



The English Language in the Philippines

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THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE PHILIPPINES

IT WAS recognized by the first Commission sent by President McKinley to the Philippine Islands that a language that would be spoken and understood throughout the Archipelago was essential for the development of the Filipinos and their advancement in civilization. A national speech, not many tribal tongues. But what should that speech be?

Many vital selections of vast importance are made by conventions, commissions, and committees; forms of government are decided, wars declared, boundaries fixed, populations moved, dictums of commerce pronounced. When placed beside choosing a language for a people, however, any one of these responsibilities appears dwarfed in importance. For government forms may be modified or changed overnight, war is an event at most, boundaries are easily obliterated or moved here and there, but a national language is relatively fixed, permanent.

The commission really had only three choices: a Filipino dialect, the Spanish language, or the English. A dialect was eliminated as there were many in use, with a half dozen of these the tongue of the half a dozen prominent groups or tribes of the population.¹ To choose the dialect of any one group would mean bitter deep-seated opposition from all the others, for tribal devotion was deep and fervid. Furthermore, even the most developed

Filipino language is without a literature of any breadth; authors, for the most part, have not gone beyond local or at most Insular confines for topics or ideas. True, all languages and literatures were once in a stage limited to the local, but steam and electricity will no longer permit centuries for evolution; forced growths and short routes control today. Hence, the dialects were out of the running. This left the choice between Spanish, the language "esteemed for its stateliness and for its sonorous qualities," and English, the "language of commerce."

Spain's long sovereignty over the Islands was a strong argument for the speech of Cervantes and Calderón and led to its serious consideration. But it was found that in no real sense was Spanish the tongue of the people of the Islands; to only a very, very small proportion was it a vehicle for conveying thought. It was the tongue of the governing, not the governed. Also, although Spanish has "musical terminations," "great copiousness of vocabulary" and the literature is rich in fiction, drama, and ballads, it does not offer as a medium of communication with the world at large the advantages that English offers. And English literature, also, is very rich in original productions in all forms and in translations of the best from other literatures. The language—comment on it as a language is omitted—not only girdles the earth equatorially but at many spherical angles. It is rapidly becoming the language of international relations as well as the language of commerce and science, possessing vast scientific vocabularies. A

¹H. Otley Beyer, Professor of Ethnology, University of the Philippines in a paper (1917) gives 43 groups in the Philippines speaking 87 dialects or languages. He lists nine of the 87 as languages with a printed literature.

clinging argument was that there is more permanent as well as current literature on agriculture and the sciences on which it is based and to which it is closely allied, on commerce, and on public health, in the English language than in all other languages combined. And if the Filipinos were to go forward, these were the subjects about which they must be informed, and about which they were woefully ignorant. They must not only study these subjects, they must be able to keep in touch with the new findings in laboratory and field. For Nature has so ordered that prosperity can come to the Filipinos only through agriculture and trade. So the voice of the Commission was for the English language. That it was their mother tongue probably did not weaken that voice.

It was not wholly an academic decision that was arrived at in the Commission rooms in the historic Audencia in the Walled City of Manila. The report in 1900 of this Commission to President McKinley states:

The introduction of the teaching of English into these schools (Manila, opened in 1898 under supervision of an Army Chaplain) was received with great satisfaction by the natives. The young Filipinos display a considerable aptitude for learning new tongues and it is believed that if this policy is followed out English can within a short time be made the official language of the archipelago. The commission strongly recommends that it be done.

The report further states that in the towns near Manila in the last two years of the century:

The introduction of English, wherever made, had been hailed with delight by the people, who could hardly believe that they were to be encouraged to learn the language of those in authority over them.

A Filipino of prominence recommended to the Commission that: "Instruction in the English language should be introduced as speedily as practicable into the

primary schools." To the same body a Filipino official said: "English ought to be taught in every school. In a few years everybody in the Philippine Islands will speak English." This would seem optimistic rather than probable, or possibly it derived from enthusiasm. At any rate such comments as these served to bolster up the Commission in its decision on the question.

There was no precedent for a governing power saying to the people—the people, not the officials,—of a colony: "We have decided that such and such a language is the best common language for you. So please learn it as quickly as you can." Decrees forbidding the teaching of the tongue of the ruling power are on record, yes, but no attempts to transplant a national tongue. But for that matter there was no precedent in colonial administration for a governing power to say to the people of a colony: "All boys and girls and men and women have the right to have the opportunity to learn to read and write; the right to literacy. We shall cause to be established free schools throughout this land open to all alike." But the United States said this in the Philippines.

It was decreed that a free public school system modeled after the American system should be established in the Philippine Islands and that all teaching should be in the English language. True, there were no textbooks in this language adapted to the thought, life, and environment of the Filipinos, whose only contact with Western culture was through the Spanish. And Spain's everyday life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was widely divergent from that of the United States.

Not only were there no textbooks suitable for the Filipinos, but at first there were none at all. However, the band of

six hundred American teachers who arrived in 1901 did not pause to wail over apparently insuperable difficulties. They went to work as the soldier-teachers drafted in this service had been doing.

It will never be written, but it should be—the epic of the pioneer American teachers in the Philippines. For sheer pluck, for their manner of meeting hardships, for uncomplaining devotion to duty, for accomplishment, these men and women are entitled to rank with our not unsung pioneers in the homeland, in some features to outrank them. Particularly the women, for relatively the conditions were harder for them than for the men. And many, O how many, had just passed the division between the teens and the twenties. I can speak frankly about these early purveyors of English for I was not among them. I came to the Islands in the middle epoch, just in time to hear some few tales of the early days; to estimate in some small degree the work of these pioneers; the stuff of which they were made; and the mould in which they had been cast. They were a credit to their flag and to the best traditions of their race.

The time-honored school of Mark Hopkins, with the teacher and the pupil occupying their respective ends of the log, may hold as a working principle when the occupants of the log have a common speech. It may be interpolated here that many of the early American teachers in the Islands would recognize that pedagogical log as being comparable in simplicity with their first teaching equipment in these fair isles. While this vanguard of educational missionaries did not consider textbooks indispensable they did regard them as conventional aids in teaching and rejoiced when shipments of books began to arrive. They were beautiful American textbooks; there are none better. But try to conceive the eager

Filipino kiddies and their older brothers and sisters, for there was no school-age limit, trying to grasp in an unfamiliar language Susie's and Tommy's thrill over snow and coasting when they had never seen even machine-made ice or theater snow. Or the joys of nutting, or the first spring posy. The very names and the pictures only added to the strangeness, as they suggested nothing familiar. Even the classic "cat on the mat" could not stir a relation of words or pictures to real things, to ideas. For Philippine cats do not sit on mats.

Later, when the mastery of words led into real reading, the realms opened were still strange terrain. The geography and history in the textbooks were all of other lands. Arithmetic with its problems about buying apples and sticks of candy at two cents! The buying of dinosaur eggs and of telephone poles would have been commercial operations just as realistic.

However, there were substitutions and adaptations by the teachers, and learning flourished and English began to be a medium of communication. Gradually, texts were evolved that tell of things that are familiar and the stories for the most part are about boys and girls that are real to Filipino children. At the present time in grades below high school only three books are in use that were not written for or adapted to the Philippines or contain a Philippine supplement. These three books are for supplementary reading, *Hiawatha* being one. Music readers are the only texts with the supplement. Five textbooks were adapted to the Philippines leaving twenty texts written especially for Filipino pupils in the Islands.

In the high schools, with few exceptions, the texts now used are American. The need for local material in this grade

of work is not so urgent as with the more elementary pupils. Textbooks on composition, civics, biology (a manual), and economics are among the few exceptions. In the University of the Philippines there are some texts in use that have been prepared especially for the Philippines. Of the American college texts many are used in part or are adapted. Laboratory manuals, syllabuses prepared locally, both in print and in mimeograph, are used in many courses. It should be borne in mind that the greater part of these local public school texts have come into use within the past ten years; the college texts within the past three years.

As to authorship, some of the texts are by Americans, some by Filipinos, and some by Americans and Filipinos in joint authorship. Some are published in the Philippines, but the greater number are brought out by American textbook companies.

In considering the progress of popular education in the Philippines and the use of English, this question of textbooks is never given significance commensurate with its importance as a factor in lessening the efficiency of both teacher and pupil. Nor is the task of producing the localized textbooks now in use given proper evaluation. The story of their making is a story in itself. The journalists, investigators, writers of feature articles and of books, who have flitted in and out of the Philippines, would have recorded fairer judgments when they jauntily and humorously touched upon English as used in the Islands in the columns or pages they wrote—usually with charm and sometimes with accuracy—had they ever even *thought* of the textbook problem. Frontier loghouses are often faulty as dwellings; as architecture, they offend or amuse. But when circumstances, material, and facilities are re-

garded, as building achievements they surpass the beautiful metropolitan residences.

Another item that is ignored by these commentators, is the ratio of the number of American teachers to the Filipino teachers. Still another is, that just as a good start, so to speak, had been made in making English the common speech, came the rapid Filipinization in the Harrison era. Statistics here tell the tale in part of both items. The Census Report of 1903 states that 13.3 per cent of all the teachers in the Islands were American. The Census Report of 1918 states that 2.7 per cent of all teachers were Americans. Of the 13.3 per cent and the 2.7 per cent a goodly number were serving in the capacity of supervisors, hence doing no teaching. Today, with a lower percentage, probably, American teachers in the public schools are, with few exceptions, found only as teachers of English in high schools. That is, they take up the job after the pupil has spent seven or more years under teachers using a language that for the greater number is still foreign, and for none the mother tongue.

It is not alone in the public school that the teaching has been and is done in English. Early in the century regulations were adopted leading to standardizing and improving the private schools, both secular and church. Competition and these regulations have brought English more and more into prominence and use in these schools. The vernacular schools throughout the country have practically disappeared.

From the early days, also a considerable number of Filipinos who were already established in business or in their professions, particularly men who were office holders or aspired to be, through private instruction added English to their

linguistic possessions. Of these, a goodly number today can speak in English from the platform with clearness and effectiveness, if not with the fluency they can command in Spanish or their own dialect. Among business men, and these include Chinese and East Indians as well as Filipinos, English was studied as an asset to secure trade.

Queries naturally arise as to how far all these efforts have carried the use of English in the Islands. To what extent is the language now used? Is it in any practical measure the common speech of the Filipinos? Do the results at the close of a quarter of a century show that the recommendation of the First Commission was wise? Has the momentous undertaking been successful? These are queries that cannot be answered with yea or nay. Twenty-five years in the life of a man is a long span, in the life of a nation it is too short for measurement.

In estimating the visible results, statements of a statistical nature may be offered. English is not the official language, that is, it is not so declared by authority. Dates were set from time to time, 1906 being the first, when it should be so decreed. When each prescribed period came, the matter was postponed and an advanced date fixed. In the New Era, as Harrison's administration is called, the matter was dropped and has been in virtual retirement ever since.

In the law courts all concerned are governed by a section of the Code of Civil Procedure which reads thus:

Until otherwise provided by the Philippine Legislature, the official language of all courts and their records shall be English: *Provided*, that until January first, nineteen hundred and thirty, Spanish shall be also, an official language of the courts and their records; . . . and that proceedings in justice of the peace courts shall be in the Spanish language unless the justice speaks English and there is an official interpreter or all the parties or their counsel speak English.

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This statute places English and Spanish on an equal footing officially. A complaint may be filed in English and the answer by the opponent in Spanish. In actual practice, Spanish is used more extensively than English in the justice of peace courts and in the Courts of First Instance, and English more extensively than Spanish in the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.

In the Philippine Congress—the Assembly dates from 1907, the Senate from 1916—all proceedings in the first years were in Spanish as very few members understood English. But with each session there have been more members who were the product of the public schools and English teaching in college. The occasion of the first speech in English by an Assemblyman was four or five years ago. The member, a University of the Philippines graduate, one of the first to be elected (the university was founded in 1911) announced that a speech which he was scheduled to make on a certain bill would be given in English. At the appointed hour the gallery was packed with University and High School students. Classes were cut without remorse and penalties ignored by instructors. The consternation and open hostility of some of the Assembly members expressed by looks and turned backs was quite overbalanced by the sympathy and support from the gallery.

Since 1922 the practice in the Assembly has been to place English and Spanish on an equal basis in usage.

After the election in June this year (1925) a Manila newspaper made the following statement:

Although English speaking leaders may not gain absolute control of public affairs for several years yet, they will predominate in the legislature after the next general election in 1928, it was indicated yesterday following a survey of the composition of the next legislature.

While approximately one-half of the membership

belongs to the young generation, those exclusively brought up in public schools constitute only one-third or less.

After 1928 and for probably a decade more the senate, it is expected, will remain the only bulwark of Spanish in the government.

It may be claimed that in the executive offices of the government, English is the language used. Even the Spanish speaking officials know enough English to conduct the business of the office.

In political campaigns—and here is an arroyo through which Filipino forensic eloquence rushes—many speeches are in English, particularly in provincial capitals where a provincial high school is located. Probably more speeches are in Spanish than in English and many more are in the local dialect than in either or both.

Unquestionably in the circles of the well-to-do—such circles are to be found only in Manila and the large towns and on the *haciendas*—Spanish holds sway, when a dialect is not used. The extravagant phrases of the language of the Don fit the manners and social customs which, through the many generations of contact, have been adopted from the Spanish. Also, the fact must not be lost sight of that the majority of those who may be held to dwell in the realms of Society are *mestizos*, that is, of mixed race, different combinations of Spanish, Chinese, and Malay. With the Chinese *mestizo* the culture of China has disappeared through long affiliation with the customs of the country and especially through adopting the religion of Spain. For Spanish not to remain for a long time the social language of this class would be an anomaly. There is, without doubt, a feeling that Spanish is the more elegant language, the speech of the *fiesta*, the tongue for the dalliances of the *sala*, the dance; while English is esteemed as the tongue for the mart, the laboratory, a practical unmusical tongue

with blunt phrases. It is not uncommon to overhear, say on a train, two men talk crops or business in English and unconsciously run into Spanish or dialect when inquiring after the welfare of the family.

As for the people (those whom Lincoln said God must love the best for he made so many more of them, the part of the population that the Commission had in mind when deciding for a common language), are they still compelled to communicate by signs when members of different groups meet? Data from a tenancy survey made in 1921-22 under the direction of Professor Evett D. Hester, head of the Department of Rural Economics in the College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, may give some idea as to the progress made in establishing English as a common language of the common people. There were eight distinct surveys made in rice tenancy in widely separated regions in the Archipelago, but these did not include Mindanao, as that is in reality a frontier of the Islands. On the literacy of the tenants' families (literacy meaning ability to read and write with the exception that all children attending a school, no matter of what grade, were counted as literate), the report states:

The literacy of the older generation was 40 per cent, comprised of: literacy in vernacular only, 34 per cent; literacy in Spanish and vernacular, 2 per cent; literacy in English and vernacular, 4 per cent. The remarkable character of this fraction of the survey is that twice as many of the older generation are literate in English as are literate in Spanish. The literacy of the younger generation was 54 per cent composed of: literacy in vernacular only, 18 per cent; literacy in Spanish and vernacular, two per cent; and literacy in English and the vernacular, 34 per cent.

The report states that,

An apology offered for younger children without schooling was the over-crowding of the barrio (vil-

lage) schools and the turning away of applicants for registration. There is good foundation for this as nearly every schoolhouse in the Philippines during the past five years has witnessed the turning away of pupils because of inadequate facilities.

Of those whose special education and work places them in some branch of science—a class also specifically considered by the Commission—their publications in English may be accounted a fair yardstick of measurement of the use of this language. The figures which follow merely suggest this; space does not permit statistical compilation. Of the 75 contributions in 1923 in *The Philippine Journal of Science*, a monthly publication by the Philippine Bureau of Science, 8 were by Filipinos and 12 by Filipinos in collaboration. Of the 25 contributions appearing the same year in *The Philippine Agricultural Review*, published quarterly by the Bureau of Agriculture, 16 were by Filipinos and 5 by Filipinos in collaboration. In *The Philippine Agriculturist*, a journal published by the College of Agriculture, in which appear studies and research reports by both faculty and graduates, naturally by far the greater number are by Filipinos.

The number of Filipino readers of English newspapers is an indicator of the use of English. Of the subscribers for one of the daily newspapers (in English) in Manila, edited by an American, 60 per cent are Filipinos; of a daily (in English) edited by a Filipino, 95 per cent are Filipinos; of an American-edited weekly (in both English and Spanish), about 95 per cent are Filipinos. There are two Filipino-edited dailies in English; the one cited above was established in April, 1925, and reports a 5000 daily subscription list and 9000 for its Sunday edition. There are a number of Filipino subscribers for American periodicals, both technical and general; not large in proportion to the

population, but large when all the circumstances are taken into consideration.

No accurate statement can be made in regard to readers of English books of general type, outside of public library patronage, which measures up well if we keep in mind limiting conditions. Except in high schools and private educational institutions there are practically no public libraries outside of Manila. There is a passing interest in the statement of the largest book house in Manila that there has been an outbreak the last year or so, in demand for paper covered novels bearing the names of E. D. N. Southworth, Bertha M. Clay, Laura Jean Libbey, et al. on the covers. The demand is to be commended. The Filipino, in common with the rest of humanity, dearly loves a romantic melodramatic love story. The novels of these writers present a love tale in a form more within the comprehension of the average Filipino reader than do some of the sex-problem "best sellers," and on the whole they are more wholesome. In the highly esteemed fine novels, both of the present and the past, the English or American local vernacular, the background, the regional color, things that so appeal to the Anglo-Saxon reader, are of course unintelligible, obscure, and without interest to the average Filipino. Over-sentimental as are the characters that languish or rage through the pages of Mary J. Holmes and her kind, there is a universality in their performances that makes them real to the Filipino. What is more important, the language is "book" language, and so is easy reading and is understood. Above all, the reading of these books, because of their well-liked tales, helps to form a reading habit.

While this class of reading is popular, there are many Filipinos whose education has brought them in contact with the world's best in books and whose taste

and enjoyment lead them to fill their bookshelves with the best that they can afford. Were it not straying too far from the area delimited by the subject of this paper, it would be of interest to consider the English literature best liked by Filipinos of this type. I cannot refrain from recording, though it is not directly germane to the idea in mind in the sentences above, that gentle, gracious Longfellow would be gratified could he know how his country's Eastern wards of high-school age love "Evangeline." The "infinite meadows" and other classic passages leave the youthful Filipino cold, but the description of Evangeline's beauty brings a glow to the susceptible lad's face and a glint to his eye. The pathos of the heroine's long trek searching for her lover and their dramatic meeting, grips these oriental boys and girls as it does not grip the youth of the poet's own land.

So much for the more or less visible results. As for the invisible results, they are beyond mortal ken or estimate. In the past twenty-five years the English language has brought to many, many thousands of Filipinos much knowledge of "cities of men and manners, climates, councils, governments." Vistas have been opened; feeling deepened; life vitalized. Materially, as an aid in bringing about the vastly increased prosperity of the Islands—again estimates falter. As one ponders upon the question, from almost every standpoint, it is like trying to calculate the results of light, or heat. Not even the recipient can tell of the benefits or the harmful results.

In learning to speak English, the stiffness of the jaw hinge, the inflexibility of his lips, and his not very agile tongue muscles (comparatively little facial gymnastics are needed in speaking most of the dialects or Spanish), hinder the Filipino in acquiring distinct enunciation. These

hindrances prevent his speaking trippingly on the tongue, though he speaks most speedily, which is another hindrance. The use of *p* for *f* and of *b* for *v* are two major errors. *Verb* becomes *berb*; the data are *piled* not *filed*. Rizal in his delightful *Social Cancer* written in the eighties devotes a page to good-natured ridicule of his countryman's calling themselves *Pilipinos*. These really serious faults are common in enunciation largely because the lower lip does not readily slip under the upper teeth for *f* and *v*; for *tb* the tongue will not slip quickly between the teeth. The remedy is obvious; intensive primary drill to limber up and bring into proper control the muscles involved. But one cannot give drill in what one cannot perform or illustrate, and practically all primary instruction has always been given by Filipino teachers. The short sounds of *a*, *u*, and *i* cause confusion in Filipino English, and oftentimes amusement to English speaking listeners. Short *a* is given as short *o* and *i* becomes *e*. So "a *hot* is worn on a hot day when you *beet* a ball;" also *sup* becomes *soúp* and *pus*, the household cat. That there will be a local accepted pronunciation of many English words is a foregone conclusion. There is nothing irreverent in that, however. In the United States the abused *r* is tacked on or eliminated if certain states are called "back home" by the speaker; and we have the Boston *bárb* and the Chicago *bárb*; and the word *dog* is not always pronounced according to Webster.

In writing English, it is hard for the Filipino youth, and sometimes for the adult, to learn that words are definite things to be used to say a particular thing. He apparently loves to grab them and sling them around, with about the same regard for selection and arrangement that a child, turned loose in a millinery

shop, would exhibit in "dressing up." And he dearly loves an array of words. "He had some capacity to utter some alluring words and after his deliverance tears came to his eyes," wrote a student telling of a farewell talk of his instructor. A student writing about his coming to the College of Agriculture expressed his feeling as follows: "It was a bright day when I started from my beloved town with a profound purpose, intensity of desire, and pedigree of felicity, hoping that my life here will be a better one to pursue my course with the prospective agriculturist."

Sometimes our diction may be said to be improved in Filipino speech, as, "We all teared our happiness." or "The deads were not buried till three days had passed." There may be a query as to whether the choice of words in the following was intentional: "Education is one of the uplifting forces to those who are in the deepest degradation of prosperity."

When a young lady—never will the Filipino youth apply to her such common terms as *girl* or *woman*—is the subject, the young Filipino fairly luxuriates in words. The sentences here given are from communications to newspapers: "Her splendid beauty is similar to that of the Virgin and makes the young gentlemen adore her. She is a young lady of not less than fourteen summers. Her nice face looks like the flower of the sampaguita that opens its pretty petals to receive the inspiring light of morning. . . . She is the electric light that illumines the dark thoughts of everybody." Of another "young lady" it was said that her "ethereal beauty surpasses anything on this side of heaven and who is the best dancer in the town." Nor is it only for beauty that the Filipino girls are extolled, as this communication to the press reveals: "Hearing the indubitable

successes of the (name of school) indoor baseball girls beating the various teams I am forced conscientiously to dedicate a solemn appreciation to these ever-victorious young ladies of tender and frail efforts. . . . School spirit and co-operation now exist in the fragile hearts of these bright daughters. They participate in every game played in that district and commodiously and relevantly the victory does not go away from their side."

These few samples taken at random from students' efforts are given to show a stage in the process of Filipino mastery of English. They reveal no insurmountable difficulties nor incurable weaknesses.

In the two stanzas following from a fourteen-stanza poem bearing the title, "Sweet lovely Rose," dedicated to a young lady on her seventeenth birthday, the author's biological ardor rather pushes Cupid to the wall.

Your species is just known,
Your variety is new;
Yet researchmen all say
Much attention they will pay.

Whence you know the heart-rots
Grade them from their tasks
And the virulent attacks
See that none impair your heart

Wrote a youth in praise of a fair damsel: "She treads the earth like the zephyrs through the sampaguita," which readily suggests "Like dew on the gowan lying is the fa' o' her fairy feet."

Some day when English is truly a means of expressing their thoughts, there may be some beautiful poems by Filipino authors. And they will sing of the familiar things and always of love and feminine beauty. From present indications the songs will have a note of sadness, of pathos, although the Filipino is a merry soul. Will they be suggestive of the Celtic? So far, the

mechanics of verse making are not sufficiently considered by youthful bards and a sense of discrimination in words is still absent.

The question of a dialect being the national language was not completely settled when the public schools were opened with English as the medium of instruction. The topic is a sort of Banquo's ghost. There are societies varying in activity, the object of which is to promote some dialect; many with the very worthy object of preserving and adding to the literature of that particular speech. Spasmodically, the making of one of the dialects the national language comes to the fore for a time as a more or less public topic. In his "manifesto to the electorate," in the election campaign last May, a candidate for senator, a lawyer, a former member of the Commission, an able conservative progressive man, included this recommendation: "adoption of a national language from among the Philippine dialects without prejudice to continuing the study of English and Spanish."

In the past year a valiant and vigorous controversy was waged for a few weeks on the question of making the local dialect the medium for all primary instruction in any region. While most of those taking part in the discussion were Filipinos, not all partisans of the dialect were of that race. In general, the principal arguments for the dialect seemed to be: More knowledge could be imparted in the same length of time; populations were being educated more rapidly than the economic development warranted: and the primary education in English was draining workers from the local industries.

The Dr. Paul Monroe Educational Commission, consisting of a number of American educators, completed a three-months survey of the educational system in the Philippines in May, 1925. Rumor has it that their report, soon to be made public, will include opinions and recommendations on the dialect question and the use of dialect in the public schools.

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