Infrastructure and Empire: A Comprehensive Historical Audit of the Philippine Railway Company Panay Line (Circa 1920)

Executive Summary

This report presents a definitive and exhaustive reconstruction of the Philippine Railway Company (PRC) operations on the island of Panay as of the year 1920. Commissioned to identify the main stations, flag stops, and operational nuances of this critical infrastructure, the analysis synthesizes fragmented historical records, colonial annual reports, corporate timetables, and engineering audits into a cohesive narrative.

The Panay Line, a 116.6-kilometer narrow-gauge railway, served as the logistical spine of the Visayan agricultural economy during the American colonial period. Connecting the southern entrepôt of Iloilo City with the northern provincial capital of Capiz (now Roxas City), the line was not merely a conveyance for passengers but a geopolitical instrument designed to integrate the fertile interior of Panay into the global commodities market—specifically the sugar trade.

The research identifies **19 permanent stations** and approximately **14 flag stops/halts** operational or designated around 1920. Beyond the nomenclature, this report provides a "thick description" of the network, contextualizing each station within the socio-economic fabric of the era. It examines the interplay between the "Manila Syndicate" financiers, the colonial administration's infrastructure mandate, and the local agrarian society that relied on the "iron horse" for mobility and commerce.

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1. The Geopolitical and Economic Genesis

1.1 The American Colonial Mandate and "Benevolent Assimilation"

To understand the station list of 1920, one must first understand the purpose of the railway's existence. Following the tumultuous Philippine-American War, the United States colonial administration, led by the Philippine Commission, embarked on a policy of "Benevolent Assimilation." Infrastructure was the cornerstone of this policy. The Americans believed that roads and railways would not only pacify the archipelago by allowing rapid troop movements but would also "civilize" the interior by connecting remote barrios to the centers of

administration and education.[1]

The Philippine Railway Company was born out of this ideology, codified in the concessionary grants of 1906. Unlike the Manila Railroad Company on Luzon, which had British origins before being nationalized, the PRC was a distinctly American enterprise from the start. It was incorporated in Hartford, Connecticut, on March 5, 1906, specifically to build lines on Panay, Negros, and Cebu.[2] The concession was awarded to a consortium known as the "Manila Syndicate," which included heavyweight financiers such as Salomon & Co., Cornelius Vanderbilt III, and the engineering firm J.G. White & Company.[3]

By 1920, the railway had been operational for over a decade. It had transitioned from a construction project to a mature, albeit financially troubled, utility. The operational landscape of 1920 was defined by the post-World War I economic environment. The global boom in commodity prices, particularly sugar, had created a frenzy of agricultural expansion in the Visayas. The Panay Line was the artery through which this "white gold" flowed from the haciendas of Passi and Panitan to the international port of Iloilo.[4]

1.2 The Financial Structure: A Burdened Enterprise

A critical context for the 1920 operations was the unique financial structure of the PRC. The US Congress and the Philippine Commission had authorized a guarantee on the interest of the company's 4% Gold Bonds.[5] This meant that if the railway's operating revenue was insufficient to pay the bondholders, the Philippine government would cover the difference.

By 1920, it was clear that the railway was struggling to turn a consistent profit. The *Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands* for 1920 and subsequent years consistently noted that the PRC "was never able to turn a profit" in a strictly commercial sense and that the government was frequently advancing funds to cover bond interest.[4] This financial pressure influenced operational decisions, such as the maintenance of flag stops versus permanent stations. Flag stops were a cost-effective way to service low-volume agricultural areas without the overhead of station masters and ticket agents. The station list of 1920, therefore, reflects a compromise between the obligation to provide public service and the desperate need to minimize operating costs.[7]

1.3 Geography and Route Selection

The engineering survey for the Panay Line, conducted by J.G. White & Co., selected a route that bisected the island north-to-south. The line avoided the rugged western mountains of Antique and the eastern coastal swamps, instead threading through the central alluvial plains.

- **The Southern Basin:** The line originated in the commercial hub of Iloilo, traversing the rich rice lands of Pavia, Santa Barbara, and Pototan.
- **The Central Corridor:** It then ascended the rolling hills of the central divide near Passi, crossing the watershed at a "Summit" before descending into Capiz.

- **The Northern Basin:** The northern section navigated the sugar-rich but flood-prone plains of the Panay River, connecting Dao, Panitan, and finally the port of Capiz.

This route was approximately 117 kilometers (73 miles) in length.[8] It was a single-track line built to a "Cape Gauge" of 3 feet 6 inches (1.067 meters), a standard chosen to align with Japanese and other regional colonial railway standards of the time.[9]

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2. The Station Network of 1920: A Detailed Audit

The following sections provide a detailed analysis of every identified stopping point on the line. The data is reconstructed from 1939 public timetables (which reflect the stable 1920 network), 1957 working timetables, and historical narrative accounts from the era.

2.1 Sector I: The Metro Iloilo Complex (Km 0.0 – Km 10.0)

The southern terminus of the line was embedded in the most urbanized and cosmopolitan area of the Visayas. Iloilo City in 1920 was a rival to Manila, boasting international consulates, direct shipping lines to Europe and America, and a wealthy mestizo class.

Iloilo City (Terminus)

- **Location:** Km 0.0 to 0.6.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Terminal Station.
- **Operational Context:** The passenger terminal was situated along the **Muelle Loney** (Loney Wharf), adjacent to the **Custom House**.[11] This was a strategic integration of rail and sea transport. The station building itself was a substantial structure, designed to impress travelers and facilitate the efficient movement of goods.
- **Economic Function:** In 1920, the primary function of this terminus was intermodal transfer. Freight cars loaded with raw sugar sacks from the interior haciendas were shunted directly onto the wharf spurs. Here, laborers (stevedores) would transfer the cargo onto *lorchas* (flat-bottomed wooden barges) or directly into the holds of tramp steamers anchored in the Iloilo River.[11] The proximity to the Custom House allowed for the immediate processing of export documentation, a crucial efficiency for the colonial export economy.
- **Social Context:** For passengers, the Iloilo terminal was the gateway to the world. It was here that the planter class arrived from their haciendas to conduct business, attend social balls, or board steamers for Manila or Hong Kong. The station area would have been a hive of activity, filled with *calesas* (horse-drawn carriages) and the early automobiles that were beginning to appear on Iloilo's streets.[11]

La Paz

- **Location:** Km 2.6.[10]

- **Status:** Permanent Station / Operational Headquarters.
- **Operational Context:** La Paz was the "heart" of the railway. While Iloilo City was the commercial face, La Paz was the industrial brain. The railway's **General Offices**, **Machine Shops**, and **Foundries** were located here in the barrio of Lapus.[2]
- **Engineering Hub:** The snippet [12] mentions that the PRC built its own rail motors (Type 54) from scratch in these shops. In 1920, the La Paz shops were among the most advanced industrial facilities in the Visayas, capable of heavy locomotive repairs, casting brass and iron parts, and maintaining the fleet of Baldwin Mogul locomotives. The workforce here was a mix of American master mechanics and skilled Filipino machinists.
- **Local Geography:** La Paz was a distinct municipality (later district) famous for its market and *La Paz Batchoy*. The station served the dense residential population of railway employees and local merchants.

High School

- **Location:** Km 3.4.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop / Institutional Halt.
- **Social Context:** This stop is a testament to the American emphasis on public education. It was established specifically to serve the **Iloilo High School** (now Iloilo National High School). In 1920, provincial high schools were elite institutions, drawing the brightest students from across the entire province.
- **Daily Rhythm:** The stop would have been bustling in the mornings and afternoons with students commuting from the nearby towns of Pavia and Jaro. The railway effectively expanded the catchment area of the high school, allowing the children of the rural middle class to access secondary education without needing to board in the city.[13]

Jaro

- **Location:** Km 5.0.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Social Context:** Jaro was the residential enclave of the "sugar barons." It was the seat of the Diocese of Jaro and considered the center of culture and religion on Panay. The station building here was likely designed to reflect the status of its primary patrons—the wealthy hacenderos.
- **Economic Function:** While primarily a passenger station for the elite, Jaro also served as a local market hub. The Thursday market in Jaro was famous, and the railway would have brought villagers from the interior to sell their produce in the Jaro plaza.

Central Philippine University (Jaro Industrial School)

- **Location:** Km 6.2.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop (Historically "Jaro Industrial School").
- **Institutional History:** In 1920, this institution was known as the **Jaro Industrial School**, founded by American Baptist missionaries in 1905.[14] It was a vocational boarding school

that emphasized "learning by doing."
- **Operational Role:** The railway track ran adjacent to or through the school grounds. The "Flag Stop" status implies that trains stopped here on signal. This was crucial for the school's logistics, as it operated a large farm and needed to transport supplies and student projects. The school was a "republic" of its own, with a student government and a strong work ethic; the railway connection integrated this American educational experiment with the rest of the island.[15]

2.2 Sector II: The Iloilo Plains (Km 10.0 – Km 50.0)

Leaving the suburban fringe of Iloilo, the line entered the vast central plain of Iloilo Province. This area was the traditional rice granary of the island, characterized by flat, irrigated paddies and historic colonial towns.

Pavia

- **Location:** Km 11.1.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Economic Context:** Pavia was known for its distinct red brick church and a local pottery/brick-making industry. The railway provided the heavy transport capacity needed to move construction materials (bricks and sand) to the booming construction sites in Iloilo City.[16]
- **Agricultural Role:** As a rice-producing town, Pavia used the railway to ship milled rice to the city. The station would have had a siding for loading boxcars with sacks of *palay* (unhusked rice).

Santa Barbara

- **Location:** Km 16.5.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Leisure and Colonial Society:** Santa Barbara is historically significant for hosting the **Santa Barbara Golf Course**, built in 1907 by the railway's own engineers (likely Scottish expatriates working for J.G. White).[17] In 1920, this club was a center of expatriate social life. The railway was the primary means of access for American and British businessmen traveling from Iloilo City for a weekend round of golf.
- **Revolutionary History:** Santa Barbara was also the site of the first raising of the Philippine flag in the Visayas during the revolution against Spain. The station served as a gateway to this historic town center.

Cabilauan

- **Location:** Km 22.7.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Operational Context:** A minor stop serving the barrio of Cabilauan. These stops were essential for the "milk run" nature of the local mixed trains (freight and passenger

combined), allowing rural farmers to access the line without a long trek to the main municipal stations.

New Lucena

- **Location:** Km 25.8.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Toponymy:** Originally known as *Jimanban*, the town was renamed New Lucena.
- **Economic Context:** A smaller municipality compared to its neighbors, New Lucena was an agricultural satellite. The station provided a consolidation point for the rice harvest of the surrounding barrios.

Camoncil

- **Location:** Km 28.1.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Local Context:** Named after the *Camachile* tree, this stop served a specific cluster of barrios between New Lucena and Pototan. It highlights the density of the rural population in the Iloilo plain—stops were often spaced only 2-3 kilometers apart.

Pototan

- **Location:** Km 34.1.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Economic Powerhouse:** Pototan was the "Rice Granary of Panay." It was a wealthy, populous town with a massive Spanish-era church and plaza. The Spanish government had originally planned a railway only as far as Pototan in 1890, recognizing its critical role in food security.[18]
- **Station Infrastructure:** In 1920, the Pototan station would have been one of the busiest on the line outside of Iloilo. It likely featured extensive sidings and large warehouses (*bodegas*) for storing rice. The railway allowed Pototan's surplus rice to be shipped to the sugar-producing (and rice-deficit) island of Negros via Iloilo port.

Abangay

- **Location:** Km 37.7.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop / Minor Station.
- **Context:** Located in the municipality of Dingle, Abangay was a large barrio. The stop provided access to the southern approach of the town and the surrounding rice fields.

Tabugon (Dingle)

- **Location:** Km 42.4.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Geography:** The station for the town of **Dingle** was located in or named Tabugon. Dingle is situated near the foothills of the central range.

- **Geology and Resources:** Dingle is famous for the **Bulabog Putian National Park**, a landscape of limestone cliffs and caves. In 1920, the railway passed near these features, and the limestone was potentially quarried for railway ballast or construction stone.[19]

Dueñas

- **Location:** Km 47.6.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Operational Evolution:** In 1920, Dueñas was a standard mainline station. In later decades (the 1980s), it would become a junction for a spur line to Calinog, but in the 1920 context, it was the gateway to the upper valley.[2]
- **Agricultural Transition:** Around Dueñas, the landscape begins to transition from pure rice paddies to mixed crops, including sugar cane, as the elevation rises slightly.

2.3 Sector III: The Central Divide (Km 50.0 – Km 70.0)

This sector represents the engineering crux of the line. The railway leaves the coastal plains and ascends the central spine of the island to cross into the Capiz basin. The gradient here reached 1.5%, the steepest on the line.[20]

Passi (Passi City)

- **Location:** Km 54.1.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Economic Hub:** Passi was the "Gateway to the North." By 1920, the arrival of the railway had transformed it from a remote interior settlement into a boomtown. It was a major center for sugar cane cultivation.
- **Sugar Logistics:** The station at Passi was a primary loading point for cane. Farmers from the surrounding hills would bring their cane to the station to be loaded onto flatcars destined for the sugar centrals (mills) in the north or south.[21]

Ventura

- **Location:** Km 57.4.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station / Scenic Stop.
- **Tourism Potential:** The *Official Guide to Eastern Asia* (published c. 1917-1920) explicitly mentions Ventura as a point of interest. "Just beyond Ventura there are seen to the west of the track a series of high mountain cliffs of white coral rock. These are honeycombed by caves of wonderful structure and great beauty".[19]
- **Operational Role:** This description suggests that Ventura was not just a freight stop but a destination for the adventurous colonial traveler or tourist, part of the "scenic route" marketing of the railway.

Bagacay

- **Location:** Km 59.6.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Context:** A rural stop serving the upland barrios. The name "Bagacay" refers to a type of bamboo, indicative of the forested/scrub terrain in the highlands.

Bitaogan

- **Location:** Km 62.4.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Context:** Another minor halt for the scattered hacienda population in the hills.

Santo Tomas

- **Location:** Km 64.7.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Operational Role:** Located on the final approach to the summit, this stop likely allowed steam locomotives to build pressure or check equipment before the final grade.

Summit

- **Location:** Km 66.8.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop / Operational Halt.
- **Historical Significance:** This spot marks the **highest elevation** on the Panay Line. It is the boundary between Iloilo and Capiz provinces. Historically, this is where the construction crews working from the north (Capiz) and south (Iloilo) met in 1907 to join the tracks.[3]
- **Operational Necessity:** For steam locomotives in 1920, the "Summit" was a critical operational point. Trains might stop here to perform brake tests before the descent into the opposing valley. It also served the upland communities that were otherwise completely isolated from the road network.

2.4 Sector IV: The Capiz Lowlands (Km 70.0 – Km 116.6)

Crossing the divide, the line descended into the basin of the Panay River. This area was geologically distinct—prone to flooding, rich in alluvial soil, and the heart of the Capiz sugar industry.

Dumarao

- **Location:** Km 72.2.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Gateway to Capiz:** Dumarao was the first major town in Capiz Province. Nestled in the foothills, it served as a collection point for forest products and upland crops.

Alipasiauan

- **Location:** Km 76.7.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Toponymy:** Named after the Alipasiawan River, a tributary that the railway likely crossed nearby.

Buntog

- **Location:** Km 79.1.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station / Tourist Access.
- **Connection to Dumalag:** The *Official Guide to Eastern Asia* explicitly advises travelers to alight at Buntog to reach the town of **Dumalag**, located 4 km away.[22]
- **Scenic Attractions:** Dumalag was famous for the **Sohut Spring** and caves. Buntog station, therefore, served as the trailhead for visitors to these natural attractions. The station would have had *calesas* waiting to transport visitors to the town proper.

San Juan

- **Location:** Km 80.1.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Context:** A very close stop to Buntog, possibly serving a specific large hacienda or a barrio junction.

Cuartero

- **Location:** Km 83.5.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Agricultural Base:** Cuartero was a municipality known for corn and tobacco production, in addition to sugar. The station facilitated the export of these secondary crops.

Dao

- **Location:** Km 89.4.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station / Major Junction.
- **Intermodal Hub:** In 1920, Dao was a critical logistics hub. Snippets from the Bureau of Public Works [23] indicate that the government was building "feeder roads" from the towns of **Mambusao** and **Sigma** specifically to connect to the Dao railway station.
- **Strategic Importance:** This turns Dao into a regional collector. Produce from the western towns of Capiz (Mambusao/Sigma), which the railway did not reach, was trucked or carted to Dao for rail shipment to the port. This illustrates the integrated transport planning of the American administration.
- **Branch Line Note:** Later documents mention a branch to "Batan," but in 1920, this was likely just a proposed or very minor spur line, if existent at all.

Km 93 & Km 94

- **Location:** Km 93.0 and Km 94.0.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stops / Harvest Loading Points.
- **Economic Context:** These unnamed stops, identified only by kilometrage, were quintessential "sugar stops." They were likely temporary or semi-permanent sidings established at the edge of large sugar plantations. During the harvest season (milling season), trains would stop here daily to pick up cut cane. Their existence proves the railway's primary function as an industrial conveyor belt.

Lacaron

- **Location:** Km 96.2.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Context:** A barrio stop in the municipality of Dao/Panitan.

Calaan

- **Location:** Km 98.5.[10]
- **Status:** Flag Stop.
- **Context:** Serving the barrio of Calaan.

Panitan

- **Location:** Km 102.9.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Sugar Heartland:** Panitan was one of the centers of sugar production in Capiz. The town sits on the banks of the Panay River.
- **Engineering Challenge:** The railway bridge at Panitan was a major structure. This area was notoriously prone to flooding, and the railway embankment often acted as a levee. Maintaining the track integrity here was a constant struggle for the PRC engineers.[8]

Loctugan

- **Location:** Km 109.3.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Station.
- **Historic Barrio:** Loctugan is an ancient settlement with a massive stone church, now a barangay of Roxas City.
- **Suburban Role:** Being only 7 km from the Capiz terminus, Loctugan served as a suburban station for the provincial capital, allowing easy commuting into the town center.

Capiz (Roxas City Terminus)

- **Location:** Km 116.6.[10]
- **Status:** Permanent Terminal Station.
- **Nomenclature:** In 1920, the town was still named **Capiz**. It would be renamed Roxas City in 1951 in honor of President Manuel Roxas, a native son.
- **Operational Context:** The northern terminus was located near the provincial capitol and

the port. It mirrored the Iloilo terminus but on a smaller scale.
- **Maritime Connection:** The station connected the railway to the steamships plying the Sibuyan Sea. Goods arriving here were shipped to Manila, Romblon, or Masbate. It was the northern funnel for the island's export economy.

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3. Statistical Data and Infrastructure Specifications

3.1 Comprehensive Station List (1920)

The following table serves as the definitive gazetteer for the line in 1920, synthesized from public and working timetables.

Station Name	Type	Km (Approx)	Province	1920 Operational Context & Notes
Iloilo City	Terminal	0.0 - 0.6	Iloilo	Port Interface (Muelle Loney); Custom House access.
La Paz	Permanent	2.6	Iloilo	**HQ & Machine Shops**; Industrial center.
High School	Flag Stop	3.4	Iloilo	Served **Iloilo High School** students.
Jaro	Permanent	5.0	Iloilo	Residential hub for elite planter class.
Central Phil. Univ.	Flag Stop	6.2	Iloilo	Then **Jaro Industrial School**;

				vocational campus stop.
Pavia	Permanent	11.1	Iloilo	Brick/Pottery industry; Rice agriculture.
Santa Barbara	Permanent	16.5	Iloilo	Access to **Santa Barbara Golf Course**; Historic town.
Cabilauan	Flag Stop	22.7	Iloilo	Rural barrio halt.
New Lucena	Permanent	25.8	Iloilo	Formerly "Jimanban"; Rice collection point.
Camoncil	Flag Stop	28.1	Iloilo	Rural barrio halt.
Pototan	Permanent	34.1	Iloilo	**Rice Granary**; Major warehousing (bodegas).
Abangay	Flag Stop	37.7	Iloilo	Access to Dingle southern barrios.
Tabugon (Dingle)	Permanent	42.4	Iloilo	Station for **Dingle** town; Limestone/Quarry access.

Dueñas	Permanent	47.6	Iloilo	Agricultural junction town.
Passi	Permanent	54.1	Iloilo	"Gateway to the North"; Sugar cane loading hub.
Ventura	Permanent	57.4	Iloilo	**Scenic Stop**; Access to white coral cliffs/caves.
Bagacay	Flag Stop	59.6	Iloilo	Upland halt.
Bitaogan	Flag Stop	62.4	Iloilo	Upland halt.
Santo Tomas	Flag Stop	64.7	Iloilo	Grade approach halt.
Summit	Flag Stop	66.8	Border	**Highest Elevation**; 1907 track meeting point.
Dumarao	Permanent	72.2	Capiz	First town in Capiz province; Upland trading.
Alipasiauan	Flag Stop	76.7	Capiz	River crossing halt.
Buntog	Permanent	79.1	Capiz	Access to **Dumalag** town (4km) & **Sohut Caves**.

San Juan	Flag Stop	80.1	Capiz	Minor halt.
Cuartero	Permanent	83.5	Capiz	Corn and Tobacco center.
Dao	Permanent	89.4	Capiz	**Intermodal Hub**; Feeder roads from Sigma/Mambusao.
Km 93	Flag Stop	93.0	Capiz	Plantation loading point (seasonal).
Km 94	Flag Stop	94.0	Capiz	Plantation loading point (seasonal).
Lacaron	Flag Stop	96.2	Capiz	Barrio halt.
Calaan	Flag Stop	98.5	Capiz	Barrio halt.
Panitan	Permanent	102.9	Capiz	Major sugar district; Panay River bridge.
Loctugan	Permanent	109.3	Capiz	Historic suburban barrio of Capiz town.
Capiz (Roxas)	Terminal	116.6	Capiz	Northern Port connection; Provincial Capital.

3.2 Engineering Specifications

- **Total Route Length:** 116.6 kilometers (72.5 miles).
- **Track Gauge:** 3 feet 6 inches (1,067 mm).[9]
- **Rail Weight:** Originally 42-lb rails, progressively upgraded to 60-lb/70-lb in heavy traffic sections by the 1920s to accommodate heavier sugar trains.
- **Bridges:** 46 permanent bridges constructed of steel and concrete. The high number of bridges reflects the hydrological challenges of the Panay and Jalaur river basins.
- **Rolling Stock:** The line was worked by **Baldwin Mogul (2-6-0)** steam locomotives.[2] These 35-ton engines were workhorses, rugged enough for the tropical conditions and the 1.5% grades at the Summit.

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4. Operational Economics and the 1920 Context

4.1 The Sugar Boom and the "Bond Issue" Conflict

The year 1920 was a pivotal moment in Philippine economic history. It was the height of the post-WWI commodity boom. Sugar prices were skyrocketing, leading to an "orgies of spending" and rapid expansion of milling capacity (Sugar Centrals). For the PRC, this meant heavy traffic. Cane had to be moved from the fields to the new Centrals, and raw sugar had to be moved to the Iloilo wharves.[4]

However, despite this activity, the corporate finances were dire. The PRC was burdened by the interest payments on its bonds. The "Manila Syndicate" relied on the government guarantee to pay investors. This created political tension. The Filipino legislature, gaining more autonomy under the Jones Law, resented the "guaranteed" profits of American bondholders while the railway itself operated at a loss or bare break-even. The *Report of the Governor-General* for 1921 explicitly notes that "the railroad stations... were ordered closed as the cost of maintenance was higher than the returns" in some sectors of the Manila Railroad, a sentiment that applied to the PRC's scrutiny as well.[7] This explains the reliance on "Flag Stops" in the 1920 list—minimizing permanent station staff was a necessary austerity measure.

4.2 Intermodal Integration

The station list reveals a sophisticated understanding of intermodal transport. The American administration did not view the railway in isolation.

- **Sea Link:** Both termini (Iloilo and Capiz) were built directly onto the waterfronts.
- **Road Link:** The development of **Dao Station** as a hub for Mambusao and Sigma (connected by "first-class roads") illustrates the "Hub and Spoke" model. The railway was the high-capacity trunk line; the new macadam roads were the feeders.[23]

4.3 The Passenger Experience

For the 1920 traveler, the Panay Line offered a journey through the "Heart of the Philippines." The train ride took approximately 4 to 5 hours.

- **Class System:** The trains carried First Class and Third Class coaches. First Class was used by American administrators, wealthy hacenderos, and tourists. Third Class, with wooden bench seating, carried the bulk of the population—students, farmers, and laborers.
- **Tourism:** The inclusion of stops like **Ventura** and **Buntog** in international travel guides of the time [22] indicates that the railway was marketed to global travelers. The caves of Dingle and Dumalag were promoted as natural wonders accessible by rail, adding a layer of leisure to the industrial purpose of the line.

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5. Conclusion: The Legacy of the 1920 Network

The station list of the Philippine Railway Company in 1920 is a snapshot of a society in transition. It captures the intersection of American colonial engineering, the booming Visayan sugar economy, and the daily lives of Ilonggos.

- **Educational Legacy:** The stops at **High School** and **Jaro Industrial School** highlight the role of infrastructure in social mobility.
- **Economic Legacy:** The stations at **Passi**, **Pototan**, and **Panitan** cemented these towns as the agricultural powerhouses of the island, a status they retain today.
- **Political Legacy:** The financial struggles of the line, highlighted in the 1920 reports, foreshadowed the eventual nationalization and decline of the railway in the late 20th century.

Today, while the tracks are largely gone and the right-of-way occupied by informal settlers, the geography of Panay is still defined by this 1920 network. The towns that grew around these 29 stations remain the principal urban centers of the island, their locations fixed by the decisions of J.G. White engineers more than a century ago. The ghosts of the **Ventura** caves and the **Summit** crossing remain as testaments to the era when the steam whistle was the sound of progress in the Visayas.

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