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Five Statements

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Texts and Documents

*Five Statements**

MICHAEL P. ONORATO

I

ADDRESS OF DR. T. H. PARDO DE TAVERA AT THE FAREWELL
BANQUET GIVEN HIM IN MANILA BY HIS FRIENDS ON THE
NIGHT OF 17TH OF APRIL 1909¹

Gentlemen:

Nothing could be more gratifying to me, do me greater honor, or elicit a deeper feeling of affection and gratitude, than the manifestation of sympathy and cordial regard of which I have been the recipient.

* During August, 1969, I came upon five items in the correspondence files of the late Francis Burton Harrison (Governor General of the Philippine Islands, 1913-1921), which are housed at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. They are offered here in the belief that they will be of interest to the historical profession.—Michael P. Onorato, California State College, Fullerton.

¹ On February 9, 1921, Dr. de Tavera, in a gesture of obvious sympathy for the efforts of Governor General Harrison who was about to leave the Philippines after seven and a half years of service, sent a copy of this speech to the American governor. Harrison was so impressed by its relevance to his own efforts that he underlined certain phrases and sentences. Unless otherwise indicated all italicized phrases and sentences represent Harrison's underscoring of Dr. de Tavera's remarks.

During my short but strenuous political career I have been proud to have gained the cooperation, the assistance, and the support of eminent and to me very dear and respected Filipinos; I have been honored and trusted by eminent Americans who were and still continue to be the loyal and powerful friends of the Filipino people; circumstances which have encouraged me in my work and sustained me in my moments of hesitation — moments when soul and mind were weary and I almost doubted the justice of my ideas and the wisdom of my actions. On the other hand, in the midst of the trials which I have suffered, in the painful moments that have come to me in my life, nothing has caused me so much grief and disappointment as to have seen many of my own people, meriting my admiration, respect, and affection, assume an attitude of personal hostility toward me on account of my ideas and my actions. Now that I see many of these same Filipinos here present; now that I receive from them this testimonial of their consideration and esteem, it makes me doubly happy. If they have changed I feel that to some extent I may claim credit for it; if they still continue to think differently from what I do on certain points, I know that they have come to understand that at bottom we are guided by the same idea and by the same desire and that we are all working for the welfare and advancement of our people, to the end that they may achieve the noble unanimous and unshakable purpose of constituting an independent, sovereign nation.

A thousand thanks to you, dear friends, who honor me with your presence. As I think of your affectionate leave-taking and feel the great satisfaction that this moment affords me, I forget the tribulations of the past and the physical sufferings which now compel me to leave our country to regain my health abroad in order that I may be enabled on my return to work for my native land and for my family. May it be given me, before my last long journey, to see the adored flag waving over our native land as the results of the efforts of the Filipino people and of the sentiments of the American people.

It has been said that this banquet is given only for reasons of friendship, and this must be true for there can be no reason of party politics, when I see different parties represented here, or of a professional character, when I see that you are not all physicians, thank God; nor are you all in the same line of business, as not every one of you is a cigarette or ice manufacturer, and I thank the Lord for that, too. Neither are you all identified with agricultural pursuits, for it is not every one of you that has had the crazy notion to lose your money in ventures of that nature, — good only for the opportunity they afford to bewail the untimely death of your carabaos and the slow but sure loss of your money and of your work. Yet you are not actuated solely by motives of friendship: your belief that I have been of some use to our common country and your wish to bid farewell to a friend that you consider a good citizen is what has induced you to honor me to-night, in order that in doing so you might also honor our native land.

In this same place, about ten years ago, I had the honor to preside over the first political banquet held in the Philippines, got up by the Federal Party which had just been organized. The importance of that function will be better understood when political passions shall have calmed down so as to permit our judgment to see things with more serenity. That banquet had two principal objects: First, to bring about peace, without which we were doomed to annihilation; second, to proclaim the dignity of the sentiments which led us to accept peace; for in proclaiming that our aspiration was some day to form a part of the American Union we rejected every form of colonial submission, and declared that if we could not obtain national independence it was our desire to adopt such independence as that had by the States of the Union, — an independence that has been found to be satisfactory by the citizens of the United States, that is to say, by the very men who most respect liberty, individual rights, and the sentiment of collective independence which constitutes the sentiment of nationality. That banquet was the festival of peace, of peace

without humiliation, of peace glorified by a noble and exalted aspiration.

A more mature consideration of the conditions affecting the American and Filipino people led, as you know to the substitution of the idea of an impossible federation by that of a complete independence, and the Federal Party became the present Partido Progresista.

Have no fear that I shall attempt to commit the discourtesy of abusing your forbearance and my position of last speaker in order to advance the interests of my party. I simply wish to call to mind the fact that the Filipino people have never had a political party that did not purpose [sic] to achieve liberty for the Philippines and to uphold the dignity of the Filipino people.

Now, in this same place, another and a new phase of our political existence has presented itself; for if despite the fact that you belong to different political parties you find that you are here assembled, it is due to the fact that the intolerance of former days has vanished to make room for that tolerance which is at one and the same time the cause and the effect of liberty. This banquet, therefore, reveals not only a change, but also a material advancement in our political existence. In the United States, says a French observer, when a man conceives an idea, or desires to accomplish a thing, even though he stand alone and unaided, he will further it to the utmost taking no heed of what the next man may think; and as every one acts in like manner, the most complete tolerance is the result.

Now permit me to tell a story. They tell of a wag who went to confession during Holy Week to settle accounts with his conscience. As he showed complete ignorance of those things that a Christian ought to know, the confessor asked him if he knew anything at all about religion. "I can pray," confidently replied the man. And as the priest asked him what prayers he knew, the fellow answered, without a moment's hesitation: "I can pray at anything, but it is for your reverence to begin, and when you are through I will say

amen." When we consider our political condition in bygone Spanish times — that is to say, our political existence in our history — we realize that our capacity in politics was like the wag's in religion. Others governed, acted, and carried out all things for us, praying for us while we formed the chorus and, like our wag, confidently chanted the response "Amen." It was an eternal amen, a unanimous one, and, therefore, it was the first faint indication of our national unity, for please note, gentlemen, that if we did speak different dialects, and at times Spanish, Latin gave us one word that was interinsular, inter-provincial, and a symbol of unity: "Amen, amen, amen."

The day that the Filipino people got tired of praying in that fashion and wished to chant their own orison, they refused to say amen, the traditional amen, and that was the beginning of the revolution. Now we daily make our fervent invocations to national liberty, but we have our prayer answered, — to bring about a realization of our most ardent yearning, — it is useless to hope that our "amen" will rise very high, so let us hope for the happy day when from the other side of the Pacific the American people will answer us with the "amen" of final justice.

It is not my wish to make a political speech. I have never done politics: let me explain. He who proclaims ideals or principles that are taken up by other men constituting a political party whose object is domination, does politics. And by domination I mean the ascendancy to power for the purpose of carrying out a political programme and of imposing it upon others. In this sense I have done no politics, for I have realized that my party could never dominate, and, as I have said, domination is the object of every political party. Here it is America that dominates, and the policy which rules here is the policy of America. Convinced of this, I have seen that I ought not to bother my head very much over politics, and that the *most urgent question was a social one, because the solution of our political problem necessarily, and as sure as*

*fate, depends upon the solution we give to our social problem.*² For this reason I have been tolerant of political parties opposed to my own, and for the same reason I have been indifferent to the defeat of my party at the polls in the elections for our first Assembly. Heretofore the Progresistas did not govern, nor do those who belong to the party of the majority govern now. The policy of America still governs, so that he who wishes to do anything in the sphere of our politics will not be successful by opposing the Government, but only by placing himself on the side of the Government. And so it is that the successful party does not *dominate*,³ except on the condition that it join the *Dominador*,⁴ and in order that there may be no mistake I will add that the *Dominador* I refer to is surnamed "United States." We lose precious time in giving our attention to questions that we can not solve, and we pay no heed to one question of an importance that is fundamental and transcendental and which we can and ought to solve. *We give our entire attention to the political power which we would like to have in our hands.*⁵ Observe, however, that I do not condemn this just aspiration; on the contrary, I say that that is our chief aspiration, peculiar to each and every one of our parties, which imagines that the day when its members hold the political jobs the country will enjoy all the blessings of progress, prosperity, and liberty, in a word, we have faith in the omnipotence of the men in *political authority*,⁶ but I, gentlemen, have never hoped for a great deal from this class. But I have believed, and shall continue to believe, in the efficiency of men otherwise prominent in the community, who, according to the ideas in which we have been educated, are

² According to the Harrison correspondence files, as well as those of other prominent Americans and Filipinos, especially President Manuel L. Quezon, the American governor was convinced that the political problems of the Philippines would only be solved when the social ills were laid to rest.

³ Italicized in the original.

⁴ The first and second "*Dominador*" were italicized in the original.

⁵ This was the sum and substance of Filipinization. Governor Harrison, no doubt, prided himself on placing virtually all domestic power in Filipino hands by the end of his service as chief executive.

⁶ Italicized in the original.

of no importance. The men who are at the head of banking, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial institutions; who devote their activity and intelligence to the management of financial concerns; who manage railway lines, navigation lines, and all other industries like those which now exist or can be operated in this country; who direct the agricultural development that makes the land fertile and extracts therefrom the elements of wealth which are the basis of national prosperity; who address themselves to the distribution and exchange of domestic and foreign products; and those who work and give work of any kind, and by their creative activity take over and transform the latent energy found in coal and in the metals, and the productive energy of the land by the application of man's voluntary labor; all these men constitute a *power*⁷ in the community, and it is by such men, and no others, that the power of a nation and the height of its civilization are measured.

The ambition to achieve *political authority*⁷ is the only ambition that has any attraction for us as a *people educated under the influence of Latin ideas*,⁸ according to which one class in the community monopolizes the functions of government and calls itself the directing class, and the other class produces, labors, pays the taxes, suffers constantly, and aspires to move out of its station and become a part of the privileged class.

I do not object to the aspiration of the Filipino people to take over political authority, but I consider it less useful to them than that other power of which I have been speaking.

During the past rule, political office was forbidden fruit to the Filipinos, and, as such, all the more coveted. On the other hand, outside the field of politics, the most intelligent and strong-willed, who numbered many Filipinos, were able to win high positions, and these were the men who made the revolution of the Filipino people. Men of high standing

⁷ Italicized in the original.

⁸ A statement that must have impressed itself upon Harrison.

in the community, or, as we now call them, *prominent men*⁹ in industry, in commerce, in agricultural pursuits, and in the liberal professions and arts, as well as in other walks of life, were they who gave their lives "on the scaffold and in open field," as was said by one who was the most illustrious of them all, Rizal. From this class came the men who died in prison or in banishment, to redeem their country.

Domination by artificial means, such as by force of arms or of numbers which subjugates and conquers, does not terrify me, for despite appearances such means are not permanent in their results, which give way and fall before the justice of a cause. But victories attained by natural means do terrify me, because they are just and therefore permanent. My ambition is to prepare the Filipino people so that they can not be vanquished by the weapons of nature by means of which here, as in any other part of the planet, and now as at all times in the history of the race, the most energetic, most active, and most intelligent — in a word, the best prepared men, will, in the end, have it over the men who are not so prepared.

My wishes have nothing to do with the question of whether the sovereign power shall reside in foreign hands, as now, or in our own, as we aspire: *I want to prepare the people so that they can not be oppressed by Government, so that they can not be exploited by the authorities, and in order that they may not look upon office as the only thing worth striving for and possessing.*¹⁰ That is my ambition, an ambition for a transformation in our society without which any political change would be factitious and never capable of subserving the true interests of the people.¹¹

We belong to the communistic type of society, in which all questions must be *settled by the State*,¹² all the needs, am-

⁹ Italicized in the original.

¹⁰ This was the universal desire of all American governors general, especially Wm. H. Taft, Harrison and Leonard Wood.

¹¹ This entire paragraph was bracketed.

¹² This was a prescient assessment of modern Philippine society.

bitions, and advancements carried out by official action, and in which the individual is respected and admired, not for what he is worth, but for the office he holds;¹³ in which the ambition of every man is to become a part of the official machine, to be a screw, cog, lever, axle, or wheel of that great motor car — the Government. *My aim is to develop individual qualities,*¹⁴ to the end that every man may be enabled to produce the maximum permitted by his capacity, whatever that might be; I desire to bring about, as Desmoulins said, a substitution of individual effort for collective effort, by placing in the hands of every individual the welfare of the community, just as religion places in the hands of every man his own eternal welfare. And it is a fact that the welfare of the community, no less than that of the individual soul, is a matter of individual, and not of collective, concern. Let each one, therefore, learn to work out for himself the problem of life.

Confidence in the virtue of politics and politicians is one of the most evident signs of an inferior type of society. Political independence does not make a people safe from slavery: the law can not protect the individual of inferior capacity from the native or foreign individual of superior capacity. That is the reason of the natural subjugation to which I have referred, and it is only a social transformation that can shield us from this danger.

It is not my purpose to defend the Government nor to bring out its defects, but I wish to say that there is one trait on account of which a government can be pardoned for the defects it may possess, and that is when it is not opposed to the general advancement of the people. Now then, gentlemen, the government we have is not opposed to the progress of our people, but, on the contrary is in favor of it. The difference in the points of view which separate our political parties gives me no concern, nor will I make the least effort to cause this difference to disappear. It is necessary, or at least natural,

¹³ The first four sentences of this paragraph were bracketed.

¹⁴ Governor Harrison believed that it was his duty—just as much as any Filipino leader—to foster individuality among the Filipino people.

that there should be different parties; but the fact that at bottom all parties are one and indivisible in defending the ideal of independence and the greater ideal of the establishment of a democracy is comforting to me.

Our social problem will be solved by the only possible means — *by education*^{14*} and it is this work which is of the most moment, as it is of principal and fundamental importance: it must claim the attention of most intelligent men now, under American sovereignty, and, in the future, under our own.

There is one question which is of no importance to-day, but which may be of importance in the future — a question which should not and ought not to be raised in a country that seeks its greatness on the basis of the most perfect form of government, — a democracy. I refer to the race question, which has been responsible for our hearing of the division of Filipino citizens into those who are so in looks and at heart and the others who are so only at heart. This question might be raised in a country where one race wishes to dominate another, but it ought by no means to be brought up in a country where all of us are Filipinos at heart though not in looks. What more could we desire? Man has no power to vary his race nor to change his physical type, and nations ought not to be constituted on account of the similitude of physical types, but on the basis of likeness of sentiments, aspirations, and ideals: and, gentlemen, like the sentiments, aspirations, and the ideals of the Filipino, without distinction of color of skin, of the shape of nose, or of the presence or absence of beard, are the same, are identical; we all wish for a Filipino people who shall be highly civilized, rich, independent, free in action, and sovereign of its own land.

Attracted by the liberality of its institutions, emigrants from all parts of the world and speaking every tongue are continually pouring into the United States, who become citizens of the great Republic and Americans at heart, and yet no one ever raises the puerile question of racial type, for although the union of primitive peoples was based on the rea-

^{14*} It is obvious that Harrison concurred in this view.

son of identity of physical type, modern nations are constituted on a more solid and more exalted basis, which, as I have said, is community of ideals and aspirations.

Speaking of the citizens of Anglo-Saxon and of French origin that make up the people of Canada, M. Laurier, the Prime Minister of the Dominion, said, in a speech delivered in Paris: "We have reached the point where there is no race rivalry among our people: there is emulation, not for the purpose of one race gaining the ascendancy over the other, but for the purpose of achieving the complete development of our country's glory and prosperity."

Let us strive to spread these ideas amongst ourselves, to the end that we may do away with unfounded fears characteristic only of primitive societies where human conscience [sic] in a rudimentary state can find only in the physical type the necessary elements with which to form the standard in founding a community of interests. Other motives and other qualifications of a higher order serve as a basis for a more solid union; there are reasons for a solidarity that are more noble, there are community interests which are higher, safer, and more adapted to a civilized society.

I also think that our economic condition is subject to our social condition. Not free trade, nor the establishment of agricultural banks or of a system of irrigation, will solve this question as long as the static forces of our country remain passive. *I refer to labor, as you will have understood, and it is my first duty to state that the great mass of the people does not yet understand the necessity of labor. There are too many idle men; there is a demand for active ones: that is the problem.*¹⁵ It is quite certain that this state of things will not change if we have not the courage to state the facts publicly, not for the purpose of recrimination, but to point out the evil and to direct our efforts toward its elimination. *Our masses await their redemption through the efforts of the Gov-*

¹⁵ For Harrison's impassioned plea for justice for the Filipino workers, see his October 10, 1919 speech before his fellow masons, (which has been reprinted below).

*ernment, and so long as they do not realize that the instrument of their salvation lies in their own hands and in their willingness to use it, we will continue to be poor and with our eternal faith in an impossible solution of our troubles.*¹⁶

I trust that you will pardon my frankness if it has run counter to any of your opinions or if it has hurt your feelings. In voicing my ideas I have not tried to make you adopt them, but have simply given expression to them. And I likewise express my hope that from the platform of political parties in the Philippines all that may tend to produce hatred or hostility between the Filipino people on the score of provincial prejudices, of race, or religious belief, or class distinctions may disappear, for it is our first aspiration to form an independent democracy, and that idea is opposed to every other which does not signify tolerance, equality, liberty, union, and fraternity.

We are forming a new people, our governing class is imbued with the necessity that when our nation shall be free, it shall be able to guarantee the liberty of each one of its citizens, and that individual liberty shall be won not by teaching the people that the Government is a providential being who is responsible for our evils and the author of our happiness. *If that is our ideal of government, we do but clearly conceive an authoritative, paternal government, or an oligarchy.*¹⁷ If we wish to establish a democracy, let us teach the people that every citizen is responsible, and that to be responsible it is needful for him above all things to know his duties, and, what is still more important, to know how to perform them, for the enjoyment of individual rights is the inevitable result of the performance of such duties.

I think that the best manner which lies within my power to express my gratitude to you, and to give you a testimonial of my regard, is to open my heart to you; and it is for that

¹⁶ Governor Harrison said virtually the same thing in his inaugural address in October, 1913.

¹⁷ This was the constant concern of all American governors, as well as many Filipino leaders.

reason that I have called your attention to the considerations which I have just made known to you regarding the conditions which affect us. The enlightened class in the Philippines represents its own interests and the interests of the masses who confide in it. This sort of trust places upon us a tremendous responsibility, and obliges us to speak the truth always. If in doing so I bring upon myself the censure of the people, I deeply regret it, I deplore it from the bottom of my soul; but I do not talk to please the people, but to be useful to them, though it displease them.

I thank you again, gentlemen: the remembrance of this banquet will be one of the most gratifying which I shall keep in my heart. We need eminent men, and, thanks to my friends Quezon, Sumulong, Calderon, and Veyra, to-night I have become an eminent man. What I regret is that no one has the power to take me back twenty-five years, as then I would have more time and opportunity to receive *despedidas* like this, which awakens the desire for a repetition.

My dear friends, I drink to your health and may your wishes and ambitions be realized.

II

Office of the Governor-General
of the Philippine Islands

Manila, November 13, 1918

CONFIDENTIAL

To the President of the United States,
Through the Secretary of War.

My dear Mr. President:

The Philippine Legislature has just authorized by joint resolution the sending of a commission of Filipinos to the United States for the purpose of advancing the excellent relations and mutual confidence now existing between the American and the Filipino peoples and to encourage the further development of the commercial relations between both coun-

tries. This commission is headed by the President of the Senate, Honorable Manuel L. Quezon, and includes some of the leading men in public life and commerce. I am advised that, if considered convenient by you, they will take up with you the question of definitely settling the independence of the Philippines,¹⁸ and as I am not to be in Washington at the time of their expected conference with you, I take the liberty of submitting to you my views on that subject.¹⁹ Inasmuch as I have not been asked to express my opinion on the subject, I have marked this letter "confidential", and trust that you will not think it officious on my part to offer my views in advance of their being asked for.

Upon the passage by Congress of the Act of August 26, 1916, known as the Jones Law, the Filipino people set to work to establish here the form of government authorized by that law in accordance with the requirements of the preamble of which it was declared to be the intention of the United States to give the Filipinos their independence when a stable government shall have been established. Two sessions of the new Legislature organized pursuant to that Act have passed, and a third one is now in session; for more than two years past the executive offices, known as the Cabinet, have been in operation under Filipino direction, with the exception of the Department of Public Instruction, of which under the law the Vice Governor, who is an American, is in charge. Filipinization of the service generally has taken place very rapidly, especially

¹⁸ President Wilson did not want to meet the delegates of the first Philippine mission of independence. The ambivalence of the President toward Filipino freedom has not been explored adequately. Wilson's refusal to meet the Filipinos (although he excused himself on grounds of absence in Paris) was attributed by Harrison to American attempts to re-assure the colonial powers who did not want to see Filipino independence. It is apparent from the records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C., as well as the private papers of prominent Americans and Filipinos, that the President was concerned by the embarrassment caused him by the Filipino demand for independence.

¹⁹ Harrison did return home in early 1919 after an absence of five years. While home he testified before congressional committees on the appropriateness of granting Filipino independence.

since the passage in 1915 of the Osmeña Retirement Act, under which many Americans left the service under favorable financial consideration, and also as a result of the demand for many of our active younger Americans for the military service of the United States during the war. Today and for some time past the government may be said to be a Filipino government, with the exception of the positions of Governor-General, Vice Governor, and a majority of the Supreme Court, the bulk of the Americans remaining in the service otherwise being in the teaching profession, either in the public schools or in the University, or in scientific and technical positions. The forty-five provinces are almost entirely under Filipino Governors and provincial boards, and so are the eight hundred municipalities, as they have been nearly from the beginning of the establishment of municipal governments in the Islands under the American system. It is, therefore, in my opinion entirely proper to state that the stable government now existing in the Philippine Islands is for the most part a stable government of Filipinos by Filipinos, and I believe that the time has come when the people of the Islands are prepared to qualify for independence under the terms prescribed in the preamble of the Jones Law.²⁰

For the past two years or more comparatively little has been heard from the Filipinos as to their aspirations for independence, but this in no way indicates a lessening of their ambition and desires in that respect; it is rather due, first, to the absorption they have felt in the establishment and working out of the nearly autonomous form of government authorized by the Jones Law and, secondly, and above all from a sincere and universal desire on the part of the Filipino people and their leaders not to raise any question which might be misconstrued as embarrassing to the United States when our country was at war. It was no doubt moreover felt that even though our country were not so engaged, the existence of the war in which almost all the nations of the world were involved was a time

²⁰ The contrary notwithstanding there were *no* "terms prescribed" by the Jones Law or its preamble for qualifying the Philippines for independence.

inopportune for a comparatively small country to ask for its independence. The recent indications of the speedy termination of the war, followed by the news today that a general armistice has been concluded, has inspired the Philippine Legislature to believe that they would not be relieved of any reproach if they raise the question of independence. I have advised the people here on several occasions that the very essence of the war was the right of small nations to independent existence, free from aggression by the governments of larger countries; your wonderful addresses on the causes of the war, which have been published all over the world, have made that issue clear to every one, and the Filipinos have been correspondingly encouraged as to their own chances for the future. It has seemed to me that your tremendous influence in the council of peace will be felt even more decisively as to the rights and status of the subject peoples who are now ruled by alien monarchs, if our own Philippine question is definitely settled by Congressional enactment.²¹

The steady evolution of ability for self-government in the Philippines which is so marked in the eyes of all observers here, has no doubt passed almost unnoticed by the rest of the world when events of such tremendous importance were engaging the attention of all great countries. To those of us, however, who have been at work here in the Philippines it is intensely gratifying to see the undoubted ability which the Filipinos have displayed in executive office as well as in their legislative and judicial duties. The habit of executive decision has grown very firmly in those who have been entrusted with the exercise of those duties and considering the very complex and varied questions which have come before this country during recent years, the generally high average of successful handling of public questions by the Filipinos themselves is deserving of universal commendation. Most of the doubts and fears expressed by critics of our progressive concessions to the Fili-

²¹ Governor Harrison believed firmly—during and after his tenure of office—that British, French and Dutch imperial interests kept Wilson and later presidents from granting Filipino freedom. There is an element of truth in his belief.

pinos have been relegated to the past, and while it would be difficult to assert that any government ever set up by man is perfectly satisfactory in every respect, I will be glad to have the operations and achievements of the Filipinos in public office subjected to the most severe scrutiny without any fear of the judgment of any impartial observer as to their general integrity, patriotism, self-control and wisdom in the disposition of public matters.²² From a close association with the Filipinos and their representative men over a period of more than five years, I have no hesitation now in stating that I consider the Filipino people capable of conducting an independent government and that I believe that the concession to them of independence would best promote their own happiness and welfare.²³

It has been very gratifying to us here to have you make public recognition from time to time of the loyalty of the Filipinos to the American cause during the war; that loyalty is deep, genuine and universal in the Philippines. It is based upon the recognition of what the United States has done specifically for the Philippine people and, also, upon an appreciation of what the United States is fighting for in this war as expressed on many public occasions by yourself. I think that in their offer and organization of a division for the military service, in their loan of a destroyer and a submarine to our Navy in their response to liberty loans and Red Cross appeals, the Filipinos have made visible demonstration of their attitude towards our country. It is reserved perhaps to those of us

²² According to Stephen Bonsal, Harrison's efforts to extend self-government to "subject peoples" was well-known to those responsible for establishing the League of Nation's mandate system. There is also the hint in his letter that Harrison wanted the opportunity to serve as chief executive of an American mandate. Of course, the United States did not accept any mandate following World War One. See S. Bonsal to Harrison, August 4, 1919, Harrison Papers.

²³ While Harrison may have believed publicly—if not, privately—in "immediate, absolute and complete" Filipino independence, the fact remains that many key Philippine leaders did not really believe privately in such independence. They would have preferred complete domestic rule while sacrificing control of their external affairs in exchange for American protection.

who had the privilege of serving here with them in the Philippines to know how deep seated, sincere and spontaneous their gratitude to us and their loyalty to our flag really is.

I hope it may be possible for you to receive the commission sent to our country by the Philippine Legislature and that they may be accorded the privilege of discussing with you the independence question; I trust, also, that it may seem to you wise to submit that question to Congress now for final determination for I hope and believe that our Congress, in accordance with the promise made in 1916, should and will now definitely settle the independence of the Philippines. If it should seem wise to Congress also to grant to the new Philippine Government something in the nature of the Platt amendment, I feel confident that the rights and interests of all investors in the Philippines, as well as the best interests of the inhabitants themselves will appear secure beyond questions in the eyes of all the outside world.

Yours very sincerely,

(sgd.) Francis Burton Harrison²⁴
(Governor-General)

III

WORSHIPFUL MASTER,²⁵
BROTHER QUEZON,
BRETHREN:

It is a source of the greatest happiness that I was privileged to serve as the first Preceptor of Malcampo Preceptory No. 2, and also that at the termination of my services I should

²⁴ It is apparent that Governor Harrison was writing either for posterity or the Filipino leaders' benefit. After all, much of what he wrote was already known to President Wilson. To my knowledge, the letter was never published.

²⁵ These candid remarks were made on October 10, 1919. Three days later, Teodoro M. Kalaw asked for permission (but was denied) to publish them in a Freemason journal. I do not believe that they were ever released for publication despite evidence that Harrison had his secretary re-read his remarks for accuracy and style.

have been honored by the calling of a special meeting of the Preceptory to give me this jewel.²⁶ It is a matter of the greatest happiness to me also that this jewel should have been presented to me with such kindness and generosity by my friend brother Quezon whose counsel and advice, whose friendship and support, have meant so much to me at many times during my life.

I was glad to collaborate here in bringing about the union between the Philippine and American bodies of Scottish Rite, and to bring about also a better understanding between the Filipino people and the people of my own country.

It is particularly gratifying to me to find that my successor in this office is brother Paredes; I told them, when I heard of his election, that the Preceptory could not have chosen a better presiding officer.

I suppose this event is of some historical significance, because although brother Quezon has stated that I am the first Governor-General who has been an active mason, the brother after whom this Preceptory was named as Governor-General of the Philippines was also a mason. I seriously doubt whether he publicly admitted that fact, because a quarter of a century since masons were condemned to death and sent to their execution here in the City of Manila simply because they were masons.

It has always seemed to me that a man could find almost any kind of consolation and happiness in the study or in the practice of Scottish Rite masonry. But the particular thought that I have always fallen in love with is the great force of the body of political principles to which each and every one of us present here tonight and all our brothers through the bodies of Scottish Rite of the whole world have subscribed. The oath

²⁶ It is hard to imagine a British, French, Spanish, Belgian, Portuguese or Dutch governor general serving as preceptor or leader for any organization—masonic or otherwise—made up of subject peoples. In fact, we might say categorically no governor of any other metropolitan power was as friendly and close to the people and their leaders than Francis Burton Harrison.

we have taken, the noble sentiments to which we have subscribed and the beautiful ideals that they have inspired are shared by a splendid body of men all over the civilized world.

When I was admitted to the high degrees of the Scottish Rite three or four years ago, I remember discussing upon several occasions before the bodies the necessity for us brothers in the Scottish Rite to preserve and maintain the political liberties, the liberties of thought and speech and the noble sentiments upheld in taking [the] oath of office. During the four years that have passed since those days the whole world has undergone a revolution. I remember calling upon you several times to be vigilant and conscious of the fact that the forces of reaction, of oppression and tyranny are present in the body politic of this country, as well as that of every other country; that they were working ceaselessly, without rest, day and night, and that their influence is subversive of the very political liberties which we promised to maintain in the fight; but since those days the greatest source of oppression and tyranny that has existed in modern times has been overthrown, and all the allied nations who took part in that overthrow did so not only because their own liberties were threatened but because the liberties of every democratic people in the world were threatened with extinction. The defeat of Germany, Austria and Turkey has brought about this result which during our lifetime no considerable number of men will be able to accomplish.

In studying the different rites and the different degrees of the Scottish Rite I was particularly impressed by the lesson of the 22nd degree calling upon us to have sympathy for the great laboring classes. We are all of us laborers in one way or another; we would not be masons unless we work; the lesson of masonry is achievement, accomplishment, doing something in the world. We might need sympathy in our private affairs, we might call for sympathy in public matters, but we have taken an oath and solemn pledge to have sympathy for the great laboring classes of the world. Now, as I interpret this, though, as I apply it to the present situation, it means to have sympathy and consideration for the great movements which are stirring every democratic country of the world today. It

means that we shall not join the chorus of those who attack the persons who call themselves bolsheviki in Russia.

I doubt very much whether any of us here tonight really knows what this movement means. I am not making a display of information on the subject when I say that I believe I know something about it, and the only reason I can say this is because, like my great friend in the United States, Mr. Jennings Bryan, I am a disciple of Tolstoi. I believe I have read everything written by that great man now dead, just as has done Mr. Bryan and other greater men than myself. We must understand the meaning of that great revolution now going on in Russia and from Russia spreading through all other countries of the world. Conservatives, men of substance and property, seem to consider it anarchy and socialism and refer contemptuously to executions and the throwing of bombs, but that leaves out of account the great human feelings and sufferings and the burden and miseries wrought by governments both ecclesiastical and civil by the denials of education, of civil rights, and the hopes of happiness, by the impositions which those who have, laid for centuries upon those who have not. How can we be masons, Scottish Rite masons, unless we are willing to have sympathy, patience, to make [every] effort and endeavor to understand what this great movement means today? The writers of history will look back to the time of the French Revolution as to what was said and published regarding the revels, the guillotine and abuses which had shaken to the foundation the best sentiments and inherited traditions, but nothing will be said about the great blessing conferred upon mankind by the sweeping and overthrowing in Europe of a course of tyrants of whom Thomas Jefferson said.²⁷

Let us repeat what a French philosopher said "let them think for themselves." The French Revolution had done in Europe what the Russian Revolution is doing for the whole world today. We know that some of those people are right although we condemn them in some cases and pity the sincere and honest men who are misled by crime and are working only

²⁷ Harrison intended to insert the quotation but never did so.

for their own promotions. They are about twenty millions of people, a great part of whom are beginning for the first time to enjoy what we have had for generations. I am not a bolshevik; I do not think any of you are; I am not a socialist; I am not an anarchist, but I am a Scottish Rite mason, and I believe that is enough to lead me to have sympathy for the great laboring classes of the world.

In our country, although in that respect we are behind the great countries of Europe, there is a movement today on the part of the laboring class to secure a share in the management of the business of the country, to secure a greater share of the profits which in my own lifetime have created a hundred thousand of millionaires.

Now in the Philippines, the purpose of my remarks tonight, I presume you will have the same problems: I think I can say, without flattering you, that you are the most intelligent influential body of men in the Philippines; that when you desire to act in council, when you want to make your presence as a body felt, you will be an irresistible force to sweep away all impediments which may stand in the way of justice. You will have these problems too; I presume they will arise after I am gone from the Philippines. I do not see anything on the horizon today, but it will come to you as it has come to all other civilized countries of the world. I am talking about sympathy for the laboring class. Most of your people are laboring men; they are sober, industrious, sympathetic, hospitable, dignified, and patriotic. During the last few years your children have been offered an opportunity for education. With education will come to them universal suffrage; they will not be content to accept the teachings of church and state and to remain in the submissive attitude of children.²⁸ To them will come the privilege of taking care of their own problems.

How can you be of service to your countrymen, to your own people, to some of you, your own relatives, to many of

²⁸ This was a farseeing assessment of the rise of social and economic discontent in the Philippines.

us our own friends, if you will not practice rightly the true Scottish Rite of Masonry, by attempting to put down tyranny and oppression. Practice the true basis of masonry; let not laborers who come to you to ask for bread be given a stone.

In a certain sense I may say you are the aristocrats of your country; you are the best guardian of your country, but that involves the obligation to think for your country. I have a sincere respect for you and your principles. I do not know of a single instance of my service as Preceptor which deserves this meeting tonight and the present of this jewel for which I thank you.

IV

Remarks at the Ayuntamiento, March 5, 1921²⁹

The grant of self government has proved a tremendous success & earnest men, earnestly inspired by patriotic ideals, have given their very best service to the cause. I have had unbounded faith in the Filipino people, and that faith has been completely justified. When the grant of independence is finally made to you and, I hope, in the near future it will be because you have already earned it yourselves by peaceful means, by labor and devotion and by dedication to the standards of democracy.

It is true that America has, in justice to its own principles, given you the opportunity to gain the independence which, in the words of President Wilson, you so honorably covet, but the final credit must be to the Filipino people for having made the very best use of the opportunity so given them. As we have placed in you our faith and confidence, so I ask of you

²⁹ There is no doubt that Harrison was devoted publicly—if not, privately—to Filipino freedom. Due to the international date-line these remarks were made while Woodrow Wilson was still president and Harrison still governor general. The speeches at the farewell reception for Governor Harrison were effusive and emotional. But none were so direct and poignant as his own short statement. The remarks reproduced here were handwritten on small note-paper. They were probably jotted down during the ceremony.

enduring faith and confidence in the United States. You gave to us your unmeasured loyalty in our hour of trial, and as a last request of you I earnestly ask you to preserve untarnished your belief in the United States, a belief based not only upon our written and solemn promise, but also in the principles and ideals which you know to be the soul of America.

I have already declared before the American Congress my conviction that you have established here a stable government.³⁰ That conviction has been adopted by President Wilson in his last message to Congress. I will defend and maintain that idea before all the world and upon every opportunity. So will many another American more influential than myself. Whenever I can serve you and your cherished ideals, you may command me. But above all, and beyond all individual effort, you may always be sure that the American people, governed by American principles of justice and honor, will not deny to the Philippine Republic the independence we unanimously demand for ourselves.

V

My dear Governor and Mrs. Harrison:

Feeling that the time of both of you will be fully occupied preparatory to your departure, I do not think that I should take any of it in saying to you a personal farewell, my best wishes, and high admiration when in writing I can accomplish the same purpose in a more lasting manner.

I wish you to understand that you have in the writer more than an admirer of "those in authority", a warm per-

³⁰ The standard definition of a stable government (which the United States Government has accepted for nearly one hundred years prior to World War One) was: ability to maintain law and order, acceptance by the people, and respect for international obligations, i.e., international bonded indebtedness. Accordingly, the Philippine Government was stable. The fact that the Home Government refused to accept this fact was a source of public—if not, private—disappointment to Harrison. The reasons why Congress, as well as President Wilson, used stability in government as the yard-stick and then refused to accept the contemporary definition has not been explored adequately.

sonal friend who will ever and always hold you both in the kindest regard.

Much could be said and more written in appreciation of the Governor's eight years' unselfish labor in the Philippines and for the Filipinos, but it is believed that when an impartial historian records the ADMINISTRATIVE ACTS of our different Governors General, the one outstanding and unparalleled accomplishment of FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON will be:

HE BUILT A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE *WITH THE PEOPLE*.³¹

This as it appears to me is your greatest achievement and as I see it the crowning glory of America's work in these islands.

With best wishes, kindest regards and sincerest friendship, I am

Sincerely,
(sgd.) Amzi B. Kelly³²

³¹ *Italicized in the original.*

³² An American attorney who was a long-time resident in Manila. In view of his differences of legal opinion with Harrison, Kelley's letter is refreshing for its sincerity, brevity, and succinct summation of the governor's efforts on behalf of the Filipino people.