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CONDITION IN PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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REPORT

OF THE

u. l. SPECIAL MISSION TO THE
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

TO THE

SECRETARY OF WAR

22-26582



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1922

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 47.

[Submitted by Mr. TOWNER.]

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),
That one hundred thousand copies of the Report of the Special Mission to the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War, without the map but with the data on the Philippines preceding and accompanying such report, be, and the same is hereby, ordered printed as a public document, to be distributed as follows: Sixty-five thousand through the document room of the House, twenty-five thousand through the document room of the Senate, five thousand through the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House, and five thousand through the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate.

Passed the House March 17, 1922.

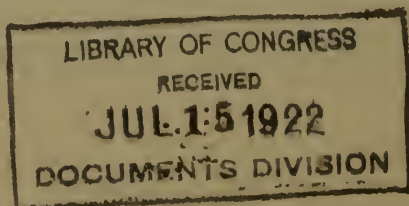
Attest:

WM. TYLER PAGE,
Clerk.

Passed the Senate April 20 (calendar day, June 2), 1922.

Attest:

GEORGE A. SANDERSON,
Secretary.



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COMPOSITION OF THE SPECIAL MISSION.

Maj. Gen. LEONARD WOOD, *Chairman*.
Hon. W. CAMERON FORBES.

ATTACHED.

Col. FRANK R. MCCOY, Chief of Staff.
Mr. RAY ATHERTON, Department of State.
Lieut. Col. GORDON JOHNSTON.
Maj. EDWARD BOWDITCH, Jr.
Lieut. Commander STEWART F. BRYANT.
Maj. A. L. P. JOHNSON.
Prof. H. OTLEY BEYER, University of the Philippines.
Capt. ROBERT C. CANDEE, Aid-de-camp.
First Lieut. OSBORNE C. WOOD, Aid-de-camp

INTERESTING DATA ON THE PHILIPPINES.

***Population.**—Total population, 1903, 7,635,426; 1921, 10,956,000; Christian, 9,350,240; Mohammedan, 434,868; Pagan, 540,054; Buddhists, 25,568. Foreigners: Americans, 6,931; Spanish, 4,271; British, 1,202; Chinese, 55,212; Japanese, 12,636; all others, 2,893.

Physical.—Number of islands, approximately, 3,000. Total area, 115,026 square miles. Total area under cultivation, 11,503 square miles (10 per cent), valued at \$229,000,000. Total area of forest land of commercial value, 64,800 square miles, 99 per cent of which belongs to the Government. Number of Provinces, 49. Number of municipalities, 829. Estimated total wealth of islands, \$5,500,000,000.

Educational.—Number of public schools, 6,493. Total enrollment of pupils, including private schools, 1,020,000. Degree of literacy (about), 37 per cent. Having received primary instruction, 35.9 per cent; having received secondary instruction, 0.89 per cent; superior instruction, 0.13 per cent. Number of teachers (of whom 501 are American), 18,134. Number of colleges and universities, 17. Enrollment of students in University of the Philippines, 4,130. Number of students attending colleges and schools in the United States, 2,700.

Health.—

Year.	Death rate.		Birth rate.		Infant death rate.	
	Manila.	Provinces.	Manila.	Provinces.	Manila.	Provinces.
1904.....	45.57	26.10	33.80	40.06	861.86	203.71
1913.....	22.58	18.85	33.25	39.34	322.46	147.55
1920.....	26.47	*20.73	43.54	*36.54	213.02	*160.71

* Estimated.

Financial.—Income of Philippine Government, 1920, \$40,500,000. Tax per capita, \$3.96. Trade with United States (imports and exports), 1903, \$17,907,141; 1920, \$197,506,041. Persons rendering income-tax returns for 1920, 9,519 (Americans, 1,434; Chinese, 3,123; Filipinos, 3,667).

* Estimated, except for 1903.

Newspapers.—Daily newspapers published, 45; total circulation, 131,400. Weekly and other publications, 69; total circulation, 195,700.

Suffrage.—Number of votes cast general election 1919, 672,122. Women do not have the suffrage.

Languages.—Number of distinct dialects spoken, 87. Number of ethnographic groups or tribes, 43.

Roads.—Miles of railroad under operation, 755; miles of roads rated as first class, 2,920.

Historical.—About 200–1325 A. D., dependency of various Hindu-Malayan empires in Indo-China, Sumatra, and Borneo; 1325–1405, subject to Javanese empire of Madjapahit; 1405–1440, governed by China (under Ming emperors); 1440–1565, Northern Luzon subject to Japan; from Manila south, subject to Mohammedan Borneo; 1565–1762, subject to Spain through Mexico (paid tribute to Japan 1592–1623 to avoid invasion by the Shogun Hideyoshi); 1762–1763, seized by England but restored to Spain by the treaty ending the Seven Years War; 1763–1898, subject to Spain (through Mexico until 1821 and to Spain direct after that date); 1898–1921, under American sovereignty; military government, 1898–1900; Philippine Commission, 1900–1907; Philippine Commission (American majority) and Assembly, 1907–1913; Philippine Commission (Filipino majority) and Assembly, 1913–1916; elected Assembly and Senate, under Jones bill, 1916–1921.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL MISSION ON INVESTIGATION TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The SECRETARY OF WAR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: We have the honor to submit the following report of the special mission to the Philippine Islands. The purpose and instructions of the mission are set forth in the following letters:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, March 20, 1921.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In the message transmitted to the Congress on the 7th of December, 1920, President Wilson 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.”

The suggestion made was not acted upon by that session of Congress. Undoubtedly that nonaction was due to the fact that all of the evidence available to Congress was not of this same tenor. Based, however, as it was, on official reports from the highest authority in the Philippine Islands, as well as on current reports from lesser authorities given the widest circulation in the United States, as well as in the islands, it can not, with propriety, be ignored, nor yet can it, in the face of conflicting evidence from many sources, be accepted as the final word on so important a subject.

I have, therefore, selected Gen. Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to go to the Philippine Islands and to make there a study of the situation and to report thereon, in order that I may have a judgment on which I can base my action and my recommendations with a consciousness that I am dealing justly with the Filipino people and pursuing a policy which the American people will sanction and support. I have discussed this subject with you and will ask you to give such instructions as may insure to them every convenience and assistance in their most important undertaking, and to give to them such instructions as will insure a full understanding and a frank report of the problem submitted.

Very sincerely,

WARREN G. HARDING.

The SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, March 23, 1921.

Maj. Gen. LEONARD WOOD,
Chairman Special Mission to the Philippine Islands.

SIR: I beg to hand you a copy of a letter from the President briefly giving the object of your mission to the Philippine Islands.

I have acquainted the Acting Governor General and the commanding general of the Philippine Department with the fact of your coming, and have directed them to place

at your disposal every facility and convenience that may be of assistance to you in your work.

It is asserted with positiveness by persons who have had every reasonable opportunity to know the conditions whereof they speak that the Philippine Government is now in a position to warrant its total separation from the United States Government and that the Filipino people are in a position to continue to operate the Philippine Government without aid of any kind from the United States and that the Government so conducted would be one in which the American people could take pride because of the assistance heretofore given it.

All of this is quite as positively denied by other persons having similar opportunities to study the situation and to know the exact conditions existing in the Philippine Islands.

Between these conflicting views you are to render judgment.

The decision of the question thus arising is of momentous importance, involving, as it may, the very life of the Filipino people as a people and the reputation and credit of our own country. Even if it were possible hereafter to correct an error now made, it would be difficult to measure the cost of this correction.

Every consideration, therefore, urges us, before taking a step of importance in this matter, to satisfy ourselves that we are not acting through emotions, but are acting wisely as the facts present themselves to us after a careful impartial study.

I am not unaware that your experience peculiarly fits you and Gov. Forbes for the task that you are undertaking and render detailed instructions superfluous if not embarrassing. Nevertheless, I desire to suggest briefly the doubts which I should like to have cleared up for my personal satisfaction, and these may, in a degree, indicate to you the doubts of others who are interested in the subject but whose minds have been confused by conflicting reports and rumors.

There are, naturally, many points of great importance in passing on our future policy with reference to the Philippine Islands about which there is no doubt and with reference to which, therefore, there need be no detailed study. The general characteristics of the Filipino people, their many attractive qualities, their progressive spirit, love of education, and their rapidly developing spirit of nationality are no longer questions.

The maintenance of a government, however, in a territory so situated as the Philippine Islands involves many problems not dependent entirely on these accepted qualities.

In the instructions of Mr. McKinley for the guidance of the commissioners sent to the Philippine Islands in 1900, he said:

"In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

There is to-day no better guide for a judgment of the adequacy of the Philippine Government as it now exists or as it would exist as an independent government.

In passing now on the question of the stability of the existing government in the Philippine Islands if American support should be withdrawn therefrom and of the probability of the permanence of such a government thereafter and the likelihood that such a government would protect the people in their essential rights and privileges, the standard should not be one of perfection from our point of view, but the standard outlined in the instructions of Mr. McKinley.

We can not neglect, in considering the question of the maintenance of a government in the Philippine Islands, the financial condition of the people. A study of the situation must embrace, therefore, a first-hand examination of the financial condition of the Philippine Government and of the Filipino people—the present and prospective revenues of the Government and the extent to which these revenues are dependent on the present relation of the islands to the United States.

Of even more importance than the economic position of the Government is that of the people. A careful study should be made of the effect on the people of treating their products in the American market as those of a foreign country, as well as, on the other hand, such disadvantages as may accrue to them as the result of the free entry of American goods in their markets.

Passing now from the economic question, attention should be directed to the likelihood of the maintenance of a stable government in the Islands as this likelihood may be determined from evidence drawn from the operation of the existing government.

It is unnecessary to review the steps in the development of the existing Government. It is sufficient to say that it is most liberal in its concession of powers to the Filipino people. The legislature to which is given general legislative powers is purely Filipino, both as to its elective members and as to those few appointive members designated by the Governor General to represent the interests of the non-Christian people of the islands. The judiciary, with the exception of the Supreme Court, is almost exclusively Filipino, the executive officials of the Government in the municipalities and provinces are exclusively Filipino, and in the central government are largely so, the exceptions being the Governor General and the Vice Governor. But few of the ministerial officers are now American, and of the supreme court the chief justice and three of the eight associate justices have generally been Filipinos.

The Government thus constituted is the one to be studied as the basis of judgment. Of the first importance it should be determined whether or not this Government has contributed duly to the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the Filipino people, and the determination of this question must necessarily depend largely on the views of those people.

It should be determined whether or not the Government is reasonably free from those underlying causes that result in the destruction of government. Is the government effectively administered; are the officials and employees reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them; is justice impartially administered; are the elections conducted honestly so that the public will receive expression in the selection of elective officers; are the results of the elections generally acquiesced in by defeated minorities; are the civil service laws honestly administered; and are appointments to office and to employment under the Government made as a result of competency?

The effect of extension of powers to Filipinos in their own Government should be carefully scrutinized, and it should be determined whether such extension results in a lowering of the standards of government and whether such lowering, if it exists, decreases with the experience of the Filipino so charged with responsibility, or if there is a steady relaxation of effort and a more marked deficiency as we recede from the previous standard. The result of Filipinization on the important services of education, health, public works, and agriculture should be noted and given due weight in a final determination of the problem submitted.

In passing on the questions thus presented, it is necessary to avoid comparison with a standard of other countries and other climates and particularly with our own idea of perfection.

It should be remembered that our obligations are to all of the people who inhabit the Philippine Islands, and in a particular manner, because of their relative helplessness, we are committed to look after the welfare of the backward people of the islands—Christian, Moro, and Pagan. The keeping of our faith to these people has been

committed to the present Philippine Government. How has this faith thus committed been kept, and what is the outlook for the future?

The Filipino people have for ages, due to the fact that the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands rested first in Spain and then in the United States, been protected in the ownership of territory and potential wealth out of all proportion to that of their neighbors. It is important to determine whether reasonable plans exist for the utilization of these resources by the Filipino people in order that their unused land and resources may not continually be a source of temptation to their less fortunate but probably stronger neighbors, and whether on the withdrawal of a strong sovereignty from these islands these resources would remain exclusively available to the Filipino people.

Certainly it would be a vain thing to turn the Philippine Islands over to the Filipino people without reasonable assurance that the resources of the islands would remain the heritage of the people of the islands. The pleasing of the Filipinos of this generation would be a minor satisfaction if it were believed that it would result in the bondage or destruction of the Filipino people for all time hereafter.

Your selection by the President for this work is the best assurance of his desire that it should be impartially done, without prejudice, fear, or favor. Likewise it is an assurance that it will be undertaken and carried out with an appreciation and a delicate regard for the feelings of the Filipino people. Whether the result of your investigation may or may not be to the satisfaction of the majority of the Filipino people at this time, I am convinced that, undertaken in the spirit in which it is committed to you and in which you have undertaken it, it can not but be to the future satisfaction of the Filipinos and must, of necessity, result in their permanent well-being and progress.

Very sincerely,

JOHN W. WEEKS,
Secretary of War.

Arrival.

The special mission, as above constituted, arrived in Manila on May 4, 1921. Attached to and assisting the mission was a representative of the State Department, secretary of the legation in Peking, who had also served for some years in the embassy in Japan and is generally familiar with international affairs in the Orient; a staff officer of the admiral commanding the Asiatic Fleet who had served some years in the Orient; and Spanish-speaking officers of the Army experienced in Cuban, Philippine, and foreign affairs generally, three of whom had had prior and long service in the islands both in civil and military establishments, in executive and administrative work, and as members of legislative councils. Two of these officers had also accompanied the Harbord mission to the Near East.

Press correspondents. corre-

During the travels of the mission throughout the islands they were accompanied by an experienced correspondent of the Associated Press, a special correspondent of one of the leading American dailies committed to giving independence to the Philippine people; and, as the representative of the Filipino press, one of the editors of the leading Manila journal who, during the

insurrection against Spain and the United States, had been an officer in Aguinaldo's army.

The attached members of the mission and the correspondents represented a wide variety of opinions.

From the moment of its arrival in Manila, the mission received every assistance from the Acting Governor General, the commanding general, the admiral, and their staffs; also from Americans throughout the islands; and from the Philippine people and their political leaders generally, many of whom gave the benefit of advice and suggestions in the most cordial and friendly spirit. Their assistance has been coupled with a sincere and charming hospitality which continued to the last moment of the mission's stay.

During these four months in the islands the routine of the mission consisted of periods of about a week in Manila, during which conferences were held with officials of the Central Government, with representative Americans, Filipinos, and foreigners of every walk of life. Investigations were undertaken looking to a thorough analysis of the Government and its activities, followed by periods of from two to four weeks of investigation in the Provinces. During these trips 48 of the 49 Provinces into which the islands are divided were visited. The mission has aggregated 11 weeks of travel by sea, auto, horse, and rail, and has held conferences in 449 cities and towns. All parts of the archipelago were visited and your mission feels it has placed itself in intimate touch with the great mass of the Philippine people—Christian, Moro, and pagan—and with practically all Americans and foreigners domiciled and doing business in the principal cities and towns of the islands.

Conferences in Manila with all classes and nationalities.

Provinces visited.

Four hundred and forty-nine cities and towns visited.

Too often there has been a marked disinclination on the part of individuals, especially Filipinos not in sympathy with immediate or absolute independence, to state their opinion openly, for the reason that they feared loss of standing or persecution if they did so. Their fears were very genuine and, unhappily, there is evidence that their apprehensions were well grounded.

Frank statement opposing independence difficult to get.

When practicable, important administrative investigations were made, with the knowledge and assistance of the Acting Governor General and his assistants. The mission and its attached members, however, personally visited administrative and judicial offices, the courts (including justices of the peace), schools, hospitals, jails,

Personal administrative investigations made.

and other public institutions throughout the islands and feel they have completed a thorough and careful survey of the Government, the people, and their institutions. As a result it has been able to form definite conclusions on the general subjects and upon the conduct of the Government.

Cordial reception. The date of the arrival of the mission at the various towns and cities was made known well in advance, in order that there might be ample time for the preparation of petitions, memorials, and addresses. Almost without exception the officials and people of the regions visited paid great attention to the reception of the mission. The roads and streets were decorated with arches, generally bearing the word "Welcome," followed by a statement that the people desired their independence.

Interest in independence. The public assemblies to greet the mission and present addresses and memorials were usually of a size which indicated a keen interest in the question of independence. The people were attentive and quiet, but there was a lack, due in part to racial reserve, of that exuberant enthusiasm which so often marks the public discussion of questions of national import.

Speakers from younger generation. The proportion of speakers representing business and agriculture was relatively small. The majority were from the younger generation.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Philippines hitherto always dependent. In considering the question of granting independence to the Philippine Islands, it is of interest to note that they have always been a dependent group under the influence of a stronger power. It is appropriate to review briefly their history. Previous to 1400 the islands had been subject to Hindu-Malayan empires in Sumatra, Indo-China, and Borneo; at that date they ceased to form an integral part of the Javanese Madjapahit Empire.

Seccession from Javanese Empire, 1400. Shortly after 1400 Mohammedanism was introduced, but politically the islands were subject to China during the reign of the ambitious Ming emperors.

Introduction of Mohammedanism. The first Europeans who visited the Philippines were Portuguese, about 1517, and Spaniards, in 1521. The century preceding the European discovery had been one of the most eventful periods in the history of the islands. In addition to the Chinese attempt at political as well as commercial domination, the Japanese entered the islands in the north and the Mohammedans of Brunei (Borneo)

First Caucasians.

in the south. At the time the first permanent European colony under Spain was established, in 1565, all of the islands as far north as Manila were subject to Borneo and, it is said, paid tribute equal to about 1½ liters of gold per annum. While the Japanese and Chinese were also settled in Manila, the strongest Japanese influence was in the north of Luzon, from which they were driven by the Spaniards in 1582 with the conquest of their fortified trading stronghold in the Cagayan Valley.

Dominated by Borneo.

Japanese driven from Luzon.

The chief cause of Japanese interest in the islands was their search for rare pottery, gold, and pearls.

Japanese commerce prior to 1600.

The first permanent Spanish colony was founded in Cebu in 1565, and Manila was conquered in 1570. Spanish records state that in 1600 there were some 25,000 Chinese and 1,500 Japanese in Manila alone, but of these 2,300 Chinese were massacred in the year 1603 by the Spaniards, fearful of their numbers. There were three subsequent massacres of Chinese by the Spaniards for the same reason. During the next two decades the coastal regions of almost the entire archipelago were brought under Spanish control.

Cebu first Spanish colony. Manila taken.

Population of Manila in 1600.

Massacres of Chinese.

Complete Spanish control.

The Spanish government of the Philippines was placed under the viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) and all communications were through him. A captain general was at the same time military commander and head of the civil government. The main purpose of the Spaniards in the Philippines was the search for treasure, commerce and the spread of Christianity; but they soon discovered that the amount of treasure obtainable in the islands was limited, and, although a constant expense to both the Governments of New Spain and Spain, they were retained to spread the Christian religion.

Spanish government.

Purpose of Spanish occupation.

In 1592 the Shogun Hideyoshi of Japan demanded that the Spanish government of the Philippine Islands pay annual tribute and acknowledge the sovereignty of Japan. The Spanish government was loath to do this, but due to shortage of men and ships and lack of support from New Spain, was forced to acquiesce to the extent of paying tribute, which was actually paid on several occasions during a period of from 15 to 20 years.

Demands of Japan.

Tribute.

Spanish control continued in the Philippines until 1898, although the Portuguese, Dutch, and British tried at various times to overthrow the Spanish power. All these efforts were unsuccessful, though the British captured Manila and ruled it for three years under Alexander Dalrymple, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Spain controls Islands.

British occupation of Manila.

Effect on population of various racial influences.

From these various partial conquests of the Philippine Islands there remains to-day a strong influence on the native customs, language, and religion—the Mohammedan religion, from Indian and Arabic sources, a dominant Chinese influence in commerce and trade, Christianity, Roman law, and many features of occidental civilization from Spanish sources.

American control established.

American control in the Philippines began during the War with Spain, but was not firmly established until 1900.

Races.

Racially, the mass of the Filipino population is of Malayan stock, though other types are to be found, especially among the 10 per cent of non-Christians. Chinese and Spanish race mixtures are common among the wealthy and better-educated classes, this mixture seeming to strengthen the native stock. The inhabitants of Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Formosa, and, to some measure, Indo-China (the Malay groups), are racially the most nearly related to the Filipinos.

Foundations laid by Spain.

Whatever may be said of Spain's methods (and too much is said without knowledge), the fact remains that she implanted the Christian religion and European ideas and methods of administration in these islands and laid the foundations which have been of far-reaching value in our work here. From a number of warring tribes, Spain succeeded in welding the Philippine people into a fairly homogeneous group, sufficiently allied in blood and physical characteristics to be capable of becoming a people with distinctive and uniform characteristics.

Language.

Spain did not, however, seriously undertake to give them a common language, and although most of the more progressive and intelligent people managed to learn Spanish, no effective effort was made to make it a common language for the different groups, who continue to this day speaking many distinct dialects. There are eight languages in the islands, each of which is used by not less than 500,000 people, and some seventy-odd more which are used by smaller groups. Some differences between these dialects are slight enough so that people using different ones can make themselves understood, but many are so radically different that they are mutually unintelligible.

Conquest by United States, 1898.

The United States obtained possession of the islands by conquest in 1898. The islands were formally transferred to the United States by Spain in the treaty of Paris.

Almost immediately President McKinley announced that the Philippine Islands were not to be exploited for the aggrandizement of the American people. Treaty of Paris.

The Philippines are ours not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us. American policy in Philippines.

The 23 years of American occupation may be divided into the following four distinct periods: Periods of American occupation.

First, the military period, from August 13, 1898, to July 1, 1901. During this period the islands were under a military governor and the insurrection against the United States, headed by Gen. Aguinaldo, was being suppressed. United States troops went to the Philippines in large numbers, and the first problem confronting the Government was the establishment of public order. Military period, 1898-1901.
Insurrection.

In spite of the continuance of military operations, substantial beginnings were made in the establishment and maintenance of a civil government, particularly in establishing respect for the authority of the United States; in the opening of schools, in which the first teachers were noncommissioned officers of the Army; in the establishment of the judiciary, and also in the matter of public health and public works. Organization Order No. 58 of 1900 of Gen. Otis laid broad and secure foundations for the establishment of civil government. Civil government established.
First schools.
Gen. Otis.

Second, the organization period, from July 1, 1901, to October 16, 1907, in which the sole legislative body of the islands was the Philippine Commission, appointed by the President of the United States. In this period much constructive work was done, the creation of a working government was undertaken, a public school system organized, 5,000 schools were opened with 7,671 teachers, and an enrollment of 400,000 children, about one-fifth of the children of school age in the Philippine Islands, a census taken, the judicial system organized and the procedure adopted, a currency system established, public works started on a systematic basis, health service reorganized and put in more effective condition, and in general the structure of government built on secure foundations. Govs. Taft and Wright, members of the original commission, were the governors responsible for most of this work. Second period, 1901-1907.
Commission sole legislative body.
Public schools.
Judicial system.
Currency system.
Health service.
Govs. Taft and Wright.

Third, the constructive period, from 1907 to 1913. In this period one-half the legislative powers, namely, the lower house, were turned over to a body of elected Filipinos, known as the Philippine Assembly, the commission Third period, 1907-1913.
New form of legislature.

becoming the upper house, or Senate. This, with the proviso that in case of disagreement between the two bodies as to appropriations the previous appropriation bill should carry over. On three occasions the two houses failed to agree on the appropriation bill and the previous bill was carried over without any great injury accruing to the public service. During this period a broad and practical public works program was laid down and carried out involving the construction of roads, bridges, port improvements, irrigation works, schoolhouses, markets, and other public buildings. Artesian wells were driven. Practical and effective negotiations were entered into for the financing and construction of railroads and for encouraging interisland transportation. Steamship subsidies were established, and a large number of lighthouses were built. A comprehensive cadastral survey of the islands was undertaken, and many other constructive enterprises, which met with the cordial appreciation of the Philippine people. In this period the University of the Philippines was founded, also many professional schools, and the policy of the general extension of education was continued.

Public works.

Transportation.

Educational progress.

Filipinos' gradual participation in government.

Throughout these three periods the policy was established and followed of utilizing Filipinos in the Government on the general principle of putting them in the less responsible positions—which was proper, as they had little experience—and carefully training them for promotion and working them up as rapidly as their efficiency and training proved, through protracted periods, justified. At the end of this period the proportion of Filipinos in the service was 72 per cent, as against 28 per cent Americans.

Fourth period, 1914-1921.

Control of government by Filipinos.
Jones bill.

Legislative powers.

Americans discharged.

Fourth, the period of Filipinization, 1914 to 1921. The first step taken by the new administration was to give the Filipinos a majority of the commission, or upper house. The second was the passage of what is now the fundamental law of the islands, known as the Jones bill, Sixty-fourth Congress, Act No. 240, approved August, 1916. Under it the Christian and civilized Provinces were permitted to elect a Senate and a House, and the Governor General authorized to appoint representatives for the non-Christian portions of the islands, the legislature having legislative control over the whole archipelago. During this period the administration deliberately adopted the policy of getting rid of most of the Americans in the service, competent and otherwise, and made the service so unat-

tractive that very few remained, until at this writing the percentage of Americans in the service is only 4 per cent, 96 per cent being Filipinos. The orderly process of promotion of proved efficiency from the less important positions was changed to a hurried Filipinization, placing Filipinos in nearly all of the higher positions. Many, including some of those selected for judges, were chosen apparently without due reference to their training or experience.

Great emphasis was laid during this period, particularly toward the end, on the extension of education, many new schools of all grades being established and the enrollment in the public schools being brought up to the present high figure of 945,000, or double what it had been at the beginning of the period, more children of school age finding an opportunity to go to school than ever before. There are also about 75,000 children in standard private schools, or a total of over 1,020,000 in school.

Further progress was made in public works, particularly public buildings, extensive boring of artesian wells, construction of new hospitals, etc.

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

THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE.

The Philippine people possess many fine and attractive qualities—dignity and self-respect, as shown by deportment, complete absence of beggars, personal neatness and cleanliness, courtesy and consideration to strangers and guests, boundless hospitality, willingness to do favors for those with whom they come in contact, which amounts almost to inability to say "No" to a friend. They are happy and care free to an extent seldom found among other peoples, keen to own their land, strongly attached to their homes and their children, proud of and devoted to their beloved Philippines; they are free from worries arising from international difficulties and responsibilities, they are refined in manner, filled with racial pride, light-hearted and inclined to be improvident, as are all people who live in lands where nature does so much

and people require so little. In many positions they have shown marked capacity and have done better than could reasonably be expected of an inexperienced and untried people. There are many holding high positions in the judicial, executive, and educational departments who would be a credit to any government. They are proud, as they well may be, of the advance they have made since the beginning of American control of the islands, for it can be safely stated that no people, under the friendly tutelage of another, have made so great a progress in so short a time; for 23 years is but a brief time in the development of a people.

Filipinos filling high positions with credit.

Unprecedented progress.

Mentality.

They possess active minds, their children are bright and precocious and learn rapidly. The whole people have a consuming thirst for education, and, as is common among those who have had little opportunity and much hard work, there is a leaning toward the learned professions or occupations which do not involve severe manual labor, and a tendency to underestimate the importance of agriculture and the dignity of labor, and to overestimate the standing given by the learned professions.

Occupations.

Enthusiastic support of public education.

Their support and aid in the building up of public education is beyond praise. They have sacrificed much that their children might be able to go to school, and the interests of an entire family are often subordinated to sending the selected member to a higher school or university. Schoolhouses are often constructed by voluntary contributions of labor, money, and material.

Public opinion uneducated.

There is a serious lack of educated public opinion, for as yet the Philippine public is not a reading public, and there is a lack of a strong, independent press, although there has been a great advance in this respect during recent years, and there are several outstanding independent papers of great local influence. The daily total circulation of all island papers is a little less than 140,000, and in the remote Provinces people still depend largely upon the circulation of news by word of mouth.

Press.

Small circulation.

Filipinos brave soldiers.

Easily led.

The Philippine people are readily led by those who understand them. They make brave soldiers, and under good leaders make excellent troops. Due to the lack of a well-informed public opinion they are easily swayed by their leaders.

Sanitation.

As a result of generations of disregard for sanitary measures, they are still rather oriental in their attitude

toward disease and questions of public health and sanitation. This indifference is being rapidly corrected.

The Filipino woman is a strong and dominating influence in every home and community; she is modest, loyal, and hardworking, and while not much in evidence she is nevertheless always to be reckoned with. She is the strong conservative influence which keeps together the home, saves the money, and is the foundation of the success of many families. The establishment of large numbers of women's clubs, that concern themselves with hygiene and other civic matters, is a most encouraging sign of the times.

The Filipino woman.

Women's clubs.

The mass of the Philippine people are and always have been agriculturists or fishermen. They have not in the past been active in commerce, except in small stores principally run by the women, although at the present time they are taking a constantly increasing part in the commercial affairs of the islands.

Industries.

Interest in commerce increasing.

They have, however, a long road to travel before the bulk of the business done in the islands is in their hands, as most of the retail stores, the import and export business, financial institutions and corporations are in the hands of Americans and foreigners, especially Chinese.

Americans and foreigners still control financial institutions.

In many sections the heads of the old families, who were almost feudal in the extent and method of control, still exercise a dominant influence and are able to impose their will upon the people. Happily, as education progresses, this condition is steadily lessening.

Feudal system disappearing.

The people are mostly Roman Catholic, with predominant Mohammedan groups in the southern islands, and various pagan groups, especially in Luzon, Mindanao, and Palawan.

Religion.

They are naturally an orderly and law-abiding people.

Instinctively orderly people.

The numerous languages and dialects, the separation of the people into groups living on the islands, the lack of a press of wide circulation, printed in a common language, have delayed the building up of a common tongue with the resulting spirit of solidarity.

Lack of solidarity due to geographical and ethnological reasons.

They possess marked ability in many fields of effort, an ability which is not as apparent as it would have been had not all the intricacies of a highly organized representative form of government been imposed upon them with too great rapidity.

The Philippine people represent the most advanced experiment in the establishment of representative

Most advanced representative government in Far East.

government in the East, and in our endeavor to establish it, complete in all its details, we have in many instances, by the rapidity of our procedure, overtaxed the ability of the people to absorb, digest, and make efficient practical use of what it has taken other nations generations to absorb and apply, and in our critical impatience we forget the centuries of struggle through which our own race passed before it attained well-balanced government.

PRESENT CONDITIONS.

Present government. There has been a progressive transfer of government to the people of the islands, and at the present time it is very largely in their hands. So extensive has been the transfer that many fail to realize that there still continues in the islands a decisive American control that assures the maintenance of an orderly government, secure against disturbing influences from within and without.

American control. In view of the difficult situation which existed after the insurrection, the difference in language, customs, and in conceptions of citizenship obligation, the progress which has been made in the 23 years of American occupation is extraordinary. It is a high tribute to Americans and Filipinos alike. The animosities have disappeared and there remains a spirit of confidence and friendliness for the American people throughout the archipelago. Much has been done, but much remains to be done.

Progress since American occupation. While there has been retrogression in the efficiency of most departments of the government during the past few years, we do not feel that the responsibility for this rests solely upon the Filipinos or that they should be unduly blamed for such failures as have occurred, as the ultimate responsibility for the selection of responsible officers and for the exercise of proper supervision was in the hands of the American Governor General, whose duty it was to exercise due care to appoint competent men at the heads of departments and bureaus, and, above all, to exercise proper supervision over them.

Friendliness toward Americans. A reversal of policy is not needed now, but time for the Filipinos, under careful but friendly supervision, to absorb and master what is already in their hands. We must remember that the good qualities of the people, their enthusiasm and their determination, can not take the place of experience.

Retrogression in efficiency.

Placing of responsibilities.

Change in policy not urged.

We must build up an informed public opinion, a stronger spirit of civic responsibility and a better appreciation of the obligations of citizenship. In this the island press has a vitally important part to play. The task of building up a truly representative form of government is made much easier by the fact that the great bulk of the people are Christians, that they are free from caste distinctions, that although oriental in blood and birth they are essentially western in religion, form of government and in ideals and aspirations, and that their true sympathies and affiliations lie with the great Christian nations.

Further education advocated.

Favorable points.

The influence of our efforts to establish representative self-government in the Philippines extends far beyond the Philippines. It reaches every part of the Orient where free institutions and representative government are the dream of the people.

Far-reaching influence in Orient of Philippine self-government.

The great bulk of the Christian Filipinos have a very natural desire for independence; most of them desire independence under the protection of the United States; a very small percentage desire immediate independence with separation from the United States; a very substantial element is opposed to independence, especially at this time. The Moros are a unit against independence and are united for continuance of American control and, in case of separation of the Philippines from the United States, desire their portion of the islands to be retained as American territory under American control. The pagans and non-Christians, constituting about 10 per cent of the population, are for continued American control. They want peace and security. These the Americans have given them.

Desire for independence.

Majority favor protected independence.

Small percentage desire separation.

Opposition to independence.

Moro opinion.

Pagan and non-Christian.

The Americans in the islands are practically a unit for the continuance of American control.

American attitude in Philippine Islands.

The people, as a whole, are appreciative of the peace and order which prevail throughout the islands. Many do not understand what independence means, or its responsibilities. They are living under the best conditions they have ever known. It is not generally realized that the American Government can not be expected to assume responsibility for the results of internal disorders, particularly as they affect the nationals of other powers, the treatment of foreign capital, and external political relations, unless the United States retains a certain measure of control.

Lack of understanding on independence issue.

Effect of Americans commercially and as organizers.

The great work which the American commercial population and organizations have done in the islands should not be overlooked. It has contributed greatly to the betterment of conditions. They have built up and established business and credit from one end of the islands to the other. They have always been a strong force in the support of law and order, intensely American in sentiment and, on the whole, a good, stabilizing, and helpful influence. At times they have been impatient, and justly so, with the discouragement of American business efforts, and there have been conditions which have given rise to strained relations between individual Americans and Filipinos, but never resulting in any disturbance of public order.

Superficial disagreements.

Influence for good of various American institutions.

The American and foreign church missions and schools and charitable associations have done much to improve the spiritual and physical condition of the people, and to build up better relations between the Filipinos and Americans.

Red tape.

Bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, administrative departments of the Government are top-heavy in personnel and enmeshed in red tape. There is a vast amount of paper work. The methods of the administration are purely bureaucratic. There is a lack of supervision and personal contact.

Efficiency of administration in 1913.

The general administration of the Philippine Government in 1913, the period of greatest efficiency, was honest, highly efficient, and set a high standard of energy and morality. Inherited tendencies were being largely replaced by American ideals and efficiency throughout the Philippine personnel, but the time and opportunity were both too short to develop experienced leaders and direction in the new English-speaking and American-thinking generation. Both the political and administrative leaders were still Spanish-trained and Spanish-speaking, and many are so to-day.

Leaders all Spanish - trained and speaking.

Retgression in public services.

It is the general opinion among Filipinos, Americans, and foreigners that the public services are now in many particulars relatively inefficient; that there has occurred a slowing down in the dispatch of business, and a distinct relapse toward the standards and administrative habits of former days. This is due in part to bad example, incompetent direction, to political infection of the services, and above all to lack of competent supervision and inspection. This has been brought about by surrendering, or failing to employ, the executive authority of the

Lack of supervision and inspection to blame.

Governor General, and has resulted in undue interference and tacit usurpation by the political leaders of the general supervision and control of departments and bureaus of the government vested by law in the Governor General.

Usurpation of Governor General's authority.

Again, the legislature has passed laws tending to demoralize and introduce into the civil service the infection of politics. For example, numerous exemptions from the requirements of the civil service and many provisions for temporary employment. All these defects can and—unless we fail to understand the spirit of the legislature and the leaders—will be corrected in the islands.

Politics in civil service.

CONSTABULARY AND PUBLIC ORDER.

Public order is maintained principally by the constabulary, a force of approximately 5,800 officers and men. This organization has proved itself to be dependable and thoroughly efficient. In discipline, morale, and appearance it still bears the strong impress of the carefully-selected officers of the United States Army who organized, trained, and developed it.

Organization unimpaired.

This force, excellent as it is, is designed to meet the police needs of the situation in time of peace. There is no adequate local organization of the Philippine people for defense of the islands against aggression. The American Government should at once take the necessary steps to organize, train, and equip such a force.

No defense in case of war.

Recommendation U. S. train P. I. militia.

There has been some lowering of standards, due principally to the sudden loss of the bulk of the experienced American officers, who left the service to enter the World War, and to the effects of the low rate of pay which resulted in many leaving the service; also to the demoralizing, and at times intimidating, effect of political influence, the detached nature of the duties, infrequent inspections, and frequent change of officers. But on the whole this force is a very satisfactory one and is entitled to great credit for its morale, efficiency, and orderly and effective performance of duty.

Standards lowered through loss of American officers.

Reasons.

Some years ago a school for constabulary officers was organized and has been in operation with excellent results. No men are now appointed to the constabulary who are not graduates of this school, where they have undergone a careful preparation and training. The quality of the graduates shows what can be accomplished when opportunity for careful training is offered.

Constabulary School

Public order. Public order is excellent throughout the islands, with the exception of minor disturbances in the Moro regions, due principally to energetic and sometimes overzealous efforts to hasten the placing of Moro children, especially girls, in the public schools, and to the too sudden imposition upon the disarmed Mohammedans of what amounts to an absolute control by Christian Filipinos. It is also due in part to failure to give adequate representation in local governments to Moros.

Moro disturbances. Inadequate Moro representation in local governments.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Various courts of justice. Justice is administered in the Philippines by a supreme court, numerous courts of first instance, justice of the peace courts, and municipal courts.

Filipino attitude toward courts. The supreme court has the respect and confidence of the Philippine people. The other tribunals do not enjoy an equal degree of confidence. In the lower tribunals, generally speaking, the administration of justice is unsatisfactory, slow, and halting, and there is a widespread feeling among the people that political, family, and other influences have undue weight in determining issues.

Lack of confidence in lower courts.

Courts under Commission. During the existence of the Philippine Commission, a most serious effort was made to secure the best available men for the bench, without regard to party affiliation, and the men appointed at that time as a rule enjoyed public confidence. In later years, the same care has not been exercised.

At present. There are pending in the courts of the islands to-day, in round numbers, approximately 50,000 cases, including some 8,000 probate and guardianship cases. Conditions are growing steadily worse, and with the present personnel and methods the dockets will never be cleared.

Number of cases pending.

Increase in cases. The condition of the courts of first instance is generally deplorable. The number of cases filed has steadily increased from year to year. The number of judges has not been increased proportionately and is insufficient to dispose of, promptly and efficiently, the great volume of business that they are called upon to transact. The abolition of the court of land registration imposed a heavy additional burden upon these courts. The judges in too many courts do not realize the necessity of reaching early and prompt decisions and are too ready to postpone hearings and trials. The clerks of the courts of first instance are too often without the necessary

Shortage of judges.

Inexperienced clerks.

experience. There is no uniform system of filing records, and in many cases it is difficult for attorneys to secure records promptly.

Lack of system.

The justice of the peace courts are the weakest point in the judicial establishment. Complaints against these courts are numerous and come from all parts of the archipelago. Because of the remoteness and isolation of many of these tribunals, the want of frequent and effective supervision and inspection, many abuses are perpetrated.

A frequent cause of complaint is against extreme action taken under the provisions of Act 2098, which enables employers of labor to prosecute their laborers for breach of contract, and in many cases to hold them against their will, resulting in a kind of legalized peonage. The laborers are kept in debt through the advance of money and supplies, and in return for these advances agree to work for definite periods of time and under certain conditions. Under the provisions of this act, should they leave before completion of contract they can be arrested and tried for violation of contract and for obtaining money or supplies under false pretenses. During the fiscal year 1918 there was a total of 3,266 cases of this nature, of which 1,456 were convicted.

Unpopularity of Act 2098.

Peonage.

Another common cause of complaint is the initiation of proceedings resulting in the arrest and confinement at remote places of people who are unable to give bond. This procedure results often in holding of men in confinement for months before the cases are acted upon by the judge of the court of first instance.

Confinement in remote places.

The present condition results first, and above all, from the lack of proper inspection and prompt, corrective action where inefficiency and negligence have been shown, from an insufficient number of judges, insufficient pay and no provisions for retirement, and in some instances to lack of careful selection.

Causes.

Investigation also indicates very clearly that more care should be exercised in the selection of the fiscals, or prosecuting attorneys.

The unsatisfactory condition in the administration of justice can be corrected by the insular authorities. In doing this, it is important to build up a strong public opinion in support of a prompt, effective and impartial administration of justice. Provisions should be made for the retirement of judges of the courts of first instance

Insular authorities can remedy defects.

Suggested improvements.

and the entire administration of justice must be placed outside the scope of political and other improper influences. In brief, the independence and stability of the judiciary must be established. It lies at the foundation of stable government.

LAND TITLES.

- Land titles. The land title situation in the Philippines is a serious one. It should be the policy of the Government to push forward the cadastral survey, determine titles to land as quickly as possible, and to facilitate in every possible manner the acquisition of titles by homesteaders.
- Cadastral survey. Nothing is more conducive to good government than having the people secure in the ownership of their land and possessing titles guaranteed by the Government, as is the practice under the Torrens system. Filipinos have the excellent trait of a strong, inherent desire to own their own land.
- Importance of titles. The present unfortunate land title situation is largely due to an inefficient administration of the land office in recent years and to an increase in the number of problems which the Government has to handle.
- Inefficient administration. In 1913 the insular government had a thoroughly efficient and trained bureau of lands and an experienced and effective court of land registration. To-day the inefficiency of the bureau of lands is due, in part, to lack of experienced and trained personnel, to inefficient management and lack of funds. Delay in obtaining titles is also due to the abolition of the court of land registration and to the transfer of land cases to the overloaded courts of first instance. This has resulted in an increase in the number of abuses by which the poor farmer and homesteader, ignorant of his rights, is forced off his land by his richer and unscrupulous neighbor. The situation tends to serious discontent and must be corrected.
- Former efficiency. An adequate court of land registration should be re-established.
- Abolition of court of land registration.
- Recommendation.

PRISONS.

- Prisons. The insular government maintains Bilibid Prison in Manila, the San Ramon Prison and Penal Colony combined near Zamboanga, the Iwahig Penal Colony near Puerto Princesa, on the island of Palawan; the Fort Mills Prison on Corregidor, and a prison at Bontok in the Mountain Province. The total number confined in all these prisons for 1920 was 5,254.

Bilibid is the receiving station and distributing point of all classes of criminals, except those of the Moro and Mountain Provinces, which are held at San Ramon and Bontok, respectively. Bilibid retains convicts which can not be worked outside and about 1,500 employed in industrial work.

Bilibid Prison.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

Prisoners, upon arrival in any of these prisons, are physically examined, treated if found necessary, given a period of training in drill and exercise movements and, if possible, assigned to work for which preference is expressed. The time of confinement in prisons under guard is determined by character and length of sentence and expressed desire of prisoner, governed by good conduct. Incentives are provided for good conduct in additional privileges, gratuities, by additional liberty through classification as "trusties" or penal colonists, and by automatic reduction of the time of sentence by reason of good behavior.

Prison methods.

Term of confinement.

Prisoners of excellent conduct who have served one-fifth of their sentence at Bilibid may be sent to Iwahig, where five additional days per month are allowed for good time credit. Also, life sentence is commuted to 30 years in the cases of convicts who are sent to Iwahig, and good behavior counts so that life sentences can be served in about 22 years. Furthermore, at Iwahig, a convict by good conduct may become a settler and receive one-half of what he produces, the land, tools, animals, etc., being provided for him.

Rewards for good conduct.

The Iwahig Penal Colony has a reservation of over 100,000 acres on the island of Palawan. It is a partially self-governing community, founded originally somewhat upon the principle of the George Junior Republic. It has a population of about 1,200 colonists, and has proved to be a most successful institution, far advanced in reformatory methods and results, the number of convicts returned to prison after release from the colony being extremely small.

Iwahig Penal Colony.

PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL JAILS.

Besides the above-mentioned prisons, most of the provincial and municipal jails in the islands were carefully inspected. The provincial jails were generally overcrowded. There are little or no provisions for taking

Provincial jails.

care of the sick. Marked favoritism is often shown to prisoners with influential friends. The food is generally good and sufficient. The condition of the clothing is fair. The prison guards are poorly trained and poorly disciplined.

Municipal jails. The municipal jails are, as a general rule, unsatisfactory. They are small, dark, usually poorly ventilated and unsanitary. The municipal prisoners are poorly fed, poorly clad, and generally poorly cared for. In the great majority of municipal jails no proper provision is made for female prisoners.

Delay in trials. It was observed generally throughout the islands that there were a great number of prisoners awaiting trial for unusually long periods.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Public desire for education. The Filipinos are deeply interested in public education. Their enthusiasm, their keenness to secure education for their children is beyond praise. The progressive development of the school system has been phenomenal.

Growth. Indeed, enthusiasm has at times outrun prudence, and expansion has taken place so rapidly that efficiency has not been able to keep pace. However, such mistakes as have been made have resulted from enthusiasm in a noble cause—the education of the youth of the islands.

The following gives an idea of the progress in this department:

Annual enrollment of the public schools.

	1898	1902	1907	1914	1920
Pupils.....	4,504	¹ 200,000	479,978	621,030	935,678
American teachers.....	847	746	658	341	316
Filipino teachers.....	1,914	6,141	7,013	7,234	20,691

¹ Estimated.

School buildings. In 1920 the public owned 4,063 and rented 1,163 school buildings.

Expense in 1920. The total expenditures for administration and instruction were about \$6,869,654.50 for 1920. The university had, in 1920, an enrollment of 4,130 with a teaching force of 379 professors and assistants. The cost of operation was \$755,926.57.

University statistics.

Parents' attitude toward education. As before stated, the self-sacrifice of the parents has been great. They have willingly deprived themselves of many necessities in order that they might aid in the voluntary building of schools and properly equip their

children for school attendance. The percentage of the population in the schools is about 10 per cent, an excellent showing for a new government (the percentage for the United States for 1918 was 20.13). The amount spent for each pupil per year is \$9.50 (the United States annual expenditure is \$36.62). The amount per capita for the entire population of the Philippine Islands is \$0.86.

Percentage of population in schools.

Expense per child.

Expense per capita.

One of the most difficult problems has been to secure efficient teachers. No class of men and women should be selected with more care, for they are charged not only with the routine education of the children, but inevitably have a great influence in forming their ideas of citizenship obligation, respect for the law and the authorities, and as these teachers do their work to-day so will the Philippine people of to-morrow be. Too much care can not be exercised in their selection, for only men and women of capacity can teach children to think straight and to apply their minds to the problems of life intelligently.

Problems of finding teachers.

Importance of efficient instruction.

The exceedingly rapid expansion of the school system has made it difficult to secure a sufficient number of well-trained teachers. The great majority of the teachers in the primary schools are products of the intermediate schools and have had comparatively little experience in teaching, so that hand in hand with the education of the children has gone the effort to train and build up a competent teaching force.

Lack of well-trained teachers.

Problems of establishing teaching staffs.

One of the principal objects of the schools is to teach the children to speak English, so that it may become the language of the people. This is of vital importance, as it will form a bond of union for the numerous and more or less distinct language groups and establish a common medium of communication, which will make for efficiency in government and tend to build up a spirit of solidarity. It will also result in a more widely circulating press and the creation of an instructed public opinion, which is most important.

Importance of English.

Press and public opinion.

There is a great shortage of English-speaking teachers. Many of the Filipino teachers who are instructing in English are themselves far from proficient in it. The force of American teachers is altogether too small and should be increased to approximately 1,000 if instruction in English is to be rapidly and successfully pushed forward.

American teachers.

Means to encourage American teachers

In order to secure this number of American teachers, in addition to the present salary a liberal allowance will have to be made for transportation to and from the islands. And as a further measure toward better conditions for instruction in English arrangements should be made for an intensive course in English for the native teachers during the summer months.

Course in English for native teachers recommended.

Higher education provided for.

The preparation of the Filipinos to meet the professional and scientific requirements of their country and for the advancement of general culture are in part provided for by the University of the Philippines, the high schools, and certain private schools and colleges.

University of the Philippines.

At present these institutions are not turning out a sufficient number of graduates to meet the needs of the situation. The University of the Philippines is an institution full of promise, but is not meeting the demands upon it in as satisfactory a manner as could reasonably be expected. There is an urgent need of Americans of high standing and capacity for the heads of some departments. A general reorganization is urgently necessary and business management must be put on a sound basis.

Further necessity for Americans.

Medical School.

The medical school should be brought to a par with the best in America and the school of tropical medicine should be reestablished and placed under the direction of thoroughly competent personnel. This school, a few years ago, had attained the highest standing in the East. At present it is not in operation. The college of agriculture, veterinary college, and the college of education should be strengthened and enlarged, to meet the needs of the people.

Reestablishment of School of Tropical Medicine.

Enlarging of other colleges desired.

Industrial education provided.

A serious effort has been made on the part of teachers and others to impress upon the children the dignity of labor, and we are glad to say that good progress has been made. There is a very general interest and strong development throughout the school system in the industrial and agricultural training adapted to the needs of the people; in the manual training for boys and domestic science and hygiene for girls. There is a strong interest in athletics throughout the public-school system and in the university. This has received the strong encouragement of the Philippine people. Filipino athletes have on two occasions won the championship of the Orient in the Far Eastern Olympiad, in competition with athletes from Japan and China.

Agricultural training.

Athletics

Achievements in athletics.

THE BUREAU OF SCIENCE.

This was probably the most important single institution in the Philippines, and for years it rendered vitally important service not only to the Philippine Government in its various departments but also to the world at large, through its scientific research work. It attained a position of great eminence and credit, but on account of the lack of adequate support and adequate personnel it does not occupy the position to-day that it did from 1905 to 1915. Reorganization and the appointment of a personnel in all respects adequate is imperative. The work of this institution is of inestimable value to the Philippines and to the world at large.

Bureau of Science.

Deterioration.

World scope.

HEALTH AND SANITATION.

It can be said, without fear of successful contradiction, that the average Filipino is born, lives, and dies without medical attendance or nursing. There is a great lack of hospitals and dispensaries. The excellent health service which previously existed has become largely inert. Much of the personnel remains, but it has lost the zeal and vigor which formerly characterized it.

Shortage of medical facilities.

Deterioration in health service.

Appropriations for sanitary work and medicines, etc., are insufficient.

Lack of appropriations.

The statistics of the Philippine health service show that there has been a steady increase in recent years in the number of preventable diseases, especially typhoid, malaria, beriberi, and tuberculosis. Before suggestions could be intelligently offered as to remedying this and other shortcomings in health administration, a detailed study would be necessary. It would seem, however, that as a basis for constructive action it is a sound assumption that the health activities and measures for medical relief which are so scattered throughout so many different agencies should be coordinated into one department and that an endeavor to correct conditions should work toward the realization of that object.

Increase in preventable diseases.

Need of coordination.

There is a great shortage of doctors, nurses, and properly trained sanitary personnel. Outside of the largest towns hospitals are so few and far between that they are a negligible quantity. There are about 930 nurses for a population of ten and one-half million. The number of nurses should be greatly increased. They are most useful as sanitary inspectors and visiting nurses. Wherever you find good nurses you find lowered infant mortality and improved sanitary conditions.

Shortage of medical personnel.

Hospitals.

Numbers of nurses to population.

Effect on infant mortality.

LEPERS.

- Leper colony. The Philippine Islands have the largest single leper colony in the world. About 5,000 lepers are assembled at Culion. Excellent work has been done here, and the efforts and results are entitled to much credit; but much
- Overcrowding. remains to be done. The lepers are too congested.
- Necessity for segregation. There should be a segregation of those who have become negative and of the children who are born free from the disease. At present those whose reaction is negative are living with those who are in the active stage of the disease, and children who are born clean are associating with their leper parents and companions. The establishment of an isolation colony near the main colony is absolutely essential.
- Isolation colony essential. Recent discoveries render it almost certain that a large percentage of lepers can be cured. Although the remedy costs but little, funds have not been made available in sufficient amounts to provide this treatment for more than 10 per cent of the lepers.
- Recent curative discoveries. Small percentage treated. In brief, it can be stated that the original work done in Honolulu has now received confirmation to a degree that fully warrants introducing this treatment on a large scale in the Philippines and abandoning other treatments which have been advocated in the past, as there is every reason to believe that a large percentage of patients would soon recover to a point where they could be paroled. It is obvious that the dictates of humanity demand a very general use of the approved treatment. Furthermore, the economic advantage of relieving the Government from the care of large numbers of cases would be another desirable outcome. In a short time the money saved on patients discharged would more than provide funds for treating the entire number.
- Small percentage treated. Introduction of new methods vital. Economic advantages of cure.

INSANE.

- Inadequate accommodations. The care of the insane is medieval. Proper accommodations are entirely lacking. Steps should be taken to provide a proper establishment for the treatment of the insane. The present institution lacks practically every feature which should characterize a hospital for the insane, and possesses many which can be guaranteed to turn those who are balancing between sanity and insanity in the wrong direction. There are no provisions for the
- No segregation of cases.

separation of the violently insane from the incipient and mild cases, and conditions are, from the standpoint of proper treatment, exceedingly bad and should have been corrected long ago.

This is a matter which will be presented to the legislature at the coming session, and although funds may not be available for the construction of a fitting establishment, steps can be taken to improve greatly present conditions and lay the foundations for the future proper treatment.

Legislation contemplated.

DEFECTIVES.

According to accepted ratios per thousand, there are in the Philippines between 5,000 and 10,000 defective children, deaf, dumb, or blind. So far the Government has provided for the care of only 65 of these defectives, to whom it owes a particular duty.

Defectives.

Number.

Inadequate provisions for defectives.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

We are pleased to note and record many evidences of progressive development in the islands, as indicated by the following significant figures:

Progressive development.

The postal savings bank was started in 1907, and by 1913 it had 40,000 depositors and \$1,411,066.38 in deposits. In 1920 these had reached 107,000 depositors and \$3,327,217.44 in deposits.

Increase postal savings deposits.

The law requires that 1 per cent of the gross business done in the islands be paid to the Government in the form of taxes. This business was computed to be \$200,000,000 a year in 1907, when the tax was first imposed, and had increased to \$325,000,000 in 1913. In 1920 it had reached the figure of \$863,000,000. For example, the number of cigars manufactured had increased from 300,000,000 to 500,000,000. The total resources of commercial banks rose from \$15,000,000 in 1906 to \$31,000,000 in 1913, and are now estimated to be \$215,000,000; this, however, includes the impaired resources of the Philippine National Bank without reduction for losses. Money orders sold increased from \$8,000,000 in 1913 to \$17,000,000 in 1920, and postage receipts from \$380,000 in 1913 to \$780,000 in 1920. Telegraph receipts show a similar increase. The gross earnings of the Philippine Railway have risen from \$380,000 in 1913 to \$750,000 in 1920 and the Manila Railroad from \$2,400,000 in 1914 to \$5,900,000 in 1920; this latter, however, is partially to

Increase gross business on which taxes collected.

Increase cigars manufactured.

Increase bank resources.

Increase money order business.

Increase telegraph business.

Growth of Philippine Railway business.

Manila R. R.

be explained by the sharp increase in the mileage and rates.

All this development is very gratifying and shows how rapidly the Philippine people respond to improved conditions of transportation, finance, public order, and markets, brought about since the American occupation. The sharpest advances have been made during the war, as was to be expected, as the Filipinos had few additional war burdens placed upon them and were able to take advantage of the great increase in prices, which brought them unexampled prosperity.

War prosperity.

Present depression.

The country is suffering from the general world-wide depression at the present time; the prices of products have fallen off very sharply, but even this is less acute than in other countries.

It should be noted, however, that whatever mistakes have been made here, they have not been sufficient to arrest the steady rate of progress which these figures prove to have taken place.

Comparative trade statistics.

Your mission has had a careful report prepared showing the gross trade of the Philippine Islands. From 1903 to 1909 the figure was almost stationary; 1909 was the year in which the Payne bill was passed, creating free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United

Effect of free trade.

States. In the first three years of free trade the trade with all countries nearly doubled. Beginning with 1916 the trade went sharply upward until in 1920 it reached the remarkable total of \$300,000,000. We have tried to

No figures of tonnage available.

get the figures of tonnage in order to analyze this growth in trade and see how much comes from increase in volume and how much is due to increase in price, but have not been able to get these figures.

Proportion of trade with United States.

An analysis of the trade shows that a curve indicating exports and imports from the United States follows almost the same lines as does that of total trade. Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the business of the country, or \$200,000,000, is trade with the United States, and one-third with all other countries. The proportion of gross

Increase with United States.

business done with the United States has been steadily increasing. As the trade with the United States pays no customs duties and the bulk of the increase has been in that class of trade, the result is that the total revenues of customs has shown a tendency to fall off, while the cost of collection shows a steady increase.

Decline of customs revenue.

In case free trade were to be taken from the Philippine Islands, it is probable that the closing of the rich markets of the United States to the products of the Philippine Islands would be very sharply felt. While the Philippine Government would receive customs duties on an important part of their imports that now come in free of duty, it is believed that the first effect would be a very serious blow to trade. For example, in 1920 nearly \$40,000,000 of sugar was exported to the United States, the duty on which would have been 6 or 8 per cent of its value. It is problematical how well Philippine sugar could have stood the handicap of 8 per cent added to the high cost of freight from the Philippines to the United States.

Effect if free trade abolished.

Export of sugar 1920.

The value of cigars exported to the United States was \$10,500,000; the duty on these at the present rate would amount to about \$30,000,000, which would practically have closed the markets of the United States to these cigars. There would have been a similar closing of the United States markets to leaf tobacco. The collector of customs estimates that the trade which has grown up in Philippine embroidery now reaches \$7,500,000 a year and would have to pay a duty of \$4,500,000. As there is no other market for this product, he believes the industry would be practically ruined.¹

Cigars.

Trade in embroidery.

In the main, it is believed that the loss in internal revenue, were the stimulus of free trade to business removed, would be greater than would be the increased collections of customs duties. In this connection it is interesting to note that the increase in internal revenue started when free trade was given and practically offset the drop in customs receipts at the time.

Further analysis of the customs shows the principal articles exported, measured in value, to have been:² Sugar, \$49,619,260; hemp, in which the Philippine Islands have a virtual monopoly, \$35,862,000; coconut oil, \$23,268,886.50; tobacco, \$19,927,391; embroideries, \$7,811,783.50; and copra, \$3,716,870.50.

Export figures.

FINANCES.

In 1905 the Philippine Government was put on a thorough business basis. All services rendered by one branch of the Government to others were paid for, and

Business basis of Philippine Government, 1905.

¹ See among exhibits indorsement, dated Sept. 9, 1921, of the insular collector of customs.

² These figures are all for 1920 and are taken from the report of the insular collector of customs.

the books were so kept that the appropriations did not include any interbureau or intergovernmental payments.

Change in law. The law has since been changed, so that the present cost of government includes items of receipts for services sometimes from other branches of the Government, which makes analysis difficult and exact comparison impossible.

Involved book-keeping. The books are so kept that these amounts can not be ascertained without an analysis of governmental accounts involving prohibitive expense. So that the gross figures

Intergovernmental charges. of receipts and expense are padded on both sides by intergovernmental charges, which are neither real receipts or expenditures, as they are payments by the Government to itself. The accounts should be so kept that these fictitious entries would be eliminated, in order to enable the officers of the Government to get a true picture of government costs.

Certain figures, however, stand out so boldly that they can not be questioned. The rate of taxation has been sharply advanced. The insular gross revenues from taxation in 1913, before the Filipinos were given virtual control of their Government, were \$12,500,000, as opposed to \$28,000,000 in 1920, an increase of 124 per cent. Government expenditures show a still greater proportion of excessive growth. This increase in the general cost of government has not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in efficiency; on the contrary, as has been noted elsewhere, there has been a general falling off in efficiency.

Increase in taxation, 124 per cent. Excessive expenditures. Taxes per capita 1913-1920 compared with other countries. Military expense borne by United States. The per capita revenue from taxation has risen from \$1.32 in 1913 to \$2.50 in 1920. This compares with the per capita taxation of \$23.78 in Great Britain (1914-15), \$9.92 in the United States (1914-15), \$5.57 in Japan (1915-16), \$17.33 in the Argentine Republic (1915), and \$7.79 in Brazil (1915)³, from which it will be seen that the Filipino bears a smaller burden of taxation than the natives in any of the above cited countries. One reason the burden of taxation is so light in the Philippine Islands is because the United States has borne all costs of military and naval establishments necessary for the defense of the islands, and other expenses incident to the maintenance of sovereignty, including international, diplomatic, and consular representation.

³ These figures are taken from World Almanac, 1917, and are much heavier since the Great War.

Of the total revenues of \$40,500,000,⁴ \$28,000,000 is from taxation and \$10,500,000 from operating income and commercial and industrial units; this does not include earnings of the railroad, which the government owns through ownership of the stock.

Sources of revenue.

An analysis of revenue derived from taxation shows the receipts from internal revenues to be \$18,500,000, or two-thirds of the total. This internal-revenue collection is nearly four times as heavy as the collections of 1913.

Analysis of revenue.

The bonded debt of the Philippine Islands in 1920 was \$22,000,000, for the redemption of which is laid aside nearly \$5,000,000, sinking fund, so the net liability is something less than \$17,500,000. A comparison with the debt of other countries demonstrates that the Philippine Islands has a smaller bonded debt than most countries, the per capita being \$1.81, compared with \$25 in Cuba, \$237.07 in the United States, \$853 in England, and \$1,159 in France. The Dutch East Indies with \$1.92, is the nearest, and China next with a little less than double that of the Philippine Islands.⁵ It will be seen that the recent act of Congress increasing the authority of the Philippine Islands to borrow was highly conservative and could be safely further increased without jeopardizing the financial stability of the government. Bonds and notes of the Philippine Islands have been made exempt from federal taxation and are received on deposit as currency reserve. Although not directly guaranteed, it is understood that the credit of the United States Government is behind them; this accounts for the high market value of these bonds.

Bonded debt.

Comparison per capita with other countries.

Borrowing capacity of Philippine Islands.

Government issues exempt.

Implied obligations of the United States.

In addition to the insular revenues, there are the provincial and municipal revenues. These are expended by the provinces and municipalities by vote of their own local authority. An examination of their accounts shows a similar expansion, the receipts and expenditures having increased about 100 per cent in the past eight years.

Provincial and municipal revenues.

Increase in past eight years.

The government expense and cost of materials have shown a tendency to a sharp increase. And it is to be noted that a number of new bureaus and offices have been created.

Increase in expense.

New bureaus created.

⁴ The census shows "income" of \$49,000,000; this, however, is incorrect because analysis proves that it includes moneys derived from the sale of bonds.

⁵ Figures furnished by the insular auditor.

THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL BANK.

Compulsory deposits by municipal and provincial governments.

The story of the Philippine National Bank is one of the most unfortunate and darkest pages in Philippine history. This bank was started in 1916, and a law was passed⁶ compelling all provincial and municipal governments to deposit all their funds in it; and at the same time arrangements were made to transfer from other banks all government funds there deposited, except trust funds, which were held on deposit in the United States; later the bank was put into a position to get control of these moneys and reserve funds. The sum of \$41,500,000, held for the conversion of currency, was transferred to the Philippine Islands, the bank making a large profit in exchange in doing so. Much of it was then loaned out to speculative concerns under circumstances which have led to grave doubt as to the good faith of the transactions.

Questionable loans.

Presidents.

Inexperienced.

Losses.

Report of expert accountants.

A man presumed to be experienced in banking was brought from the United States and took the first presidency, which he held a short time. An American inexperienced in banking was then put in charge, and upon his death a Filipino, also without banking experience, became president. The result of all this has been a series of banking losses, estimated by the insular auditor to reach the severe total of \$22,500,000. A partner of Messrs. Haskins & Sells, certified public accountants of New York, after a careful examination of the bank, makes the following comment:

Our examination thus far reveals the fact that the bank has been operated during almost the entire period of its existence prior to the appointment of Mr. Wilson as manager in violation of every principle which prudence, intelligence, or even honesty, dictate.

Charges preferred.

As a result of these findings, charges have been filed against Gen. Concepcion, a former president of the bank.

Trained banking man brought from United States.

The Government became alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and secured the services of an experienced banking man from the United States, under whose conservative guidance the affairs of the bank are in a fair way to be put on a sound footing. But a large part of the assets of the bank have been loaned to concerns which will be unable to repay for many years—very largely in sugar centrals and coconut-oil factories. These loans were made in excessive amounts during the period of

Slow liquidation of accounts probable.

⁶ See section 19 of Act No. 2612 of the Philippine Legislature.

boom prices, and minimum precaution in regard to security was taken, with the result that the bank has allowed its reserves to run down much lower than required by law, is unable to meet its current obligations, has had to ask other banks not to press for the redemption of its notes, and has further had to ask time for the payment of its obligations to many banks in Shanghai representing many countries, a list of which is among the exhibits, to whom it owes large sums of money as a result of losses incurred in speculation in exchange transactions.

Large loans with inadequate security.

Call on other banks.

Losses from speculation in exchange.

Among the exhibits will be found a copy of the agreement entered into by the insular auditor and these banks for the settlement of these claims.

The bank also established branches and agencies throughout the Philippine Islands, in charge of which they placed untrained Filipinos, and without exception these branches have been mismanaged. Of the four branches in which examinations have been completed criminal charges have been preferred against the managers of each one.

Mismanagement of branches.

Ensuing criminal charges.

These losses have seriously involved the Philippine Government, and the fact that it has not been able to meet its obligations has seriously impaired its credit. We have been informed by representatives of banks in North Borneo and Japan that they have received instructions not to honor the notes or drafts of the Philippine National Bank.

Government's credit impaired.

Notes of bank not honored.

The currency resources have been depleted, the silver on deposit to redeem the currency has been pledged and used for other purposes. The fund for the maintenance of the parity of gold and silver is involved in these losses, with the result that instead of a metallic and cash basis for the currency, its principal support now is the pledge of the Philippine Government and the confidence on the part of the public that the United States will not permit these things to happen again. The currency is now practically a fiat currency.

Currency and redemption fund.

Currency now fiat.

In view of good earnings, moderate expenses, inherent wealth, a small public debt, and backed by the credit of the United States, the problem of rehabilitating the credit of the Philippine Islands should be an easy one. The lesson has been a bitter one for the Filipinos and the gravity of the mistake is generally appreciated.

Rehabilitation of credit.

Appreciation of mistake by Filipinos.

One of the functions of the National Bank was to manage government exchange. Having transferred all the funds

Exchange.

usually available for exchange to Manila, and then loaned the money in such a way that it could not be recovered, the Government had to discontinue selling exchange. The rates ran up as high as 15 per cent, which was equivalent to a depreciation of the Philippine currency to almost that amount, which has resulted in great hardship to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, especially those engaged in business.

Rates of exchange.
Currency depreciated.

The Philippine Islands, contrary to general belief, have maintained all of the expenses of civil administration since the beginning of American occupation from insular revenues and without assistance from the Treasury of the United States, which has, however, defrayed all the costs of the military and naval establishments and fortifications. The only aid received by the Philippine government from the United States has been a \$3,000,000 appropriation for famine relief made in 1903.

PUBLIC WORKS.

In the matter of public works, your mission has to report both favorably and unfavorably.

Large appropriations.

The Government and people of the islands realize the value and necessity of public works, and large appropriations from current revenues have been made annually for such objects as the construction of roads, bridges, irrigation systems, schoolhouses, markets, port works, and artesian wells, among others. We find, however,

Increase in cost.

an undue increase in the cost of public works, due in many instances to construction by administration instead of by contract; this has necessitated the purchase of equipment ordinarily furnished by the contractors.

Loss by methods employed.

There has also been a deterioration in the quality of the work performed in this service. We find also a lack of competent supervision.

Deterioration in work.
Lack of supervision.

Good work done.
Capable direction.

On the other hand, there has been a great deal of excellent work done. The director, a Filipino, is a man of unusual capacity and foresight, and he impressed the members of the mission most favorably.

Support of public works.
Increase desirable.

An important proportion of all revenues of the Government are allocated to public works. And in the opinion of this mission this proportion should be increased.

Progress in irrigation.
Expenditures.

In the last three years there has been notable progress in construction of irrigation systems. Sixteen projects have been undertaken, involving an expenditure of

\$4,640,158. Many more projects are under consideration and are awaiting the availability of funds. The completion of these projects is of the utmost importance and it is an encouraging sign of progress that they have advanced as far as they have.

Future development.

There are now 2,920 miles of roads rated as first class in the islands and 7,500 permanent bridges and culverts. The standard, however, of first class roads has been lowered and we found many roads rated as first class which are not so. There was an earnest effort made by the Government to hurry through deferred repairs in order to prepare the roads for inspection.

Road mileage.

Bridges.

Lowered standard.

During the earlier periods a system of road construction and maintenance was adopted and consistently followed. All structures on first-class roads were reinforced concrete and a standard system of road construction adopted suited to the traffic. Although the work progressed slowly, it was thoroughly well done, adequate provision being made for constant maintenance by a force of laborers. The result was that the road service reached a high degree of perfection, comparing favorably with the roads of any other country and much better than most roads in America. The terrific force of the torrential rainfall in the islands made these precautions necessary.

Construction and maintenance systematized in earlier periods.

Favorable comparison with other countries.

We have to record that this system has not been consistently maintained; the roads are falling into disrepair, some are impassable and the system of maintenance is carried on spasmodically. In certain districts money has been spent for new roads instead of keeping up the old ones, which is unwise. We regret to say that a tendency has crept in to revert to the old practice of building bridges and other structures of wood, and a uniform policy of permanent construction has not been maintained. This practice, in the long run, is poor economy.

Deterioration.

Recent construction.

Heavy trucks have been purchased for carrying passengers and freight, and regular routes have been established on the highways. These trucks, in some cases, are much heavier than the roads were designed to carry, and much of the deterioration noted is attributable to this fact. The maintenance service should be restored to old standards and the weight of the loads regulated, and standard sections strengthened to enable the use of heavier vehicles.

Traffic in relation to roads.

The roads are, at first sight, good at the present time, but a great proportion of the wearing surface has been worn off without replacement.

Lack of organization responsible in some provinces.

In the Mountain Province and non-Christian provinces we find that the service of maintaining roads and trails has been neglected, but it is believed that a better organization can remedy these defects without the necessity of additional revenues.

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS.

Government in business.

The Government has entered into certain lines of business usually left to private initiative. Among these can be cited the national bank with disastrous results, the purchase of the Manila Railroad Co., now operated at a loss, also the National Development and National Coal Co.'s, etc. At the request of the mission a thorough examination of the Manila Railroad Co. was made by competent army engineers whose report is among the exhibits. In our judgment the Government should as far as possible get out of and keep out of such business.

ELECTIONS.

Enough elections have now been held to base an opinion upon results and to note the reaction of the Philippine people in the exercise of this important and fundamental function of a representative government.

Limited suffrage.

suffrage.

In June, 1919, the first general elections were held under the enlarged suffrage granted by the act of August 29, 1916. The suffrage is still confined to men and to those who can read and write, who hold a certain amount of property or pay a certain tax, or to those who held offices under the Spanish régime.

General interest.

No disturbance by minority.

Interest in the elections was widespread and election day passed without any serious disturbance. There was a general, quiet acceptance by the minority of the results of the popular vote, although the executive bureau was deluged with complaints. The courts, since that time, have been loaded with fraudulent election cases, the legal action on which has been so slow that there are still 350 cases pending in the courts, and many terms of office will be served out by people who were either fraudulently elected or, in some cases, appointed by executive order to the vacancies, even though their claims to the office had been pronounced by the courts as fraudulent. These were caused not only by the local conditions, to be explained, but by an election law which is undoubtedly

Fraudulent election cases.

Number.

Defects in law.

defective in providing sufficient safeguards for the ballot and which should be thoroughly revised.

Under the present election law officers known as "inspectors of election" are required to prepare the ballot for illiterate voters. This is a fruitful source of frauds. The election machinery is practically in the hands of the dominant parties and the inspectors of election are too often their tools.

Illiterate voters not safeguarded.

Controlled by dominant party.

It is surprising that the elections have been conducted as well as they have been, in view of the fact that outside of the larger cities and principal towns the organization of society is very primitive and the people generally are unaware of their civil rights.

Civil rights not understood.

Such social organization as exists is of a patriarchal form, characterized by a strong clan feeling and centuries of leadership by a few influential individuals known as "caciques." The subservience of the people to these leaders has not yet been supplanted by new ideals that come with modern education or by a confirmed sense of duty to the State. Whenever representatives of two powerful family groups oppose one another at elections there is sure to be a bitter contest and an unwillingness on the part of the minority to accept the situation.

Patriarchal form of society.

"Caciques."

Family influence.

During the visit of the mission through the provinces the charges and countercharges of fraudulent practices have been widespread and intense. On the whole, this interest is indicative of a certain development of public opinion which will, in the end, right the wrongs.

Charges of fraud.

As a rule, there is little evidence of a party system and program, and the elections are fought out upon personalities rather than on principles.

Personalities versus principles.

The party in power is so entrenched that under the present election law it would be very difficult for the people to dislodge it if they wanted to change.

Party in power entrenched.

LEGISLATION.

Legislation in which Filipinos have participated may be fairly divided into three periods:

First, 1907 to 1913. Under the strong, conservative influence of the commission with American majority, the legislation passed was constructive and good, with marked emphasis placed upon the improvement of education and construction of permanent improvements.

First period in legislation under Americans.

Second, 1913 to 1916. The restraining influence was withdrawn with the appearance of a Filipino majority

Second period with Filipino majority.

Politics.

on the commission. Good, constructive legislation was passed, but there were marked tendencies to inject politics into administration and to interfere with administrative efficiency. Injudicious economy by salary cutting and discouragement of government personnel became marked. The tendency toward Government interference in business and radical government paternalism began.

Legislation toward independence.

The legislation also showed a conscious effort to encourage Filipino nationality and independence.⁷

Third period. Increase in radicalism.

Third, 1916 to 1921. With an elected House and Senate, the legislation in this period became increasingly radical in its paternalism and government interference with business. Some constructive legislation was passed, but the general trend was toward injection of politics into administration and encroachment of the legislative on the executive. Legislation affecting finance, banking, and currency has been radical and unwise.

Supervision by Filipinos legislated.

Another tendency in recent legislation has been the deliberate effort to take away from the American officers of the Government supervision of the different branches of the Government and put it into the departments controlled by Filipinos. Act 2666 provides that the secretaries of all departments must be Filipinos. This is discriminatory legislation against Americans. The so-called Jones bill provides that the vice governor and secretary of public instruction must be an American, and it further provides that the health duties should be under this officer. The Philippine Legislature has endeavored to evade this by transferring the management of all Government hospitals to the department of the interior and by creating and placing in the same department a board of pharmaceutical officers, a board of optical examiners, etc.

Act 2666 discriminates against Americans.

Evasion of Jones bill.

⁷ It is to be noted that franchises granted by the Government during this period contain the following clause:

"The concession of the privilege mentioned in the preceding section shall not take effect unless the grantee shall accept in writing and make part of this concession the following condition, to wit, 'That the grantee state in writing that it is informed of the message of the President of the United States addressed to the Filipino people and communicated to said people by the Governor General of the Philippine Islands on the sixth day of October, 1913, and of the reply message of the Philippine Assembly made in the name of the Filipino people and approved and sent on October 16, 1913; that said grantee binds itself not to engage in or aid, by means of contributions in cash or otherwise, any propaganda directed against the policy of the Government of the United States outlined in such message of the President and the aspirations of the Filipino people set forth in said reply message of the Philippine Assembly, whether under the pretext of vested interests or under any other pretext, and that said grantee shall further bind itself to exact a similar engagement from its administrators, agents, successors, and assigns.'"

The tendency which is found in all legislatures of passing the bulk of the legislation in the last two days of the session is noted. By this means, much important legislation is passed with a rush. The forms of budget and currency appropriation bills are good.

Important legislation hurried.

Budget and currency bills.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

We find the people happy, peaceful, and in the main prosperous, and keenly appreciative of the benefits of American rule.

We find everywhere among the Christian Filipinos the desire for independence, generally under the protection of the United States. The non-Christians and Americans are for continuance of American control.

We find a general failure to appreciate the fact that independence under the protection of another nation is not true independence.

We find that the Government is not reasonably free from those underlying causes which result in the destruction of government.

We find that a reasonable proportion of officials and employees are men of good character and ability, and reasonably faithful to the trust imposed upon them; but that the efficiency of the public services has fallen off, and that they are now relatively inefficient, due to lack of inspection and to the too rapid transfer of control to officials who have not had the necessary time for proper training.

We find that many Filipinos have shown marked capacity for government service and that the young generation is full of promise; that the civil service laws have in the main been honestly administered, but there is a marked deterioration due to the injection of politics.

We find there is a disquieting lack of confidence in the administration of justice, to an extent which constitutes a menace to the stability of the government.

We find that the people are not organized economically nor from the standpoint of national defense to maintain an independent government.

We find that the legislative chambers are conducted with dignity and decorum and are composed of representative men.

We feel that the lack of success in certain departments should not be considered as proof of essential incapacity on the part of Filipinos, but rather as indicating lack of experience and opportunity, and especially lack of inspection

We find that questions in regard to confirmation of appointments might at any time arise which would make a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate.

We feel that with all their many excellent qualities, the experience of the past eight years, during which they have had practical autonomy, has not been such as to justify the people of the United States relinquishing supervision of the Government of the Philippine Islands, withdrawing their army and navy, and leaving the islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages.

In conclusion we are convinced that it would be a betrayal of the Philippine people, a misfortune to the American people, a distinct step backward in the path of progress, and a discreditable neglect of our national duty were we to withdraw from the islands and terminate our relationship there without giving the Filipinos the best chance possible to have an orderly and permanently stable government.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. We recommend that the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands.

2. We recommend that the responsible representative of the United States, the Governor General, have authority commensurate with the responsibilities of his position. In case of failure to secure the necessary corrective action by the Philippine Legislature, we recommend that Congress declare null and void legislation which has been enacted diminishing, limiting, or dividing the authority granted the Governor General under Act No. 240 of the Sixty-fourth Congress, known as the Jones bill.

3. We recommend that in case of a deadlock between the Governor General and the Philippine Senate in the confirmation of appointments that the President of the United States be authorized to make and render the final decision.

4. We recommend that under no circumstances should the American Government permit to be established in the Philippine Islands a situation which would leave the United States in a position of responsibility without authority.

LEONARD WOOD, *Chairman.*

W. CAMERON FORBES.

OCTOBER 8, 1921.

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