nominal figures from the owners, and then selling it to the company at a high figure. This swindle had grown to gigantic proportions, but about nine millions of pesos had been lost in this way.—a sum upon which the government guarantee of four per cent interest on the bonds had to be met. Two Spaniards and a Filipino were the active agents of the railroad right-of-way department in these transactions. The Filipino was subsequently sentenced to prison for his part in them; the Spaniards has escaped to Spain and could not be extradited from their own country.

In spite of our efforts the railroad management would not or could not change the system, nor reform these abuses. This led finally to an offer in 1915 on the part of the Government to purchase, at a price of \$4,000,000, the whole system. The offer was finally accepted after tedious negotiations, conducted for the Government chiefly by Clyde A. DeWitt, Public Utility Commissioner. Dissatisfaction at the terms was loudly expressed in the stockholders' meetings which ratified the sale in London.

Meanwhile the system had been allowed by the management to run down to such a point that during the first three years of government ownership the profits were devoted entirely to the necessary work of repair to roadbed, buildings, and rolling-stock. This was rendered more difficult by the virtual impossibility during 1917-18 of getting materials and supplies under export license from England or the United States; and by the necessity of meeting the war prices for coal, which had risen from twelve

pesos to forty-eight pesos a ton.

The company, since 1918, has been organized as an entity separate from the Government, which, however, is the sole stockholder. The voting power of the stock is vested in a board consisting of the governor-general and the two presidents of the houses of the Legislature. The board of directors has a majority of Filipinos, and Senate President Quezon is the president, serving without salary. Mr. Ernest J. Westerhouse, formerly the able Director of the Bureau of Public Works, is the general manager, and is entitled to much credit for the success of his administration in building up and repairing the system; he has, moreover, succeeded largely in rooting out the shocking system of graft among the employees, prevalent under the private management, which, when frequently challenged, has with cynical indifference replied: "What can you expect of the natives?" That it was not the fault of the "natives" was pointed out to them by comparison with the Philippine Government, which at the same time was comparatively free from graft, though employing many thousands more Filipinos than the railroad.

The purchase of the Manila Rairoad Company was granted at the time with volleys of criticism on the part of the American local press; it is now universally accepted as a success, and no arguments are advanced against the further negotiations now pending for the acquisition by the Government of the two American-built lines in the islands of Cebu and Iloilo. While the Southern Island system of the Philippine Railway Company has been well and honestly managed, the construction work was far too expensive for the service required, and the government payments upon the deficit in interest on the bonds have, since their issuance in 1908, already amounted to more than six and one half million pesos.

The creation of a Government Sugar Central Board has already been mentioned; except for the American companies, one in Laguna Province and the other in the island of Mindoro, both of which were struggling to get started and experimenting with the subsequently modified plan of growing their own sugar-cane, the islands were hopelessly handicapped by the fact that substantially all the sugar produced was muscovado, or low grade, and could find a market only locally or on the China coast. Both of the American investments above mentioned were given government backing and financial aid with the hearty acquiescence of Filipino officials. The government board was created to supply the funds necessary for modern machinery for new centrals. It negotiated an agreement in 1915 with an English company for the machinery for one new central, but the deal fell through because the English concern could not guarantee delivery during the war. Thereafter the field was left private enterprise, since several new American investments were forthcoming, and a string of new

centrals was projected by Filipinos themselves with money from the Philippine National Bank.

The coal shortage in the islands was one of the greatest financial hardships caused by the war. The price rose from about eleven pesos to nearly sixty pesos a ton. Although the Philippines were known to have large coal fields, no capital was offered to develop them. Philippine industries were obliged to send to Japan, China, Australia, North Borneo, and even to Calcutta for coal. The rise in freight rates made the price almost prohibitive. The Government alone through the Manila Rairoad Company and the Bureau of Supply, consumed annually about one hundred and twenty thousand tons of coal. At the new prices, this one item meant at least three and one half million pesos more to be found by government and railroad budget-makers every year. It was determined that, even though prices might fall later on, after the war, the Philippines should never again be caught in this awkward position.

The Legislature thereupon, in 1917, chartered the National Coal Company and supplied the capital in successive grants up to the amount of three and one half million pesos by the end of 1920. The board of directors, as in the case of the Manila Rairoad, has a majority of Filipinos; the manager is an American, the first being Mr. Clifford H. French, exauditor of the Government. When he left the coal company to enter private commercial life, Mr. Claude Russell, the efficient Director of Public Works, was selected to succeed him. The National Coal Company is just entering upon a large production of coal, but has suffered from inability to secure from other countries experienced coal operatives.

The National Cement Company was founded along lines similar to the National Coal Company. In the Philippines cement has cost in recent years more than twice its market price in the United States, and the Government alone has thus been obliged to expend in its building program about three million pesos a year too much. Cement is the material for all permanent improvements such as bridges, culverts, school-houses, and the larger public buildings. The materials for an excellent grade of cement exist in the Philippines, notably in the island of Cebu. Private capital had constructed a cement mill on the Laguna de Bay, but this mill had failed because of its remote location, being too far from the raw materials, and because the German machinery employed was antiquated. This, incidentally, was one of the many unsuccessful local business enterprises the Catholic Church.

Impelled by the repeated suggestions of the manager of the Manila Railroad Company and of the builders in the Bureau of Public Works, the Government undertook in 1920 to erect its own cement manufactory. Su a resolution demands a good deal of moral courage, because it exposed

the administration to constant sniping under cover from those whose financial interests are affected,—in this instance the importers of Japanese cement and the owners of the defunct cement plant on the lake. The plan involved was to interest a prominent American cement man to put up the plant with government money, giving him the right to purchase at the end of a certain date, under a perpetual contract to furnish cement to the Government at cost plus ten per cent. The saving to the Government is expected to equal annually the whole amount of capital originally invested by it.

The National Development Company has the broadest charter of any of these government auxiliaries; it really permits the Philippine Government to enter indirectly into almost any sort of business deemed to be in the interests of the people of the islands. It became the target for a concentrated attack on the part of the fiber monopolies in the United States when it was believed by them that the National Development Company was about to enter the hemp market to sustain prices after the manner of the Comision Reguladora of Yucatan. This step, however, was not taken, and the chief functions performed since its organization in 1919 have been to furnish capital for the coal and cement companies mentioned in the preceding paragraphs; several tracts of land have also been taken over by the National Development Company with a view of sale later to the general public in order to avert threatened agrarian troubles.

The largest business ventures of the Government, however, has been in the charter and operation of the Philippine National Bank, which was created in 1916 by act of the Legislature. From a modest beginning, this bank grew like Jack's beanstalk in the fairy story. In three years its resources totaled 230,000,000 pesos. Then the setback came, and the hard times of postarmistice finance have pressed upon it with almost crushing effect. The fact that other banks in the islands suffered to an almost equal degree does not serve to mitigate the criticism of the Philippine National Bank.

There were in 1915 in the islands five banking institutions, two branches of British Oriental banks, one American bank which followed the British lead like a tail to a kite, one Spanish-Filipino bank of issue controlled by the Catholic Church, and another church organization known as the Monte de Piedad, or pawnshop.

The two British banks and the American enjoyed the use of the government deposits at one per cent, on which they probably made an average of seven per cent net. They made practically no investments in the islands, dealing almost exclusively with the export and import trade. There was much complaint on the part of the public that the government

deposits were used to discriminate against American and Filipino trade. The foundation of the Philippine National Bank naturally was displeasing to these institutions already in the field, and their hostility has followed it ever since.

The new government bank was given the right to issue notes, to do a commercial business, and to invest not more than fifty per cent of its capital in agricultural loans. The pressure to restrict by charter its operations to those of a purely agricultural bank was resisted because of the history of the Agricultural Bank in Egypt, where the people who had borrowed what in its final analysis was the money of their own Government, were not readily induced to pay off their mortgages when these were due, with the result that the bank was in danger of becoming, through foreclosure, the largest landlord in Egypt.

The Philippine National Bank was fortunate in securing as its first president, in 1916, Professor T. Parker Willis, of Columbia University, Secretary of the Federal Reserve Board. He founded the institution on approved banking lines, and returned after about a year to resume his duties at home. His chief difficulties were in finding a trained personnel, since repeated efforts to secure Americans resulted in the coming of only three or four, while the Filipinos were untrained in banking. When he returned to the United States, Mr. Samuel Ferguson became president and served until his death in 1918; he was succeeded by the vice-president, General Venancio Concepcion.

Can any one who was in Manila in 1917 and 1918 forget the financial boom of those years? Men were "getting rich quick" through oil, hemp, coal, and shipping. The Philippine National Bank dealt out loans as though the supply was inexhaustible. The chief mistake, however, was that the government deposits in the bank, which should have been kept in New York and which constituted part of the current reserve fund, to the extent of more than \$40,000,000 were withdrawn by the bank and lent out in the Philippines to finance the erection of a string of sugar-mills. In 1919, after the Armistice, came the turn in the tide. Ever since then the Philippine National Bank has been slowly liquidating its credits, but that is difficult enough in a falling market. In 1919 Secretary Baker, on the urgent request of the Philippine Government, sent a party of expert bank examiners from Cleveland, Ohio, headed by Mr. Francis Coates, Jr., to look into the affairs of the Philippine National Bank. After six months spent in the Philippines, they rendered a report severely critical of the overindulgence in loans and credits, and the lack of experienced management in the bank, but reassuring as to the question of personal honesty of its officials, and hopeful as to the eventual outcome. Then the paralysis

of the foreign markets for Philippine staples came suddenly in July, 1920, and from that date onward the inability of the bank to force liquidation of its loans, and thus to repay to the Government its currency reserve fund, has greatly increased the financial difficulties in the Philippines; the frozen assets of the bank have tied up a large part of the capital of the Government both insular and provincial. In the autumn of 1919, the resignation of General Concepcion was accepted, the bank rechartered on slightly modified lines, and a new general manager, Mr. E. W. Wilson from San Francisco, an experienced banker, brought out to take charge with all the powers of the former president.

The Philippine National Bank has rendered substantial service to the country, in financing the Liberty Loans and the purchase of alien property which it was compelled to pay for in American dollars, thus losing over one million pesos: in opening the field of commerce and investment to Americans and Filipinos alike, and in founding the basis of great future prosperity in the Philippines through the new sugar centrals which are just now coming into operation. For the shortcomings and mistakes of the bank Filipinos were only partly responsible, but they have received all the blame. Politics, always to be feared in a government bank, have played but little part in the management, and then chiefly in the sense of general policies intended to benefit the country as a whole.

Meanwhile, the task of the government officials in the Department of Finance became increasingly difficult: they were confronted with the duty of maintaining the parity of the peso at two for one with the United States dollar. This is an unusual responsibility for a modern government, but the system of a gold standard fund had been adopted substantially upon the model worked in British India and the Straits Settlements. It is practicable in all these countries only in fairly normal times. When the export markets fell absolutely dead in 1920-21, the rupee fell to a discount of about thirty-three per cent., the Straits dollars about the same, and the peso, eleven per cent. This was attributed by some critics to the impairment of the currency reserve fund for investments in sugar centrals by the Philippine National Bank. That the weak situation of this fund was a contributing factor, cannot be denied, but it has become increasingly clear in these post-war years that there is a very limited amount of real money in the world and, of course, foreign commerce must be conducted chiefly upon credit; that such credit must be based upon the ability of a country to produce and especially to sell its products. The Philippines during these years produced more of its staples than it ever had produced before, but the market absolutely collapsed from July, 1920, to the spring of 1921. At the same time all the local banks, despite repeated warnings by the Government, continued to facilitate an unprecedented flood of imports into the Philippines, upon which American houses were unloading goods ordered during the war years that had suddenly become unsalable elsewhere. Coincident with this was the withdrawal from the islands of about eighty million pesos of capital in Liberty Loans, in alien property purchases, in ocean freights, and by the increasing expenditures for Filipinos abroad and in the United States. The local banks were in part responsible through speculation in foreign exchange and through the transfer of funds to meet the pressing demand of their principals at home. The Philippine Government was in the position of one having guaranteed the balance of trade and thus the sale of exports of the whole country, functions over which it had no real concern.

The financial depression was not confined to the Philippines; it was substantially the same throughout the Orient. Shanghai, for example; in 1921 the banks were reported to be in a critical condition through the refusal of Chinese merchants to receive imports for which they had contracted in the sum of nearly one hundred million taels, and the Chinese dollar was falling from two hundred and twenty to less than par. As for the present exchange difficulties of the European countries, they are too well-known to require more than passing mention here. By the spring of 1921 the peso had risen to only a seven per cent. discount, and now that Congress has passed the law raising the debt limit of the Philippines from \$15,000,000 to \$30,000,000, the Government will again be able to sell exchange practically at par, and the peso should rise at once to parity.

Repeated requests that Congress raise the debt limit during 1920 received no attention, and the attitude of the United States Treasury was unfriendly to any suggestion of assistance. The credit of the Philippine Government was still of the very highest, as was shown by the sale in America of six million dollars' worth of 4-1/2 per cent, public-works bonds in November, 1920, at slightly above par. The debt limit of the Philippines had been fixed before the recent years of prosperity in the Philippines; with the great expansion in commerce and general wealth it was found that the small boy had entirely outgrown his clothes. The administrative chaos visible in the Washington administration in the years 1919-20, the break-up of the government organization upon party lines. had its reflex in the Philippines. We were absolutely unable to obtain in Washington the permission to help ourselves by raising the borrowing capacity in the islands, or to secure any financial aid or backing whatever from the home Government. The situation was emphasized in the minds of the Filipinos by contrast with the ready assistance the United States Government was at the same time extending to so many of the European countries, especially to the group of small new republics there.

During eight years the Filipinos had acquitted themselves with real success in the complicated field of government finance. Reference has already been made to the introduction of the budget system in 1916, five years before it was adopted in the United States; and to its creditable handling by Mr. Barretto, Secretary of Finance, and its regular acceptance by the Legislature. Appropriations were conservatively and intelligently made, without wasteful extravagance, in an era in the world unparalleled in modern history for governmental waste and incapacity in handling expenditures; appropriations by the Filipinos were, moreover, entirely free from that form of preelection bribery seen in so many other countries which consists in alloting amounts for political effect in local constituencies,—the "pie-counter," as it is known in Washington,—or subsidies to classes politically powerful such as we have seen made for alleged veterans of the war between the States. Taxes were collected justly and without friction, and at a minimum and constantly decreasing proportionate cost. Courage was shown in investing large sums of money in the creation of industries vital to the country. In so far as government finance bears any direct relation to the general prosperity of a country, it is to be noted that during these eight years the foreign commerce of the Philippines nearly trebled in value. Against all this must be offset the mistake of the Philippine National Bank in tying up the government funds in unliquid loans such as the creation of sugar centrals,—which, incidentally, will prove of great benefit to the country. It is understood that certain critics have now selected the financial situation at present existing as a triumphant proof of the incapacity of the Filipinos. A glance at the financial troubles of all the other countries of the world might be illuminating, but none are so blind as those who will not see. At least, an effort should be made to remove the beam from our own eye before proceeding to extract the mote from our brother's eve.

NOTE:—A comparative statement of the Bank's condition on December 31, 1920, presents in rather definite form the amount of liquidating that was accomplished during the year.

RESOURCES

	December 31, 1921	December 31, 1920	Increase (+) Decrease (—)
Loans and Discounts	₱122,031,839.12	₱151,506,846.48—	₱29,475,007.36
U. S. and Philippine			
Government Bonds	1,795,200.00	8,067,900.00—	6,272,700.00
Bank Site and furni-			
ture and fixtures	1,135,863.19	1,005,796.89 +	100,066.30

D.1. 6. 6.4			
Echange for future	0 0 477 400 69	69,497,538.24—	66,650,128.62
delivery	2,847,409.62		3,652,915.65
Due from branches	1,384,654.57	5,037,570.22-	5,052,515.05
Due from bank and	0.055 804.00	0.450.000.00	4 000 0C1 C4
bankers	2,255,724.98	8,479,086.62—	6,223,361.64
Cash in vault and			
with Treasurer of			
the Philippine Is-			
lands	1,057,514.02	3,663.961.65—	2,606.447.63
Customers' liabilities,			
L/C	7,480,716.56	16,673,976.34—	9,193,259.78
Other assets	29,659,286.04	12,355,319.36+	17,303,966.68
Deferred expenses	12,570,469.69	+	12,570,469.69
Bills for collection	3,412,379.99	11,978,005.93—	8,565,625.94
			
Total resources	₱185,631,057.78	288,266,001.73 —	₱102,634,943.95
	LIABILI		
a			
Capital	₱35,300,000.00	争12,216,230.00+	₱23,083,770.00
Reserve funds and			
surplus		9,783,770.00—	9,783,770.00
Reserve for contin-			
gent liabilities		1,596,724.13—	1,596,724.13
Reserve for taxes and			
fidelity bonds	248,321.70	345,379.13—	97,057.35
Reserve for uncol-			
lected interest	5,391,781.07	+	5,391,781.07
Dividents unpaid	2,789.93	729,454.25—	726,664.32
Circulation	32,704,516.05	24,195,513.60+	8,509,002.45
Exchange contracts	2,847,409.62	69,497,538.24—	66,650,128.62
Commercial credits	7,480,716.56	16,673,976.34—	9,193,259.78
Deposits	84,390,154.29	134,728,886.02—	50,338,731.73
Due to banks and	, ,	•	, ,
other liabilities	13,852,988.49	5,836,444.01+	8,016,544.48
Deferred income		684,080.08—	684,080.08
Bills for collection	3,412,379.99	11,978,005.93—	8,565,625.94
	3, 112,310.00		0,000,020.01

Total liabilities. \$\P\$185,631,057.78 \$\P\$288,266,001,73\$_\P\$102,634,943.95 "Deferred expenses" largely consists of obligations contracted with several banks in Shanghai on account of losses suffered through foreign exchange contracts.

The net profit for the year 1921 reached the sum of \$\P\$4,369,864.06

which, added to reserve fund existing on January 1st of the same year, has been instrumental in counter-balancing the great losses previously sustained. There was charged during the year to bad and doubtful debts and to deferred expenses a total of \$\mathbb{P}24,181,458.09\$. Expenses for taxes and interest on deposits (largely government) amounted to \$\mathbb{P}3,892,908.07\$. During 1922 it will be necessary to charge off an additional amount from the resources held by the Bank prior to 1921.

It is gratifying to mention the fact that, in the midst of the most acute economic and financial crisis ever known, the burden of financing agricultural interests fell almost entirely upon the Philippine National Bank. Except in very unusual cases, no foreclosure was made. On the contrary, the utmost efforts were made to carry the farmers through the trying period. The number of loans granted to farmers during the year was 847, aggregating ₱5,733,000.00. The total number of loans to farmers outstanding at the end of the year was 3,451, involving the sum of ₱38,509,324.16. This does not include financial help extended to farmers through loans made to Sugar Centrals. Commerce and industry have likewise received aid to the extent warranted by the circumstances. While a large proportion of the loans granted to farmers prior to 1921 will take a long time to liquidate, still, with the additional security placed with the Bank, during the year, such loans are sound and fully secured.—From the ANNUAL REPORT of the Board of Directors of the PHILIPPINE NATIONAL BANK as of December 31, 1921.



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The Philippine Constabulary

ITS AIMS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

by

MAJOR R. A. DUCKWORTH-FORD, P. C., F. R. G. S.

Rudyard Kipling, the famous English author, who has probably done more than any other man toward investing the routine of official duty and governmental service with the glamor of romance and high adventure, once wrote a song about Royal Marines in which he described them as a combination of soldier and sailor: a force ready to go anywhere on land or water, and do anything they might be asked to do in the service of their country. With at least equal truth a member of the Philippine Constabulary may be described as "a soldier and policeman too", with some of the ingredients that go to make administrators, explorers,

educators, missionaries, and diplomats thrown in for good measure.

The Philippine Constabulary was organized in 1901 by Brigadier General Henry T. Allen, U. S. Army. He was assisted in his work by a small but exceedingly able group of United States Army officers. It would be difficult to overestimate the debt owed by the Insular corps and by the people of the Philippines for what those officers accomplished toward establishing on a practical basis the nucleus of a national force for the preservation of law and order within the borders, and for the defence of the islands against outside aggression. This debt can only be paid by appreciative recognition and unstinted gratitude, and the practical way of showing this is for the corps to live up to the high standards set up for it from its inception. The quality of those officers who were charged with the formation and development of the Constabulary may be measured by a glance at their subsequent records. Almost without exception they were given responsible commands in the American Expeditionary Force, and all of them rendered distinguished service in the Great War. It will suffice to recall that from the signing of the Armistice until the date of its recall a few weeks ago Major General Henry T. Allen commanded the United States Army on the Rhine, and that Major General James G. Harbord, after serving as Chief of staff, commander of the "Marines" Division, and Chief of the Service of Supply in France, is now Deputy Chief of the General Staff at the War Department, Washington. As such he is virtually the nerve center of the American army; and it may fairly be inferred that the notable quickening-up that has become apparent in the army all along the line, during the past eighteen months, should be attributed to General Harbord's genius. The army officers who built the Constabulary laid its foundation deep, and builded from the ground up. The corps has now been a going concern for twenty one years. It is of legal age. It has arrived.

In the earlier days of the Constabulary nearly all of its officers were Americans, who had been drawn from disbanded volunteer regiments or from regular units of the U.S. Army. But from the first Filipino officers were gradually introduced; and in 1918 the corps became almost entirely "Filipinized", mainly due to the summons by the United States for all Americans possessing previous military training and experience to serve as officers in its enormously expanded army. At that time all but a handful of Americans, who were needed to carry on certain administrative and executive work of a more or less specialized nature, took advantage of the opportunity to retire under the Osmeña Act; and General Rafael Crame, its present Chief, was placed in command of the Constabulary. Today less than a score of American officers are carried on the active list, and the Constabulary is therefore essentially a national force composed of Filipino soldiers, officered almost entirely by Filipinos, maintained by funds of the Philippine Government, and commanded by a citizen of the Philippine Islands.

The Chief of Constabulary has assembled around him at Headquarters, Manila, a small group of officers which forms the nucleus of a general staff. The general policy of the organization, and the distribution of its services, military and civil, are determined by the Chief. The Assistant to the Chief, Colonel C. E. Nathorst, is virtually the Chief of staff as well as Inspector General. He is charged with responsibility for the distribution and execution of all administrative details. The channels through which this is done are indicated in the following diagram:

The Chief of Constabulary (General Rafael Crame).

The Assist. to the Chief Inspector General & Chief of Staff (Colonel C. E. Nathorst)

Company Commdrs; Munic. Police

The authorized strength of the Constabulary is 382 officers and 5902 enlisted men, including the personnel of the Medical division and the Band. The administrative unit is the Company, which usually consists of two officers and about 50 riflemen. The system of operating the force in peace time is territorial. That is to say, one or more companies are permanently assigned to every province. The number of companies assigned to a province is determined by its general peace conditions, its area and population, and by its topographical features. Many of the men in every company are married, and establish homes in the provinces where they are stationed. For this and other reasons this "territorial" system is practical, economical, and popular. Companies are kept up to strength by recruiting within the province, and the men become familiar with the peculiar habits and tendencies of the people, and with the country over which they work including isolated barrios and sitios, unmapped trails, hidden creeks and backwaters, swamps, ravines, mountain passes, and so forth. It is thus comparatively easy for officers to keep in touch with political and social undercurrents and scrutinize the movements of suspicious characters.

Company commanders are responsible for the good order and security of the patrol areas over which the companies operate. They are also responsible for the training, discipline, and general welfare of their commands. It is their particular duty to see that their men are properly fed and clothed, and that the barracks are kept sanitary and hygienic. Educational instruction, athletics, and healthy amusements also form a part of the company curriculum, and an officer who has his heart in his work will find that he can keep himself busy and interested from reveille to taps, 365 days in the year. Company commanders are under the immediate orders and supervision of the Provincial Commander, who is usually a captain. It is the duty of this officer to keep the Chief fully informed of all important events occurring in, and of conditions affecting his province, including crimes, disorders, epidemics, political movements, agricultural respects, and so on. Provincial commanders are in turn subject to supervision and inspection by officers of the Inspector General's Division.

The internal peace and security of the Islands is maintained mainly by an extensive, never resting system of patrols. A patrol may consist of two soldiers, of a non-commissioned officer and four or five men, or of an officer and eight or a dozen men. In every province, every day of the year, constabulary patrols hike along the highways and byways; they tramp over the trails, and give "the once over" to towns, barrios, and sitios encountered along the eroute. They penetrate the unexplored forest areas of Mindanao; they navigate in dugout canoes swift boulder-

strewn streams and sluggish creeks; they thread the narrow trails among the precipitous ranges of the Mountain province. They operate over every description of country in all kinds of weather. And wherever they go they mingle with the people; they sympathize with them in their hopes and their local troubles; they give them advice and practical assitance in matters of hygiene, sanitation, and trail-building; they keep them informed of happenings in the great world outside. Particularly, in the non-Christian districts, they enquire into the relations existing between the various tribes and clans. Family dissensions are smoothed over, feudal quarrels are adjusted. When information of the commission of some crime is received the case is investigated, and steps are taken to bring the guilty parties to book. The movements of roving bands are watched, and if a band of character is reported to be in the neighborhood it is pursued and captured or broken up. The appearance of unknown persons (especially foreigners) in out-of-the-way districts is made the subject of careful scrutiny. And always in the less settled districts maps of trails are checked and corrected, or new maps are made. In fact the work of the patrols is as varied as it is comprehensive and unremitting. Every month scores of thousands of kilometers are covered, and every part of the archipelago from Aparri to Bongao is combed by this means. The constabulary patrols do their work silently and inconspicuously. The peace-loving citizen, the industrious farmer, the busy trader in a provincial town or barrio scarcely troubles to consider the source of his security. But the lawless folk- and there is a lawless element in every province and in every town—never forget the existence of the ubiquitous men in khaki and red. They have a very wholesome respect for the silent patrols that are apt to turn up at any time in the least expected places.

The Constabulary is charged with many duties besides patrol work. Whenever cholera, rinderpest, or any other epidemic appears in a neighborhood the constabulary is called upon to establish quarantine, and to render assistance to the Health Officers or the veterinarians. If a catastrophe, such as a volcanic eruption, an earthquake or a violent typhoon occurs, a company or detachment is immediately rushed to the stricken area to render first aid. Within a few hours after the great eruption of Taal volcano, in 1911, when over 1500 persons were killed by the blast or by the flooding waters of the lake, parties of constabulary were searching the buried island for possible surivivors; and for weeks afterwards detachments were employed in succoring the homeless and hungry women and children as well as scores of men who had been maimed by the explosion.

All companies receive instructions in fire-fighting, and whenever a

fire occurs in a provincial town, the constabulary, if within reach, is invariably among the first on the spot and among the most active in subduing the flames. The suppression of outlawry, the investigation of crimes of violence, the apprehension of criminals, and the checking of opium smuggling and gambling are among the ordinary routine duties of the constabulary. Indeed, but for the great expenditure of time involved in handling gambling cases it would be possible to devote considerably more attention to the military training and development of the Constabulary. It is true that regular hours are allotted to the training and discipline of the men, in order to keep them up to a high standard of efficiency. This training includes instruction in infantry drill, musketry, bayonet practice, physical exercises, elementary English, and in civil and police duties. But the limited size of the companies and the constantly increasing demand for their services in connection with the campaigns against rinderpest, locusts, and other epidemics and plagues, in addition to their regular police and civil duties, have hitherto stood in the way of any attempts to expand along military lines. It has been impossible to experiment with any of the auxiliary branches of an infantry division, such as an engineer unit, a battery of artillery, a machine gun section, or a squadron of cavalry; nor has it been practicable to delve into the science of advanced tactics, of strategy, or even of field intrenchments.

Since the early days of the American occupation the Philippines have passed through some troublous times and have suffered various vicissitudes in the process of achieving their present advanced position of peace, security, and orderliness. For more than ten years subsequent to the declaration of peace, on July 4, 1902, the constabulary was constantly engaged in active operations against armed and organized bands of outlaws. The following summary of campaigns in which the force has taken a prominent part will indicate that, in addition to its multitude of civil duties, it has conducted or shared in many arduous and protracted military operations:-

THE LUZON CAMPAIGNS (1902 to 1910 inclusive), against Felipe Salvador, Faustino Guillermo, Ayala, Sakay, Felizardo, Montalon, Simeon Ola, and other equally desperate outlaw leaders. In 1920, also, constabulary activities against Juan Villaraga culminated in the killing of the bandit.

THE VISAYAN CAMPAIGNS (1902 to 1911), against large organized pulahan forces, in the islands of Samar, Leyte, Cebu, Negros, and Panay, under such notorious chiefs as Otoy, "Generals" Quintin and Anatalio Tabal, and "Papa" Isio.

THE MINDANAO & SULU CAMPAIGNS (1903 to 1917 inclusive),

against Moro outlaws in Lanao, Cotabato, Jolo, and other districts, including a particularly sharp affair in the province of Surigao.

In these campaigns the constabulary operated as Expeditionary columns, consisting of a number of companies and detachments, sometimes in cooperation with the U. S. Army and Scout regulars and sometimes independently. Even at the present time the operations of the constabulary in Mindanao and Sulu are sometimes in the nature of disciplinary expeditions rather than of simple patrols.

Like the Islands the Constabulary has suffered some victssitudes in the course of its career, and it would be improper in a survey of this kind to draw attention to its achievements and to side-step its delinquencies. The mutiny of Constabulary detachments at Vigan (1904) and Davao (1909) and the lamentable outbreak in the Walled City, Manila (December 1920) have left a "bar sinister" on the Constabulary escutcheon. After the last named tragedy it seemed, for a time, as if the confidence of the people in the usefulness and integrity of the corps would be shattered. But the constitution of the constabulary is strong, and its heart is sound. It has survived the shock it suffered, and by steadfast service it is living the stigma down. General Wood, since his inauguration as Governor General, has more than once publicly complimented the corps for the high standard of its discipline and efficiency; and the selection of a double company of constabulary to be the Guard of Honor at the Malacañan Palace, for the Prince of Wales, on June 13th last, was a signal honor.

The Constabulary has already been referred to, in this article, as "the nucleus of a national force.... for the defense of the islands against outside aggression". The desire for liberty and independence of thought and action is inherent in the human race. It is an honorable and legitimate ambition cherished by all men, both individually and collectively. When groups of people become united by racial and geographical affinities, by similarities of habit and thought, and by a general community of interests, it is inevitable that a movement toward the consummation of the recognized nationality should develop. From time immemorial the lessons of history teach us, however, that a nation cannot crawl within its shell and sit still. To endure it must advance with the advancing world: it must keep in line with the times. It must be prepared to keep up its end, and to hold its own, in its dealings with other nations. And in order to do this it must possess certain characteristics, certain qualifications, and certain resources. Among these may perhaps be mentioned the physical and material means to guarantee national solvency, a stable government security to the lives and property of aliens, and the power to repel hostile invasion.

A very modest estimate of the minimum land forces that would be required by a State with the geographical vulnerability of the Philippines would be a standing army of 25,000 men, capable of rapid expansion to 100,000. This of course should be supported by a naval force, consisting mainly of destroyers and submarines. But for the purposes of this discussion we will concern ourselves with land forces only. The Philippine Constabulary is the only trained and disciplined military force maintained and controlled by the Philippine Government. It is therefore a peculiarly national organization, and as such it might naturally be supposed that the Filipino people, eager to apply the principles of sovereignty to themselves, would submit to many sacrifices in order to build upon its foundations a defensive system more nearly commensurate with the popular aspirations. It is certain, however, that in the present crisis, the people are in no mood to shoulder any additional financial burdens. How then, it may be asked, may the defensive position of the Islands be strengthened without creating an adequate defence force? The answer is: prepare to create such a force, on paper.

It is suggested that it would be quite feasible, at negligible cost, to work out a scheme in detail, providing for the rapid expansion of the Constabulary to the dimensions of a Division, and to prepare the way for its instant equipment, mobilization, subsistence, and transportation in case of emergency. In other words it is proposed that a complete inventory of the military resources of the Islands be taken, and analyzed and coordinated in relation to matters of personnel, supply and transport, intelligence, and so forth. Information thus collected could be scrutinized, collocated, idexed, filed, and kept up to date, by two or three staff officers specially detailed for the purpose. While no Reserve Force in being control would be created under such a scheme, it is believed that the plan would greatly facilitate the quick organization of a Reserve, should the need ever arise, and a step would be taken toward preparing the Filipino people for political independence, from the standpoint of national defense.

Meanwhile the Constabulary remains the military police force of the Government of the Philippine Islands, administered under the general supervision of the Governor General for the purpose of maintaining order, preventing and detecting crime, and enforcing the laws. As such, despite its setbacks, it has "proved itself fully equal to the need of the service, and is in full measure meeting the object for which it was organized."

NOTE:—Major R. A. Duckworth-Ford, the author of this article, was born in Ceylon forty-five years ago and was educated in England and Scotland. He had his first experience of soldiering in Africa in the Mala-

bele War of 1896. He was a cub-reporter, New York, but the lure of adventure took him to the Philippines in 1901 with the 11th U. S. Cavalry. He was commissioned a Lieutenant in the Constabulary in 1903 and served untill 1913 during which time he was Company Commander, Senior Inspector, and District Adjutant in the Visayas, Jolo, and Luzon. During the World War he volunteered for service with the British Army and was commissioned Captain in the Royal Fusiliers March 1915. In 1917 he was sent to Washington, reporting to the British Embassy. Later he was transferred to the United States Army as Captain and Instructor at Plattsburg Training Camp. Subsequently he served as Instructor at the Culver Military Academy, He returned to Manila in 1920 where he continues military police work which the major finds interesting and congenial. Journalism is his avocation, being a Philippine correspondent for "The Times" (London), and last year Lord Northcliffe apointed him a local representative of his numerous London papers. Major Duckworth-Ford is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. He was attached to the staff of the Prince of Wales during the recent visit of His Royal Highness.—ED.

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Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament

by

President Warren G. Harding
(Address of the President of the United States at the Closing
Session of the Washington Conference)

Mr. Chairman and members of the Conference:

Nearly three months ago it was my privilege to utter to you sincerest words of welcome to the capital of our republic, to suggest the spirit in which you were invited, and to intimate the atmosphere in which you were asked to confer. In a very general way, perhaps, I ventured to express a hope for the things toward which our aspirations led us.

To-day it is my greater privilege, and an even greater pleasure, to come to make acknowledgement. It is one of the supreme satisfactions and compensations of life to contemplate a worth-while accomplishment.

It can not be other than seemly for me, as the only Chief of Government so circumstanced as to be able to address the Conference, to speak congratulations, and to offer the thanks of our nation and our people: perhaps I dare volunteer to utter themfor the world. My own gratification is beyond my capacity to express.

This conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is hazardous sometimes to speak in superlatives, and I will be restrained. But I will say, with every confidence, that the faith plighted here to-day, kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human affairs.

Stripped to the simplest fact, what is the spectacle which has inspired a new hope for the world? Gathered about this table nine great nations of the earth—not all, to be sure, but those most directly concerned with the problems at hand—have met and have conferred on questions of great import and common concern, on problems menacing their peaceful relationship, on burdens threatening a common peril. In the revealing light of the public opinion of the world, without surrender of sovereignty, without impaired nationality or affronted national pride, a solution has been found in unanimity, and to-day's adjournment is marked by rejoicing in the things accomplished. If the world has hungered for a new assurance, it may feast at the banquet which this Conference has spread.

I am sure the people of the United States are supremely gratified, and yet there is scant appreciation how marvelously you have wrought. When the days were dragging and agreements were delayed, when there were

obstacles within and hindrances without, few stopped to realize that here was a Conference of sovereign powers where only unanimous agreement could be made the rule. Majorities could not decide without impinging on national rights. There were no victors to command, no vanquished to yield. All had voluntarily to agree in translating the conscience of our civilization and give concrete expression to world opinion.

And you have agreed in spite of all difficulties, and the agreements are proclaimed to the world. No new standards of national honor have been sought, but the indictments of national dishonor have been drawn, and the world is ready to proclaim the odiousness of perfidy or infamy.

It is not pretended that the pursuits of peace and the limitation of armament are new conceits, or that the Conference is a new conception either in settlement of war or in writing the conscience of international relationship. Indeed, it is not new to have met in the realization of war's supreme penalties. The Hague conventions are examples of the one, the conferences of Vienna, of Berlin, of Versailles are outstanding instances of the other.

The Hague conventions were defeated by the antagonism of one strong power whose indisposition to cooperate and sustain led it to one of the supreme tragedies which have come to national eminence. Vienna and Berlin sought peace founded on the injustices of war and sowed the seeds of future conflict, and hatred was armed where confidence was stifled.

It is fair to say that human progress, the grown intimacy of international relationship, developed communication and transportation, attended by a directing world opinion, have set the stage more favorably here. You have met in the calm deliberation and that determined resolution which have made a just peace, in righteous relationship, its own best guaranty.

It has been the fortune of this Conference to sit in a day far enough removed from war's bitterness, yet near enough to war's horrors, to gain the benefit of both the hatred of war and the yearning for peace. Too often, herefore, the decades following such gatherings have been marked by the difficult undoing of their decisions. But your achievement is supreme because no seed of conflict has been sown; no reaction in regret or resentment even can justify resort to arms.

It little matters what we appraise as the outstanding accomplishment. Any one of them would have justified this Conference. But the whole achievement has so cleared the atmosphere that it will seem like breathing the refreshing air of a new morn of promise.

You, gentlemen of the Conference, have written the first deliberate

and effective expression of great powers, in the consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility, and challenged the sanity of competitive preparation for each other's destruction. You have halted folly and lifted burdens, and revealed to the world that the one sure way to recover from the sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it, and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace.

Not all the world is yet tranquilized. But here is the example, to imbue with new hope all who dwell in apprehension. At this table came understanding, and understanding brands armed conflict as abominable in the eyes of an enlightened civilization.

I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is a better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better served in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms.

How simple it all has been. When you met here twelve weeks ago there was not a commitment, not an obligation except that which each delegation owed to the government commissioning it. But human service was calling, world conscience was impelling, and world opinion directing.

No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other to common understanding has made new relationships among governments and peoples, new securities for peace and new opportunities for achievements and its attending happiness.

Here have been established the contacts of reason, here have come the inevitable understandings of face-to-face exchanges when passion does not inflame. The very atmosphere shamed national selfishness into retreat. Viewpoints were exchanged, differences composed, and you came to understand how common, after all, are human aspirations; how alike, indeed, and how easily reconcilable, are our national aspirations; how sane and simple and satisfying to seek the relationships of peace and security.

When you first met I told you of our America's thought to seek less of armament and none of war; that we sought nothing which is another's, that we were unafraid, but that we wished to join you in doing that finer and nobler thing which no nation can do alone. We rejoice in the accomplishment.

It may be that the naval holiday here contracted will expire with the treaties, but I do not believe it. Those of us who live another decade are more likely to witness a growth of public opinion, strenghtened by the

new experience, which will make nations more concerned with living to the fulfillment of God's high intent than with agencies of warfare and destruction. Since this conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace to-day, like conferences in the future, under appropriate conditions and with aims both well conceived and definite, may illumine the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted, and they ought to glow and encircle the globe.

Again, gentlemen of the Conference, congratulations and the gratitude of the United States. To Belgium, to the British Empire, to China, to France, to Italy, to Japan, to the Netherlands, and to Portugal—I can wish no more than the same feeling, which we experience, of honorable and honored contribution to happy human advancement, and a new sense of security in the righteous pursuits of peace and all attending good fortune.

From our own delegates I have known from time to time of your activities, and of the spirit of conciliation and adjustment, and the cheering readiness of all of you to strive for that unanimity so essential to accomplishment. Without it there would have been failure; with it you have heartened the world.

I know our guests will pardon me while I make grateful acknow-ledgement to the American delegation—to you, Mr. Secretary Hughes; to you, Senator Lodge; to you, Senator Underwood; to you, Mr. Root; to all of you for your able and splendid and highly purposed and untiring endeavors in behalf of our Government and our people and the great cause; and to our excellent Advisory Committee which gave to you so dependable a reflex of that American public opinion which charts the course of this republic.

It is all so fine, so gratifying, so reassuring, so full of promise, that above the murmurings of a world sorrow not yet silenced; above the groans which come of excessive burdens not yet lifted but soon to be lightened; above the discouragements of a world yet struggling to find itself after surpassing upheaval, there is the note of rejoicing which is not alone ours or yours, or of all of us, but comes from the hearts of men of all the world.

An Analysis of This Year's Election

By the Editor

Now that election is over and passions have in a measure subsided, it is possible to make a more or less dispassionate survey of the election results and crystallize certain points which should stand out.

GREATER TOLERANCE IN CAMPAIGN

One of the greatest sources of satisfaction to students of political currents and observers of politics is the great degree of tolerance shown in the pre-election campaigns. Many a time candidates of various parties vied with one another in condemning the practice of mudslinging and the use of arguments calculated to malign or hurt the personality of a candidate or political leader. In Manila there was a disposition among the candidates to fraternize.

I have myself been in different provinces and I can testify to the beautiful spirit of tolerance shown. In Camiling, Tarlac, for example, I spoke on the same platform with four candidates for Representative none of whom used at any time in the course of his speech offensive personal allusions. Candidates for insular and provincial offices held joint meetings in Pangasinan, Bulacan, and other provinces and candidates for municipal offices attended the same meetings in Bacnotan and Bangar, La Union, and many other towns of the Philippines. There is satisfaction in the consciousness that there was greater tolerance in the last campaign and it is hoped that in the future a still better spirit may be shown.

ISSUES AND PRINCIPLES

During the last campaign there was also a greater attempt to discuss problems, issues, and principles. This is a healthy sign in a democracy. When political speakers and writers will deal more with ideas underlying good government, domestic and foreign problems, local and national issues a better political education in the country will ensue. This also will further make both for greater tolerance and for a higher standard of political education.

PEACE AND ORDER

This year's election and pre-election activities have been peaceful and orderly. Candidates, leaders, and electors, alike, had due regard for the law. There was an attitude of respect shown everywhere. Government efficials and observers are unanimous in their praise for the peace and order that prevailed thruout the archipelago. It is also the consensus of opinion that this was, on the whole, an honest and clean election. A great forward step has thus been taken in our political progress by the orderly manner of conducting political campaigns, by our clean and honest elections, and by the disposition on the part of the people to abide by the results of the election.

PARTY IN POWER VERSUS OPPOSITION

This is verily a peaceful and law-abiding country. In a period of time, remarkably brief and in a way hardly noticeable and, therefore not wholly appreciated in its full import, a veritable political revolution took place in the land. Impartial thinkers will, I believe, grant that the birth of the new party has been the most influential factor to bring this about.

The one-party rule has been overthrown. Whichever party is in power, there is a formidable opposition. No longer will it be possible to conduct the affairs of the government habitually by means of secret caucuses. More and more we shall have a government by public discussion and a government of public opinion. The results of the election show conclusively that there is an awakened public opinion in this country. In the Senate and in the Lower House we shall have contending forces awake to party interests but conscious of the country's needs.

DISADVANTAGES OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

One regrettable feature observed in the last election was the disadvantageous position in which public servants on the whole found themselves in respect to a struggle for office. Elective public servants devoted to their work in a land where journalism is not well developed are not in the best position to build up their political fences and consequently are at a disadvantage. To show how conscientious men are at a disadvantage when it comes to electoral campaign, I wish to cite here as examples Representative Rafael Alunan of the old Nacionalista party and Senator Pedro Ma. Sison of the new party. Beth of these have had creditable records and yet were defeated at the polls. Other examples if thought necessary could be cited.

POLITICAL COLOR OF OUR LEGISLATURE

The following by parties are the members of the next Philippine Legislature:

AN ANALYSIS

SENATORS

District	Name	Party
First	Santiago Fonacier	Colectivista ~
,,	Isabelo de los Reyes	Colectivista -
Second	Bernabe de Guzman	Nacionalista.
,,	Alejo Mabanag	Nacionalista 🗸
Third	Teodoro Sandiko	Democrata -
,,	Sanitago Lucero	Democrata ι
Fourth	Pedro Guevarra	Colectivista
,,	Emiliano Tria Tirona	Democrata_
Fifth	Antero Soriano	,Colectivista-
**	Manuel L. Quezon	Colectivista
Sixth	Vicente de Vera	Colectivista-
,,	Juan B. Alegre	_Colectivista
Seventh	Jose Ma. Arroyo	Colectivista~
,,	Jose M. Hontiveros	Democrata-
Eight	Hermenegildo Villanue	v. Colectivista -
,,	Espiridion Guanco	Colectivista
Ninth	Francisco Enage	Colectivista -
,,	Tomas Gomez	⊂ Colectivista ←
Tenth	Celestino Rodriguez	/Nacionalista
,,	Sergio Osmeña	/ Nacionalista-
Eleventh	Francisco Soriano	/Nacionalista-
"	Jose A. Clarin	√Nacionalista ́

REPRESENTATIVES

Province	Districe	et Name	Party
Abra		Adolfo Brillantes	Colectivista
Albay	1st	Agapito Buencosejo	Nacionalista
	2nd	Pedro Martinez Jimeno	Nacionalista
	3rd	Pedro Sabido	Nacionalista
Antique		Angel Salazar	Colectivista
Bataan		Antonio Llamas	Democrata
Batanes		Claudio Castillegas	Nacionalista
Batangas	1st	Antonio de las Alas	Colectivista
	2nd	Rafael Villanueva	Nacionalista
	3rd	Claro M. Recto	Democrata
Eohol	lst	Fermin Torralba	Nacionalista
	2nd	Cornelio Sarigumba	Independent

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	2nd	Alfonso E. Mendoza	Democrata
Marinduque		Ricardo Nepomuceno	Colectivista
Masbate		Pablo de la Rosa	Colectivista
Mindoro		Juan Luna	Colectivista
Misamis	1st	Jose Artadi	Nacionalista
	2nd	Anselmo Bernard	Independent
Nueva Ecija		Hermogenes Concepcion	Democrata
Occ. Negros	1st	Serafin P. Hilado	Nacionalista
_	2nd	Vicente Jimenez Tansan	Colectivista
	3rd	Eliseo Limsiaco	Colectivista
Ori. Negros	1st	G. Z. Villanueva	Colectivista
_	2nd	Fermin Martinez	Colectivista
Palawan		Patricio Fernandez	Colectivista
Pampanga	1st	Pedro Valdez Liongson	Nacionalista
	2nd	Vicente Manapat	Democrata
Pangasinan	1st	Mauro Navarro	Nacionalista
_	2nd	Lamberto Siguion	Colectivista
	3rd	Raymundo Camacho	Nacionalista
	4th	Eusebio V. Sison	Colectivista
	5th	Ricardo Gonzales	Nacionalista
Rizal	1st	Andres Pascual	Democrata
	2nd	Mariano Melendres	Democrata
Romblon		Leonardo Festin	Nacionalista
Province	Distric	t Names	Party
Samar	1st	Jose Avelino	Democrata
	2nd	Pascual B. Azanza	Democrata
	3r	Iñigo Abenis	Colectivista
Sorsogon	1st	Antonio Rocha	Democrata
	2nd	Federico Jimenez	Democrata
Surigao		Clemente V. Diez	Nacionalista
Tarlac	1st	Gregorio M. Bañaga	Democrata
	2nd	Benigno S. Aquino	Nacionalista
Tayabas	1st	Agustin Alvarez Salazar	Colectivsita
	2nd	Rafael R. Villar	Colectivista
Zambales		Alejo Labrador	${\bf Independent}$

REMARKABLE RECORD OF NEW PARTY

I must say that the record and achievement of the new party have been marvelous. When was it officially born? February 17th, 1922. When was election day? June 6th, 1922. In a little over three months and a half therefore we have a situation where the new party has the largest number of members both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives - this too with no time for effective organization and with practically no money for the campaign. It should be added that its birth contributed greatly to the weakening of one-party rule in the Philippines and to the great gain by the old party of the opposition. In fact in many places there has been cordial cooperation between the new party and the old party of the opposition to dethrone one-party rule and one-man leadership in the country.

In the Upper House too we have more senatorial districts represented than any other party. In the new party the following senatorial districts are represented: 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, seven out of eleven senatorial districts where senators are elected. The old Nacionalista Party has senators in the 2nd, 10th, and 11th districts. The Democrata Party has senators in the 3rd, 4th, and 7th senatorial districts. The new party has thus the greatest representation not only in the number of senators but also in the area represented, and in this calculation the appointed senators are not included. Before the Legislature convenes the new party will have a still larger number in the House of Representatives than here reported since several who are registered as independent, or democrata or nacionalista even at this writing have signified their desire to join the ranks of the Partido Nacionalista Colectivista.

A FEW OBSERVATIONS

It may be helpful here to indicate a few observations by way of conclusion.

- 1. The last election once more showed that there is a substantial public opinion in this country.
- 2. There were party organizations at work in most places but in some there were none. Next election will undoubtedly see a greater degree of party spirit and party organization.
- 3. While in many places there were party tickets in certain localities there was a free-for-all electoral fight. There were altogether too many candidates for the same office now. Better organized conventions for the selection of candidates is necessary, accompanied by a disposition to respect the results of the conventions.
- 4. While this was in the main a clean and honest election, there are still sources of possible fraud which must be minimized. Illiteracy is cited as an example. When frauds are next to impossible there will be fewer protests following elections.

- 5. There is althogether too much feeding and offering of drinks, making political campaigns unnecessarily expensive. Our poorer classes should especially realize that this is an unhealthy practice in a democracy closing as it does practically the door of political service to poor candidates.
- 6. There is now a provision in the electoral law limiting or regulating expenditures of candidates. No adequate provision is, however, made regarding accounting and reporting expenses. This is a phase of the law which needs improvement.
- 7. Campaign speeches and campaign literature should deal more with principles, ideals, ideas, problems, issues, achievements, plans, procedures, and practice of good government in order to bring about a better type of political education in the Philippines.
- 8. More men imbued with the ideas of honesty, sincerity, and service should take interest in political affairs in the broad and right sense. The tendency to sneer at anything and everything that smacks of politics is a bad tendency.
- 9. Our body electorate must come to realize more and more that the exercise of the right of suffrage is not so much a favor conferred upon the candidates as a duty of citizenship.
- 10. Candidates should realize to a greater extent than it now obtains that a public office is a public trust desired and desirable more for what officials can give than they can get. A public office is nothing unless it is an opportunity to render genuine and disinterested public service.



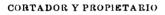
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The Philippine Mission and The Memorial

The Philippine Parliamentary Mission was sent to the United States at the behest of the Filipino people thru the Independence Commission with the specific instruction to labor for the granting of Philippine independence, immediate, absolute, and complete. The official personnel of the Mission was as follows:

Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, Chairman on the part of the Senate.

Hon. Sergio Osmeña, Chairman on the part of the House.

Senators: Hon. Pedro Guevara, Hon. Antero Soriano, Hon. Santingo A. Fonacier, Hon. Ceferino de Leon, Hon. Teodoro Sandiko.

Representatives: Hon. Jose Generoso, Hon. Guillermo F. Pablo, Hon. Pedro Abad Santos, Hon. Celestino Gallares, Hon. Juan Nolasco, Hon. Vicente Llanes, Hon. Emilio P. Virata, Hon. Proceso Sebastian.

Honorary Member: Hon. Teodoro M. Kalaw, Secretary of the Interior. Secretary: Jorge B. Vargas, Director of the Bureau of Lands.

Technical Advisers: Dean Jorge Bocobo, College of Law, University of the Philippines; Dean Maximo M. Kalaw, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines; Mr. Wenceslao Trinidad, Collector of Interna-Revenue; Dr. Antonio Sison; Dr. Justo Lukban, former Mayor of Manila; Mr. Arsenio N. Luz, well-known journalist.

Physician: Dr. Jose Albert.

Secretaries to the Chairmen: Mr. Ricardo Summers, Secretary to president Quezon; Mr. Francisco Zamora, Secretary to Speaker Osmeña.

Assistant Secretary to the Mission; Mr. Benito Razon.

The Mission was also accompanied by Governor Maximo Rodriguez of Tayabas and the following ladies: Mrs. Manuel L. Quezon, Mrs. Maximo Rodriguez, Mrs. Teodoro Sandiko, Mrs. Teodoro M. Kalaw, Mrs. Maximo M. Kalaw, Mrs. Justo Lukban, Mrs. Ricardo Summers, Miss Catalina Santos, Miss Gloria Santos, Miss Carmen Albert, Miss Natividad Albert. These accompanied the Mission unofficially and traveled at their own expense.

President Harding cordially received the Philippine Parliamentary Mission accompanied by Secretary of War Weeks at the White House when the Mission paid its respects to the Chief Executive of the American Republic and presented the claim of the Filipinos for independence. President Quezon read the memorial of the Mission and President Harding who was standing with the Mission members was visibly affected. The following is the full text of the memorial presented:

Mr. President:

The Philippine Parliamentary Mission brings a message of goodwill and friendship from the Filipino people to the people and Government of the United States. The Filipino people still retains the deepest sense of loyalty for, and confidence in, the American people, as it is this feeling of loyalty and confidence which has induced the National Legislature of the Philippines again to send another independence mission to the United States.

We are charged to resume the negotiations for the independence of the Philippines begun by the first Philippine Mission sent in 1919 on behalf of the people of the Philippine Islands. Long before the sending of the first Mission and ever since the Filipinos were given control of both Houses of the Legislature, they could have shown their determination to secure the independence of the Philippines by sending offical representatives to the Government of the United States, but there were other factors outside their control which made them wait for a better opportunity. One of them was America's entry in the World War. They believed that to carry on an extensive agitation for the independence of the Philippines at a time when the United States was busily engaged in a death struggle would have been a cause of embarrassment and a sign of disloyalty. Hence it was thought but proper to refrain for the time being from any agitation for independence. On the contrary, realizing that the war ideals of America were their own, that the struggle for democracy and the right of smaller poeples was also thier own struggle, they placed all the resources of the Islands at the disposal of the United States and offered their sons for the battlefields of Europe. As expressed by the then highest American representative in the Philippines, "Every sentiment, every impulse, every hope of the Filipines was enlisted in the cause of the United States".

THE FIRST PHILIPPINE MISSION

Upon the signing of the armistice, the people felt that the time had come for the negotiations for independence. The triumph of the Allies and the Associated Powers meant for the Filipinos the signal for the resumption of the work for their own cause. On March 8, 1919 the Philippine Legislature approved what was popularly known as the "Declaration of Purposes" which served us instructions to the Commission of Independence and which remains today an official authoritative pronouncement of the people on what should be their relations with the United States.

"The Philippine question," the Decleration of Purposes read, has reached such a stage that a full and final exchange of views between the United States of America and the Philippine Islands has become necessary". The Philippine Islands has become necessary.

pine Legislature declared that the "Stable Government" required in the preamble of the Jones Law as a prerequisite to independence had already been established in the Philippines. The time had therefore come for the fulfillment of the American pledge. The commission of Independence had been created by a joint resolution of the Legislature signed by the Governor General. Its supreme objective was to secure, in so far as humanly possible, the immediate independence of the Philippines. In pursuance of that objective, the Commission of Independence recommended the sending of a Special Mission to the United States and the recommendation was approved by the Philippine Legislature. Forty prominent Filipinos representing both Houses of the Legislature, commercial, industrial, agricultural, labor and Catholic interests were sent to the United States. The First Philippine Mission was asked to "convey to the Government of the United States the frankest assurances of the goodwill, friendship, and gratitude of the Filipino people and to submit with as much respect as confidence the question of Philippine Independence with a view to its final settlement."

When the First Mission reached the United States, however, it found the American people and government completely absorbed in their international problems. The President was in Europe negotiating the Treaty of Versallies, but he requested the Secretary of the War to receive the Mission in his behalf and expressed the belief that the end was almost in sight of the work undertaken between the Americans and Filipinos under the present political status of the Islands. The Mission came back to the Philippines with the satisfaction that it had officially and formally as instructed, presented the Philippine independence question to the American government for its earliest possible solution, and that it had received the full sympathy and cooperation of the administration.

RECOMMENDATION OF PRESIDENT WILSON TO CONGRESS

The international burdens and attentions of the United States and its government were soon lightened, and the people of the Philippines found their way clear to push with renewed vigor their campaign for the establishment of an independent Republic. The Treaty of Versailles had been signed. The work of reconstruction was well underway. The attention of the administration could now be given to the Philippines. In fact, it appeared that fulfillment of America's promise to the Philippines was next in order. President Wilson, in his message to Congress on December 2, 1920, officially recognized the establishment of a stable government in the Philippines as a prerequisite to the granting of independence and formally recommended the immediate granting of independence. He said: "Allow me to call your attention to the fact that the people of

the Philippine Islands have succeeded in maintaining a stable government since the last action of the Congress in their behalf and have thus fulfilled the condition set by the Congress as precedent to a consideration of granting independence to the Islands.

"I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet."

This was in accordance with the real situation as previously reported by the highest representative of America in the Philippines. The Governor-General had officially certified both to Congress and to the President of the United States that a stable government had been established.

EVERYTHING WAS READY FOR FULFILLMENT OF PROMISE

The Philippine question was, therefore, immediately prior to the coming into power of the present administration, on the eve of solution. The solemn covenant, as the author of the Jones Law had called it, between the American and the Filipino peoples was about to be fully and completely fulfilled. The Philippine Legislature had declared that there was a stable government in the Philippines and both the highest magistrate of the United States and the American representative in the Philippines concurred in the view.

We beg to submit that the last two years which have elapsed since the new administration was installed in office has not altered the situation of the Philippine question. The same stable government exists—not indeed, a perfect government by any means, but a government satisfying the requisistes of a stable government accepted in the history of the United States, especially in its dealing with Cuba and the South American republics, as well as in international usage and in the present League of Nations. It is a government which would meet the requirements, laid down by President McKinley to the Cuban people-"a stable government, capable of maintaining order observing and insuring peace and tranquility and the security of its citizens as well as our own." It must be remembered that the phrase "stable government" in the Jones Law was imported direct from Cuban experience. It is worth noting that recently a similar interpretation has been given by the League of Nations. Austria, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, and Finland have been declared possessors of stable government and thus admitted into the League of Nations.

It should be observed that neither in the case of Cuba nor in that

of any of the other countries just mentioned was it required of the peoples thereof that they should be sufficiently strong to be able to repel an invasion by any foreign power. We, therefore, respectfully submit that to refuse the independence of the Philippines at this time on the ground that the Islands should not be left a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages is tantamount to amending and altering the Jones Law by adding a new condition precedent to the peformance of the promise of the American people to the people of the Philippines to recognize their independence. Moreover, such a criterion—ability to resist external aggression—can not be adopted in judging the right and capacity of any people to be free and independent, for by such a test all but two or three countries on the face of the earth would be disqualified from enjoying separate national existence. Such a standard would make it practically impossible for the Filipino people ever to attain their independence.

WOOD-FORBES REPORT DOES NOT DENY STABLE GOVERNMENT

No American official, whether of the past or the present administration, has been able to deny the statement of the Philippine Legislature the certificate of the Governor General, and the recommendation of the President of the United States to the effect that we have established the "stable government" required by the Jones Law in accordance with the general requisites which that condition implies in common usage. Even the report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, which is generally considered severe and critical, does not deny this assertion.

There are apparently in President McKinley's estimate two main elements in a stable government: First ability to maintain order and insure peace and tranquility and the security of citizens; second, ability to observe its international obligations. To these two elements, Mr. Root, in his instructions for the Cuban people, also added the following: It must rest upon the peaceful suffrages of the people and must contain constitutional limitations to protect the people from the arbitrary actions of the Government. All these four elements will be found in the facts gathered by the Wood-Forbes report.

It is admitted by the Wood-Forbes mission that order has been in excellent condition and that our constabulary "has proved itself to be dependable and thoroughly efficient." (p. 13 of the report). "They are naturally an orderly people," (p. 9) said the report. The tranquility and security of the citizens are not jeopardized. As to obligations for international life, the Wood-Forbes mission recognizes that there are people in our service who would do credit to any Government. "We find that the

legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum, and are composed of representative men" (p. 45), observed the Wood-Forbes report. Without desiring to enter into invidious comparison, the Filipinos have an advantage over any oriental country in so far as ability to maintain international relations is concerned for the simple reason that we are most western of all oriental peoples and our laws are not taken from oriental sources. Even today foreigners in the Philippines are being judged, in the courts by Filipino judges, so that there will not be any need of extraterritorial courts. Thus we have already established a thing which China, an independent nation, is still fighting to accomplish.

The Filipino people are by nature and tradition hospitable and respectful to foreigners. There has been no anti-foreign agitation or outbreak. The business of foreigners has been simply protected. There has been no such thing as a boycott against imported goods. During the short-lived Philippine Republic prisoners of war were treated according to the law of nations and there was security for foreigners.

The Insular, provincial, and municipal governments of the Philippines rest on the peaceful suffrage of the people. The people elect members of the Insular legislature, provincial governors, members of the provincial boards, municipal presidents, and members of the municipal board. "It is surprising that the elections have been conducted as well as they have been," said the Wood-Forbes report (p. 23). Speaking of elections in 1916, the report said: "Interest in the election day passed without any serious disturbance. There was a general quiet acceptance by the minority of the results of the popular vote" (p. 23).

"The Supreme Court," said the Wood-Forbes report, "has the respect and confidence of the Filipino people" (p. 14.) The courts of First Instance now mostly presided by Filipinos ever since the establishment of Philippine autonomy, have maintained a standard which compares favorably with many states of the Union. From Aug. 31, 1911 to Sep. 1, 1918, during the last two years of Governor Forbes, administration, 25.1 percent of the decisions appealed from these courts were reversed by the Supreme Court. From March 3, 1919, to March 4, 1921 another period of two years with Filipinos in control, only 20.8 percent were reversed. These figures show that justice was properly, if not better, administered under Philippine Autonomy.

Our present government is "subject to the limitations and safeguards which the experience of a constitutional government has shown to be necessary to the preservation of individual right." The Philippine Government has been subject to such limitations and safeguards since 1900 when President McKinley in his instructions to the second Philippine Commission set down as inviolable rules the fundamental provisions of the American Bill of Rights. These provisions with little modification were later included in the Organic Act of 1902, and again stated in the Jones Law of 1916. For nearly twenty years, therefore, the Philippine Government has been subject to constitutional limitations and safeguards. They are imbedded in the political life of the people, and no matter what political change may occur in the Philippines they will hardly find any material alteration.

The common observer can readily see that the conditions in the Philippines, even those described in the Wood-Forbes report, would compare favorably with those existing in Cuba when her independence was recognized by the United States and those in the four countries admitted to the League of Nations because they possess stable governments—Austria, Bulgaria, Costa Rica and Finland,

OBJECT OF THE PRESENT MISSION

There would, therefore, seem to be no other alternative for the Filipino people but to take up the Philippine question where it was left by the first Philippine Mission, and follow it up to its logical, immediate solution and settlement. The object of the present Parliamentary Mission is, therefore, respectfully to present the advisability of settling once for all the independence problem which has been officially and formally presented by the First Philippine Mission. In this connection we desire to state that the Commission of Independence of which we are the direct representatives is authorized by law to make all the preliminary arrangements for the granting of independence and to perform any other function which the President and Congress of the United States may assign to it in the furtherance of its work.

THE FILIPINOS NOW WANT ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE

There is, however, a difference between the first Independence Mission and our present Mission. The first mission did not specify the kind of independence that was wanted. It would leave the conditions subject to existing circumstances and to negotiations between the representatives of the United States. To-day, however, the Parliamentary Mission has received definite instructions to work for the immediate, complete and absolute independence of the Philippines. This desire, we know, is not born of ingratitude towards the United States; it was born rather of the idea expressed by some responsible Americans that they did not want

to retain any responsibility for the Philippines without also retaining authority. The Filipinos have shown desire to grant reasonable concessions to the United States as a proof of their gratitude for Americans' work in the Islands. At the same time they would like to have it understood that they are ready to risk all the dangers and vicissitudes of complete independence. No people deserves freedom who would not take the risks of freedom. We beg to call the attention of the President to the fact that the political parties now existing in the Philippines and which are represented in the present Mission—the two wings of the Nationalist Party on the one hand and the Democrata party on the other—are all for immediate and absolute independence.

THE FAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Three years ago the impression of the members of the First Philippine Mission was that the main objection presented by many Americans to the immediate independence of the Philippines was the international dangers we would be running into if completely outside the direct protection of the United States. Fortunately a great change in the international affairs has taken place since the visit of the first Mission.

The greatest of colonial powers has already granted recognition of freedom and equality to peoples hitherto held as subjects. Ireland has virtually been declared free. Negotiations were entered into between representatives of the Irish people and of England and a solemn treaty was signed between the two peoples, thus reversing the old relationship of a sovereign power and a dependent race. Egypt has registered her independence. Liberal concessions are being held out to India.

We see in all these acts the triumph of American ideals. It was the triumph specially of that fundamental American principle which declared that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. In fact, when, during the negotiations of the Irish Treaty De Valera invoked that principle. Lloyd George, representing England, immediately admitted that the Empire of Great Britain was ruled by "the consent of the governed," and that was why he allowed negotiations between the delegates of a revolting country and the representatives of the mother country.

Wholesome relationship has especially been established in the Pacific area. Japan has given her pledged word that it is not her desire to add one more foot of Pacific possessions to her domains. Similar pledges have been secured from France and England. In fact the whole world is still celebrating the unprecedented success of the Washington Conference whose very purpose—to quote the words of the President of the United States—

"to provide some means where just, thoughtful, righteous peoples, who are not seeking to seize something which does not belong to them, can live peaceably together and eliminate cause of conflict." "This"—added the President—"is in the American heart, and it is in the British heart, it is in the Japanese heart, in the French heart. in the Italian heart—it is everywhere in the world. If this present-day civilization cannot take advantage of this new realization of that emphasized conviction, I would not give much for the civilization of the future. But there is a new spirit seeking and impelling peace, and it must add to our Christian happiness.

Would it not be a cause of pride for the United States if the Filipino people should be the first nation to take advantage of "this new realization, the new spirit seeking and hence at this time, would not the United States thus prove to the world her sincere faith in the new order of things for the establishment of which she has endeavored to show the most enlightened and disinterested leadership? And would not a denial at this time of the plea of the Filipino people be conversely interpreted by the nations of Europe, America and Asia as a palpable sign of inconsistency?

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PHILIPPINES CAMPAIGN AND FOREIGN CAMPAIGNS.

The President, however, will note the great difference between our present agitation and campaign for independence and the Nationalistic movements of the other peoples. Our work has been carried on in peace, nay, even thru legal channels; the path of other peoples is bathed in blood, Our campaign has been one of friendship and cooperation; the others' are bitter and revolutionary. The Filipino representatives at the head of the movement are with the government and in the government; the others are outside the government and combating the government.

Should not the United States Government settle the question now when such a happy relationship still exists?

COMPLETE AND FINAL UNDERSTANDING DESIRED

We come to America in the full expectation that the United States can do no less than what other nations have done to their dependencies; that she cannot now refrain from practicing those principles which were initiated by her and followed by her sister nations; that she cannot now refuse specific realization of those purposes and ideals, which found eloquent expression in her spokesman both in times of war and in times of peaceful reconstruction. We come for a complete understanding, inspired by the President's assurance to our Resident Commissioners that he would

not recommend any measure pertaining to the future of the Philippines without first consulting the Filipino people. We claim that under the present circumstances no other agency can speak with as much authority on Philippine conditions and aspirations as the duly acredited representatives of the people. We hope, therefore, that in this era of mutual understandings, where peoples and nations, to settle their differences, get together on a common meeting ground, at some council table in complete peace and amity, we may be able to come to a final agreement.

We have exposed our views frankly and without evasion. They are the views of the immense majority of, if not the entire, people of the Philippines, whom we legally and officially represent. If we have overlooked certain fundamental considerations called for by the best interests of the United States or other countries, we should be glad and anxious to know and discuss them. If there is anything in the foreign policy of the United States, or in its relations with other nations, which would, from the standpoint of America, warrant further delay in the granting of Philippine independence they should be clearly stated to the representatives of the Filipino people.

Such open and frank expressions, however disappointing they would surely be to the Filipino people, would go far towards clearing up the Philippine situation, which gives rise to no end of doubts and uncertainties a situation which tends to hinder the normal economic development of the Islands and create a very real feeling of disatisfaction not only among the Filipinos but also among the Americans who have invested or contemplated investing capital in the Philippines.

We come for a final, complete and definite understanding at a time when, with the leadership of America, frank conferences and the spirit of cooperation are having such a tremendous influence on international relations. We should therefore like nothing better than that, for the full exchange of opinions and ideas with a view to a final understanding, the President of the United States will designate or effect the creation of a committee or commission representing the administration and the parties of the Congress of the United States so that a full exchange of views may take place and a final and complete solution of our problem may be had. We earnestly hope that such a committee will be created. We should likewise be glad to discuss with such a body the actual conditions in the Philippines. These actual conditions are described in the Appendix of this statement, but further discussion and elucidation or some of the data furnished would perhaps be desired.

Permit us to call the attention of the President to the fact that lack

of that spirit of cooperation and friendly exchanges of views and conferences have been the cause of the frictions and misunderstandings in past Philippine-American relations. Certainly the American-Philippine War, with the hundreds of million of dollars it cost the American treasury, the hundreds of thousands of Philippine lives it took, and the hunger, famine and devastation it wrought, could all have been avoided if the spirit of mutual understanding and friendly conferences had been resorted to.

The same need, if not more, for complete understandings is apparent in present American-Philippine relations. A veritable covenant was effected with the passage of the Jones Law promising independence as soon as a stable government can be established. We believe that this part of the covenant has been fulfilled. Are the American people ready to perform theirs? Are they willing to redeem their word?

We, therefore, beg to submit with all due respect and in sincerity the absolute necessity for a complete and thorough understanding between the American and Filipino peoples at this time. We need it at this very moment when the only Christian people in the Orient pleads for, and expects complete emancipation, when the American nation swells with pride over her wise statementship in world affairs, and when all the nations of the earth are watching and scrutinizing every deed, every word, and every purpose of the foremost leader of modern civilization—the United States.

Respectfully submitted,

THE PHILIPPINE PARLIAMENTARY MISSION. SERGIO OSMEÑA.

Speaker, House of Representatives, Chairman Commission of Independence on the part of the House.

MANUEL L. QUEZON,
President of the Senate
Chairman, Commission of Independence
on the part of the Senate.



President Harding's Reply to The Mission

"Gentlemen of the Mission:

"I heard with deep interest and have read with full deliberation, the petition which you delivered to me through Mr. Quezon a few days ago. I must express my full and grateful appreciation of your utterances of loyalty and your confidence in the American people. I hope the travels of your Mission and your contacts with both official and private life have persuaded you that the people of the United States believe in that loyalty no less than you avow it. And I trust this mutuality of confidence and esteem will abide for all time, no matter what limitations of government are attached to our relations. The Philippine people and those of the United States ventured together upon a great experiment in human progress. Since you yourselves in your petition have heartily and officially testified its success 'as we have been glad to believe. I am well persuaded that your intimate experiment has established our cordial relations and created our friendships for all time to come.'

"No fixed intent. no thought of conquest, no individual or governmental design to exploit, no desire to colonize brought us together. It was the revolution of the great wherein our assault against oppression at your very doors carried our warfare to your far-away country, and your liberation attended.

"No American statesman had preconceived expansion to the Orient; no American industrial or commercial interests were urging the planting of the flag and our respects in distant lands. The fortunes of war have brought us to one another and held us as your sponsors before the world.

"From the day that tranquility and stability were established in the islands, the question of the future of the Philippines has been a matter of political discussion in the United States as well as in the islands, though from a different viewpoint. Here in the United states, the early opposition was against the so-called 'militarism.' When the issue was made paramount the American people gave sanction to the government policy inaugurated by President McKinley, continued by President Roosevelt, and supported by President Taft.

"The question was not brought to the front in the general elections of 1916, but the party called to power under President Wilson had adhered to its opposition to use the then existing Philippine policy. In its platform it condemned our friedly experiment as though it was a blunder

which had involved us in great expense and brought us weakness instead of strength. I refer to the declaration in order to have you better understand the later congressional action which resulted in the organic act of 1916 known as the Jones Law.

"It was my fortune to serve as a member of the senate when this act was under consideration, and I recall distinctly the varying construction of the preamblists of the progress made toward self-government in that act. It is not to be challenged. It said, there is no American authority in congress or out, suggesting any backward step. This act is not under consideration but you refer freely to the expressed or implied pledge in the preamble and call to my attention the passing of a year and a quarter of this administration without a step towards the full and best avowal of independence.

"I remind you that at the time of the passage of the act the then senior senator from Arkansas proposed an amendment which provided for immediate independence. He had been a witness to the party declaration and had encountered the conflicting opinion. With fine frankness his amendment proved that. 'The President is hereby authorized and directed to withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control or sovereignty now existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippines and he shall on the behalf of the United States fully recognize the independence of the said Philippines as separate and self-governing nation and shall acknowladge the authority and control over the same of the government instituted by the people thereof.'

"The moment was at hand for definite decisive action and the resulting grant of complete and unconditional independence. Manifestly, the majority of congress did not believe in the Philippines' readiness because the amendment was rejected by the responsible majority and no steps later were taken to hasten the grant of independence until the closing day of the same administration when it was about to lay aside all responsibility.

"Without desire to invite conditions I recall these things to your mind because independence has partly played a large part in the politics of your country and ours, and in the appraisal of our relationship, it is well for your people to know something of our politics, even as we ought fully to know yours.

"I can only commend the Philippine aspirations to independence and complete self-sovereignty. None in America would wish you to be without national aspirations. You would be unfitted for the solemn duties of self-government without them. It is fair to assume that our only differ-

ence of opinion is relative to the time for independence. You crave it now, and I do not believe the time has arrived for the final decision.

"Manifestly, so far as expression has been made, the majority of the Philippine citizenship covets a self-sovereignty. There are however, many among you of different opinion. There are petitions against independence. Our mission of investigation pays the United States, tribute to your progress and commends your institutions. Nothing in our achievements at home is more pleasing to the United States than the splendid advancement of the Philippine people. Your progress is without parallel anywhere in the world. From a people who began with little freedom and none of responsibility in a little more than-half of one generation you have progressed notably toward self-reliance and self-government, and you have done it in spite of that lack of independence concerning which you petition.

"To the United States come both gratification for accomplishments and justification for this covernment's attitude because you have made this record under our sponsorship and in the very atmosphere of the highest freedom in the world. I know of no parallel relationship. We have given substantially everything we had to bestow and have asked only mutuality and trust in return. We have extended you control in government until little remains but the executive authority without which we could not assume our responsibility. It is not responsible for me as chief executive definitely to proclaim an American policy, for the decision and must ever be that of congress, but I would be less than candid and fair if I did not tell you that we assume no responsibility without that authority.

"No other instance of the bestowing and recognizing of the independence of any government on record offers comparison. There is no other instance comparable to your relationship. Our interests are mutual under existing conditions. There is no complaint of abridged freedom, no sugrestion of oppression, no outcry against government by force. We do not tax for our benefit. On the contrary, we returned to your treasury that which you expended at your own free will. In 1920 we collected in internal revenues in the United States the sum of \$\mathbb{P}3,000,000 on Philippine products and turned the money into your treasury. We exempt your bonds from taxation in the United States and afford you a favoring market, and ask nothing in exchange. We open our markets to your products as you open yours to us in the mutuality of trade. We have spared you every burden of national defense and the cost of diplomatic respresentation throughout the world, yet you have been secure in your peace and your representations have been beneficially expressed. If we have been remiss, we do not know it. If mutuality has not been perfect, we choose to make it so.

"I note your appeal is founded on changed conditions in the world. The world situation has indeed changed with a higher augury of peace than we have known before. We are only entering the new order. It is not yet fixed. Your international security is fixed under our present relationship but you would be without a guarantee if complete independence were proclaimed.

"It will avail little to recite what seems to us to be the obvious advantage of association with the American community. These things do not appeal to those who are bent on the establishment of independence. Moreover, accord and concord are essential to the welfare of community relationship. Frankly I had hoped—probably I have expressed the hope of many of our people and likely some of yours—that somehow we might develop a relationship that will assure to you complete self-control in your domestic affairs and which would enable you to replace with us the economic and political advantages which are the rightful possessions of agreeable and righteous nations.

"It would ill become me to question your belief in your readiness for the full obligations you seek to ask me. There is no such thought in my mind. But I am thinking of our larger responsibility. Fate cast our relationship and we assume a responsibility not only to all the Philippine people but to all the world as well. We have a high respect for your majority, but no less an obligation to your minority, and we cannot be unmindful of that word responsibility wherein your fortunes are involved in ours.

"No one is or can be perfect from the viewpoint of everyone. We now offer, after nearly a century, a restless experience, but it is not unseemly to assume that our experience is of great value. We not only provide education, but we compel it. You have made most commendable progress in education. Perhaps the majority of your people today will be confirmed by better educated people on the morrow, but we ought to be very sure of a highly preponderate and very intelligent people's sentiment before taking these steps which cannot be retraced.

"Your allusion to a reversal of policy on the part of the first colonial powers rather argues for delay than commends immediate action. The more recent of colonial relationship between Great Britain and her more notable colonies has been marked by training for government and the approach to the measure of autonomy which prevails today. In the main, the longer training has strengthened the cherishment of freedom under the larger relationship.

They reflect the colonial benefits of larger association under one flag. "I do not invite into the conference that we are going into that rela-

tionship. We should not wish it unless it were equally courted. Whether wished or not, our disapproval of permanent retention was made in the very beginning and a reversal of that attitude will come, if ever, only at your request.

"The definite expression has ever been as to the time for launching you into your orbit in the world's situations. You have declared your own readiness. No amount of authority, except as responsibility has, in passing, ever been sufficiently assured to give its stamp of approval.

"Mindful of your aspirations, the Wood-Forbes mission was sent to the Philippines with instructions to investigate conditions to appraise your progress and make a report. The personnel was chosen with a view to having the appraisal made by able men who had been familiar with your early stages of self-administration.

"This mission reported many indications of progress many things achieved, which must have strongly appealed to the Filipino people. I can assure you that they exchanged the pride of Americans to her helpful relationship. It was the recital of a splendid showing and a material, intellectual, political, and moral progress. It can prove that no depracition had hindered your advancement which is so essential to freedom and citizenship which we claimed for ourselves, was not possessed by every citizen of the islands. Only national responsibility is lacking for which there are ample compensations.

"Frankly, then, with everything considered, with fullest appreciations of your aspirations, with shared pride in your achievements, with gratitude for your loyalty, with reiterated assurance that we mean to hold no people under the flag who do not rejoice in that relationship, I must say to you that the time is not ripe for your independence. I can imagine a continued progress with which we must keep our bonds either easier to sever or to rivet them more firmly, if you will it to be so. We must await that development. The new order of the world made secure—with conquest outlawed and with the peace and the covenant of all civilized people—may speed the day when you either need us or wish for our intimate relationship. But this time is not for me to say whether the day is distant or near.

"Meanwhile, I can only renew the proven assurance of our good intentions, our desire to be helpful without exacting from your private or public purse or restricting the freedom under which men and people aspire and achieve. No backward step is contemplated no diminution of your domestic control is to be sought. Our relation to your domestic affairs is that of an unselfish devotion, which is born of our feat in opening to you

the way of liberty. Our sponsorship in international affairs is reverenced in the common flag which is unfurled for you as it is for us and security in your seal of American relationship."

How a widow protected her inheritance

When a well-known business man died recently, it was found that his will left everything to his wife.

However, her inheritance did not free the widow from annoyance

and trouble. In fact it created them.

Relatives and friends came forward with numerous investment proposals. Various personal needs, all requiring the expenditure of money,

were pressed upon the widow.

The protection of her inheritance and insurance money now became a serious problem for this woman. She remembered that her husband had a personal friend who was an officer in The Philippine Trust Company, and she called upon him. He recommended that she consult a lawyer regarding the establishment of a trust fund.

This the widow did and an arrangement was entered into under which the Philippine Trust Company now cares for the fund and pays the income to her in regular installments. She has no financial cares nor responsibilities. She finds personal interest in her business problem whenever she needs it, and—what is most important—her inheritance is Safeguarded.

The strength, responsibility, and integrity of the Philippine Trust Company are her protection.

The subject of trust funds, created either by will or during life, is discussed in Safeguarding Your Family's Future. Ask the Philippine Trust Company for a copy, and consult its officers as to how it can serve you or your family under a trust fund. The booklet is also sent on request to the address below.

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EDITORIALS

OUR GREETINGS

THE NATIONAL FORUM makes its bow hereby to the public. In this, our first number, we extend our greetings to the government officials, to the various institutions, the various journals, magazines, and periodicals, to the government and people of the Philippines, and to the sovereign power in these islands.

OUR PROFESSION OF FAITH

True to the name which it bears, THE NATIONAL FORUM will cover a field as broad as our important national interests and the needs of the cosmopolitan population of the Philippines. The magazine will deal with educational, social, political, and economic problems. It is our fond hope that it will become a genuine forum for the expression of studied opinions, treasured beliefs, and crystallized convictions. THE NATIONAL FORUM will stand as a staunch advocate of what is believed to be just noble, and righteous, and as a champion of the cause of freedom, of right, and of justice.

The editorial policy will be characterized by fearlessness and independence. We shall be uncompromising in advocating what is right and in fighting what is wrong. We shall be independent in the convictions expressed, serving no vested interests, and subservient to no particular group of men. Believing in freedom and respecting the rights of others to enjoy freedom, we shall be fearless in our constructive criticisms and openminded to the constructive criticisms of others. We shall seek to promote intellectual freedom in the publication of articles. Authors will assume responsibility for the views they express. Claiming the free and untrammeled right of intelligent criticism for ourselves, we shall respect the free and untrammeled, but intelligent and well-intentioned, criticisms from our brethren in the republic of science and letters.

LABOR FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Filipino people have once more in words and in deeds demonstrated their unswering devotion to their mighty ideal. All parties and all candidates in the last electoral fight vied with one another in ma-

king patent and public their determination to achieve Philippine independence, immediate, absolute, and complete. A Parliamentary Mission has just been sent to the United States once again officially to present our national plea. A reply that was diplomatic but which leaves the situation just as uncertain and just as unsatisfactory was received. The turn of recent events impels us anew to labor without fear and without vacillation to convince that great ruling American public opinion which shall in all its majesty compel the government and people of the United States to grant us the independence which we so dearly covet and which America definitely promised.

GREATER ECONOMIC MINDEDNESS

The people of the Philippine Islands, young and old alike, need to acquire a keener sense of economic mindedness. There is an imperative need of a greater and more intelligent insight on the part of our educated citizenship into the agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial problems of the Philippine Islands.

Our young people especially need to interest themselves in the commercial and business enterprises of the country. The economic problems ought to occupy a relatively greater place in their consciousness. In their classes and in their independent reading, they should acquaint themselves with our important commodities, the market values of the chief exports and imports, the sources of wealth, and the factors affecting our national prosperity. They should learn how to interpret intelligently the financial page of a newspaper, the market reports, and other features of a publication dealing with the economic aspects of individual and social life.

The economic feature of life is basic. This is one of our cardinal faiths, and in this conviction THE NATIONAL FORUM will be utilized to promote greater economic mindedness among the people of the Philippines.

AMITY AMONG NATIONS

The recent World War with all the losses in lives and property will, in a measure be justified if men and nations hereafter shall consciously sincerely, and systematically labor to bring about durable peace and real amity among individuals and nations. International peace is based upon international amity. Proper dealing is founded upon knowledge, confidence, and sympathy. There is need of thinkers in every country to interpret the individual and national traits and characteristics to their

nationals and to other peoples and to interpret truthfully and sympathetically the traits and characteristics of other peoples to their fellow-citizens. THE NATIONAL FORUM shall seek to follow the spirit of this principle in the hope of contributing something toward bringing about better understanding and more lasting friendship among men and nations.

STANDARDIZATION OF PRIVATE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

We are happy to publish in this number a message from Honorable Eugene A. Gilmore, the new Secretary of Public Instruction for the Philippine Islands. We thought his message stood for real education and real educational institutions and we have so labeled it.

There is need of standardization of private school institutions, not the type of standardization that makes for a deadening uniformity and over-centralization of control, but genuinely educational standardization that fosters academic freedom. There are schools and schools in the Philippine Islands and there are verily institutions that are good, bad, and indifferent. We believe those who are charged with the duty of administering the better private institutions are all and one desirous for true standardization of private institutions.

The better institutions are discredited in part because of the failure of some private institutions to maintain a proper standard. The people of the Philippines are entitled to the best type of instruction. Educational institutions are in duty bound to offer the best possible education if they are to justify the confidence of students, parents, and patrons.

We respectfully suggest that educational institutions be not called colleges or "colegios" unless they offer real collegiate courses beyond the secondary work. And right here we may begin the process of standardization, namely the definition and classification of schools, academies, institutes, colleges, and universities. If the proper authorities were to carry out this movement which we strongly advocate, there will undoubtedly be some opposition. But a great many of the private institutions now in existence consecrated to the task of education for good, useful, and serviceable citizenship will be found ready to cooperate.



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NEWS AND EVENTS

THE PHILIPPINE EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

The Philippine Educational Association, organized in 1920 by men engaged in educational work desirous to combine and coordinate their forces to the end that education in the Philippine Islands may minister more effectively to the needs of the country and its people, has the following important objects:

- (1) To promote the cause of education in the Philippines.
- (2) To encourage the scientific study of education.
- (3) To labor for the interests of the teachers and the teaching profession.

At the last annual meeting of the Association the following officers were elected: Mr. Gabriel R. Mañalac, Assistant Director of Education, President; Mr. Roy D. Bennett, Division Superintendent of Schools for Nueva Vizcaya, Vice-President; and Mr. Benito Pangilinan, Division Superintendent of Schools for La Union, Secretary-Treasurer. It was also decided this year to charge an entrance fee of \$\frac{1}{2}5.00\$ and an annual fee of \$\frac{1}{2}3.00\$ and that the entrance fee includes the first year's dues. With these new rates, it should be possible for a greater number of teachers and supervisory and administrative officers to join the Association and help in the good work.

One of the plans of the Association is to publish from time to time monographs dealing with education and educational work in the Philippines. The first of the series of monographs published was "Rizal and Education" written by Camilo Osias, the first President of the Association.

There is a distinct need of fostering a proper spirit of associationism among the public and private school teachers of the Philippines. The teacher's voice will never be heard and heeded until there is an educational entity sufficiently strong to supplement and strengthen the work of the educational institutions in the country.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S ORDER EXTENDING PERIOD FOR PAYMENT OF REAL PROPERTY TAX

Governor-General Wood has issued with the consent of the Council of State the following executive order concerning the extension of the period for the payment of realty tax:

"The provisions of Executive Order No. 18, extending the period of payment without penalty of the real property tax for the year 1922 in the provinces of Albay, Antique, Bataan, Batanes, Batangas, Bohol, Bulacan, Camarines Norte and Sur, Capiz, Cavite, Cebu, Ilocos Norte and Sur, Iloilo, Laguna, Leyte, Marinduque, Masbate, Mindoro, Misamis, Nueva Ecija, Occidental and Oriental Negros, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Rizal, Romblon, Samar, Sorsogon, Surigao, Tarlac, Tayabas and Zambales fixed in Executive Order No. 46, series of 1918, are hereby further extended to July 31, 1922."

DR. BARROWS RESIGNS AS UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT

Dr. David P. Barrows, who has a host of friends here in the Philippines having been director of education and is at present the president of the University of California, is reported as having submitted his resignation effective June 30, 1923, or earlier at the convenience of the Board of Regents. Dr. Barrows was elected to his present post in December, 1919, succeeding Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler who was president for nearly twenty years.

Dr. Barrows was born forty-eight years ago in Chicago. He was educated chiefly in the institutions in California but he received other degrees from the University of Chicago and Columbia University. He has given over 20 years of his life to the service of education. Part of that fruitful service was spent in the Philippines as Superintendent of Schools and as Director of Education. He is the author of a History of the Philippines and A Decade of American Government in the Philippines. He is also the editor of a series of books on government and politics published by the World Book Company.

Dr. Barrows has also seen military service. His record is said to include many citations and decorations. He was appointed Major of Cavalry for service in the last World War in 1917 and later was made Lieutenant-Colonel. During his military service he was sent to Siberia and the Philippines.

Dr. Barrows joined the faculty of the University of California in 1919 as professor of education and later he became dean of the College of Education, a post which he was holding at the time he was elected president.

ARTESIAN WELLS INCREASING

According to figures obtained from the bureau of public works the other day, there are now 1,374 artesian wells in the Philippines supplying

potable water to approximately 3,500,000 people. Of these successfully drilled wells, 163 were completed in 1919 at a cost of $\mathfrak{P}344,959.96$; 148 in 1920, at $\mathfrak{P}432,013.18$; 122 in 1921, at $\mathfrak{P}344,770.54$, and 48 from January 1 to May 15, 1922, at $\mathfrak{P}121,229.46$.

From the records of the bureau of public works it appears that the municipality of Batangas, Batangas, has the largest number of successfully drilled artesian wells to date 31, Manila coming second with a total of 27.

A total of 35 artesian wells were successfully drilled in the province of Cebu from January 1, 1921, to May 15, 1922, or about 20 per cent of the total number of wells drilled during that period. Twenty-seven were also drilled in the province of Batangas, and 17 in Pangasinan. These 170 wells drilled since January 1, 1921, to May 15, 1922, furnish an aggregate supply of 5,688 gallons per minute, or 8,190,720 gallons a day.

CHIEF JUSTICE TAFT IN ENGLAND

Chief Justice William Howard Taft of the United States Supreme Court and formerly Governor-General of the Philippine Islands was a guest of honor at a dinner given by the Pilgrim Society to which ambassadors to England, members of the British cabinet, leading jurists, and several Americans were present. After being introduced by Earl Balfour, Chief Justice Taft, in the course of his speech, said the following: "No trouble arises between England and America that Americans do not all assume will be settled by negotiations or arbitration. Any other course is not considered."

PHILIPPINES DRY

In compliance with the new electoral law passed by the Philippine Legislature at the last session, the sale of liquor was prohibited thruout the Philippines on April 28 and 29, May 5 and 6, and June 5 and 6, these being registration and election days. No disorder whatsoever occurred. There was no disposition to disobey the provision of the law.

RECEPTION TO PHILIPPINE MISSION AT WASHINGTON

The Philippine Parliamentary Mission was received by the House of Representatives of the United States. Chairman Towner of the Committee on Insular Affairs delivered an address commending the ability and statesmanship shown by the Philippine Legislature. The Democratic leader, Representative Garrett, delivered an address stating that "the democratic membership of the House is in favor of immediate and un-

qualified independence." Speaking of the appeal of the Mission he said: "In response to the appeal the only difference between Mr. Towner and myself is that I would grant the Filipino absolute and unqualified independence."

Speaker Gillett entertained the Mission at luncheon and Mrs. Harding entertained the ladies accompanying the Mission at the White House.

AGAINST SEA-GOING LIQUOR

Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts of Washington recently praised August A. Busch's stand on "sea-going" liquor, and denounced Chairman Lasket of the Shipping Board for permitting the sale of intoxicating liquors on Shipping Board vessels outside the thre-mile limit.

August A. Busch recently addressed a letter to President Harding calling his attention to the fact that a bar was run wide open on the government steamer, George Washington. He said the United States, therefore, was the biggest bootlegger in the world and that in violating its own laws had set an example of hypocrisy unparalleled in the history of the republic.

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REVIEWS

THE CORNER-STONE OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE. By Francis Burton Harrison. The Century Company. 3.13 pp. Ill.

THE CORNER-STONE OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE is a narrative of seven years observation and experience Mr. Harrison who was governor-general of the Philippine Islands during the Wilson administration. This book is a welcome addition to the constantly growing literature on the Philippine Islands written from a rather impartial and yet sympathetic point of view.

Written as it is in the hope of conveying to Americans in America "an idea of what the Filipinos have done with the self-government...... granted them in 1916," it becomes an important instrument aiding the Filipinos in their plea for justice, for freedom, for independence.

The author seeks to portray in his book the Filipinos' "ideals and ambitions, their trials and problems, their accomplishments and development," rather than to describe the achievements of Americans and foreigners in the Philippines. The writer sets forth with remarkable clearness his reasons for believing that the Filipinos have complied with the prerequisite exacted by the Congress of the United States for the granting of our independence.

Mr. Harrison dips a little bit into past history, dealing with the Filipinos' past and early years of American occupation. He takes up the events during the new era including the record of legislation of the all-Filipino Legislature and the progress of Filipinization. The work among our non-Christian brethren is portrayed and in a convincing manner, with facts and figures, the reader is led to conclude that the prophets of old who predicted that the non-Christian Filipinos would be neglected if their Christian countrymen gained control were veritable prophets of failure. The chapter dealing with war conditions and Filipino loyalty during the war shows that the Filipinos are grateful of the unparalleled generosity of America and the American people; that they believe in America's promise, but at the same time desirous of their independence. The economic activities, the exercise of autonomy granted, the Filipinos' attitude toward foreigners, and the mooted question of Japanese menace are given adequate treatment.

Ex-Governor Harrison, after giving a dispassionate analysis of the situation, expresses his conviction 'that the Filipinos are now ready for independence, that they have already set up the stable government required of them by the Jones Act as a prerequisite, and that, in the words of President Wilson in 1920, in his last annual message to Congress, 'It is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those islands by granting them the independence which they so honorably covet.'"

The last chapter deals with the effect of the American policy in the Philippines upon the European masters of Asia and closes with the following statement: "Let us make secure in the eyes of the world our sincerity and honor by giving to the Filipinos that independence which we have so definitely promised."

"The time is close at hand," argues the author, "when we must redeem our promise, or else forfeit their confidence and good will and break our given word."

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE PHILIPPINES. By Charles Edward Russell. The Century Company. 411 pp. Ill.

This is a book just published and written by Mr. Russell after his tour of observation and study in the Philippine Islands. It is distinct from books written by superficial observers who come to the Philippines for a few days, gathering their information from biased sources, and then write books purporting to be authoritative. This work gives a summary view of actual conditions, political, social, economic, and industrial. It speaks of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, their traits and characteristics, their virtues and defects. Ten years ago the author visited the Philippines for the first time. He is thus able to present observations of progress from first-hand knowledge. He writes interestingly of the home life of the Filipinos, the position of our women, our schools, our legislative and governmental activities, and other phases of Philippine life. Written "in a style of extraordinary vigor and vividness" this trained observer, this keen student of economics and sociology, seeks to be just and fair.

The vital and interesting question of independence is of course considered. Mr. Russell states both sides of the argument in Chapter XVII, dealing with the independence movement, and Chapter XIX, dealing with "both sides of the independence question." A chapter is devoted to the so-called "Japanese menace" which has been harped upon for ever so long by opponents of Philippine independence. "From any point of view," Mr. Russell says, "except obsession, the seizure of the Philippines by Japan

seems preposterous." And he winds up the chapter by recalling the words of Marquis Okuma, the grand old man of Japan, to Mr. Russell which are as follows:

"Let us clear our minds of any such thought. The days of international brigandage are past. It is a new and better world in which we live. Acts of aggression by strong nations upon weak are no longer possible. Let us remember the lessons of the Great War. There was once a nation in this world that believed it could go on building its greatness without regard to the rights of others. Where is that nation now?"

Mr. Russell, loyal and faithful to his Americanism, recognizes the plighted word of the government of the United States which promised to withdraw from the Philippines and grant the Filipinos their independence. I am unable to resist the temptation of quoting what should be recognized as an eminently just statement of the case in the following paragraph:

"There is one other consideration rightfully belonging to this debate that ought not to be neglected here. Some Americans in the Islands and elsewhere feel vaguely that, aside from the question of dollars, a point of national pride is involved. Wherever the flag of the United States has once flown, to withdraw it involves national dishonor. Those to whom patriotism has another appeal, whose pride in their country is based not upon its physical dimensions but upon its history, its obvious mission, its significance to the world, may take the answer to this upon their own consciences, leaving it to no others. These may say that if the creed America has always proclaimed is true and not an impudent hypocrisy, this nation cannot break the smallest particle of any promise that has passed from it, whether to the powerful or the weak. And again, if its professions of faith and the foundation doctrine of its existence have any sincerity, it can know in any such issue but one fact. Not extent of territory but righteousness exalteth a nation."

BARRIO LIFE AND BARRIO EDUCATION. By Camilo Osais World Book Company. 175 pp. Ill.

This volume on BARRIO LIFE AND BARRIO EDUCATION is the latest contribution of the President of the National University, formerly assistant director of education, to the literature on Philippine education. It fills a long felt need and Filipino teachers and supervising teachers

should welcome it as a companion volume. This work is the first of its kind dealing with life and education in the barrios. Its importance is readily realized when it is borne in mind that life in the Philippines is essentially rural and that the position of the barrio school and the barrio teacher is one of great importance.

The book deals with the practical aspects of education in the barrios and portrays the problems to be met in the work of uplifting our barrio inhabitants. The treatment is thoro and practical and people interested in Philippine life, especially those with leaning toward education, sociology, or economics, would enjoy the book.

The author has a great faith in the barrio inhabitants and the common people of the Philippines. "The stability of democracy in these Islands," he says, "depends in a great measure upon the character and intelligence of the average people. The people who live in the modest homes of bamboo and nipa, the sober and industrious dwellers in more or less rural communities who compose the greater part of the Philippine population, those of the middle class, intelligent, happy, and prosperous, constitute the genuine strength of the Filipino people." Toward the end, the author correctly states that "the problem of barrio life and barrio education is a national problem."

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DISCUSSIONS

THE MANILA DAILY BULLETIN ON THE FILIPINO PLEAS FOR IMMEDIATE AND COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

An editorial of the Manila Bulletin, speaking of the presentation of the demands of the Filipino people for immediate and complete independence, said among other things as follows:

"Yesterday, according to the cables, the members of the Philippine mission to Washington presented to President Harding their memorial asking for immediate and complete independence and declaring that the Filipino people have now fulfilled all of the conditions imposed upon them by the federal government.

"As yet we do not know just what the president said to the mission but it is more than likely that he assured them of his deep interest in the Philippine question and of his desire to see such action taken as may best serve the interests of both the American and Filipino peoples.

"Now so much is over. The mission has delivered its message and the president has replied in polite but rather unsatisfactory terms. But nothing of value has been accomplished. If there are no further steps taken the mission will return to the islands without having done a single thing that can be considered as justifying its cost.

"And nothing of value can be accomplished by such tactics. The ultimate reply to the mission's request will probably be as polite as that of the president and equally as unsatisfactory, at least from standpoint of those who desire an immediate and unqualified "Yes" as the answer.

TWO SENATORS MAKE CONFLICTING STATEMENTS

Senator-elect Mabanag, in the Philippines Herald, thinks "the fusion between the Democratas and the Colectivistas would be very unnatural" and is hoping against hope that the Colectivistas and the Nacionalistas (Unipersonalistas) would "again come together" and "join hands."

Ex-Senator Palma, a more prominent leader of the Nacionalista Party, in La Vanguardia, said: "It would be advantageous, in my opinion, to the public interests to have a coalition of parties in order

truly to have a possible majority and minority in the government and it is preferable that this coalition be between Democratas and Colectivistas since both fought strongly the old Nacionalista party at the last elections."

SENATOR MANUEL L. QUEZON SPEAKS FOR THE FILIPINOS

Senator Manuel L. Quezon, a joint chairman of the Second Philippine Independence Mission to the United States and recognized leader of the Colectivistas, on the eve of presenting our demands for independence to President Harding said: "There are three things we want to make plain, first we want full independence, second we are entirely capable of running our own government, and third we appreciate what the United States has done for us and will always want her friendship".

MRS. SOFIA P. DE VEYRA DISCUSSES PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

Mrs. Sofia R. de Veyra rendered a distinct service to the country by her attendance at the recent Pan-American Conference of Women and her active participation in the deliberations of the conference. Prominent women from the United States and from other countries of North America, South America, and the West Indies attended the gathering which was held under the auspices of the National League of Women Voters. Prominent among those present were Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and Lady Astor of England. The following were among her most important discussions:

"Sometimes Filipinos are charged with being ungrateful because of their desire to receive independence. But I am glad to have this opportunity of saying that such a charge is unjustified. We appreciate with all our hearts all of the many fine things America has done for us. Our gratitude will never end. But all worthwhile peoples have an inherent desire to be independent. The American colonists aspired to independence, and fought for it and won it, and surely you were not ungrateful in desiring to be free, and it is the same with us".

"We have long been awake to the necessity of combating infant mortality."......

"Each year the government has appropriated more funds in the annual budget towards public health".

"For instance, in 1909 the government appropriation for this

purpose was \$762,000, while in 1921 it was \$1,526,500. The number of doctors employed in the Public Health Service in 1909 was 46; in 1921, 114; nurses and inspectors, 1909, 49; and 1921, 503. In 1909, no laboratory; 1921, 21 laboratories. In 1909 there was only one water system, and that was in Manila; 1921, 90 such systems, and in addition 2,292 health-giving artesian wells in the municipalities and barries".

Replying to the adverse criticisms of certain American newspapers regarding the Parliamentary Mission sent to the United States to labor for independence, the Press Bulletin at Washington said as follows:

"Independence is the heart's desire of 11,000,000 Filipino men, women and children. They believe they are entitled to it because the United States definitely promised it to them, and because no nation has the moral right, in the sight of God and the Declaration of Independence, to withhold it from them.

"In the past it has been the custom of peoples desiring independence to grab guns and go to war sacrificing much both in money and in human life. But in sending the parliamentary mission the Filipinos are proceeding on the theory that there is a more enlightened way to seek freedom than by resorting to the misery, the suffering and the anguish of the trench and no-man's land.

"They know that the United States is a nation with a heart and a conscience; they believe implicity in its good intentions toward them. Indeed, the history of the United States is such as to cause Filipinos to hope that a sincere, straightforward plea by their leaders for Filipino liberty will not be without a sympathetic response in Washington. Furthermore, they believe that this is the most intelligent method that they can pursue in seeking their independence, and also the only one that can possibly be successful.

"The sending of a Philippine mission is expensive. But it is a method far less costly than that of the battlefield. Filipinos feel they should be praised instead of censured for the sane, civilized, progressive, parliamentary mission plan of campaign they have adopted.

"This is the answer of the Filipino people to the charge of extravagance being made by the enemies of Philippine independence!"

MRS. MAUD WOOD PARK'S "PLEDGE OF CONSCIENTIOUS CITIZENS"

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, interpreting the spirit of the National League of Women Voters and the Pan-American Conference in what is described as a "history-making meeting" in Baltimore, Maryland, recently, sum-

med up her address in the following "pledge of conscientious citizens:"

Believing in Government by the People, for the People, I will do
My Best.—

First, To inform myself about public questions, the principles and policies of political parties, and the qualifications of candidates for public offices.

Second, To vote according to my conscience in every election, primary or final, at which I am entitled to vote.

Third, To obey the law even when I am not in sympathy with all its provisions.

Fourth, To support by all fair means the policies that I approve of. Fifth, To respect the right of others to uphold convictions that may differ from my own.

Sixth, To regard my citizenship as a public trust.

COASTWISE LAW MAY NOT BE EXTENDED TO P. I.

We have received news in the Philippines to the effect that President Harding deferred the application of the Coastwise Shipping Law to this country resulting from the arguments against its extension presented at Washington.

According to the accepted Filipino point of view, the extension of the Coastwise Shipping Law to the Philippines will "(1) grant monopely to American shipping interests; (2) it will impose indirect tax to the Filipinos; (3) it will be an invasion of the legislative field granted to the Filipinos by the organic act of 1916 known as the Jones Law: (4) it will exclude Filipinos to own or to be employed as officers in ships that transport Philippine goods to the United States; and (5) it will subject the Filipinos to retaliatory measures and isolate them as between their competitors in Oriental countries,—perhaps to a greater extent than is compensated by the free entry of Philippine goods to the United States."

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