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CONDITIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

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EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE EVENING STAR, WASHINGTON, D. C., BY THEODORE W. NOYES, RELATIVE TO CONDITIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

A TALK WITH OTIS.

GOOD PROSPECTS FOR EARLY PEACE IN LUZON—NATIVES BECOMING MORE TRUSTFUL—TRADE REVIVING AND INSURGENT BRIGANDS SCATTERING—AMERICAN PATIENCE NEEDED.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

MANILA, P. I., *January 1, 1900.*

Among my New Year's calls of 1900 was a visit to the busiest man in the restful Tropics and one of the busiest men in the whole world. The duties and responsibilities which burden the commanding officer of the American army in the Philippines and the military governor of the islands are almost crushing in their weight. Military operations here involve the direction of a force of 65,000 men, so scattered as to cover numerous points in the vast area of the Philippines and confronted by varying conditions in the different islands. When distances and difficulties of transportation and numbers of men equipped and moved are considered, this expedition ranks among the most notable in military history. Civil administration as governor involves the task of creating a sound and wholesome system adapted to existing conditions and of gradually substituting it for that against which the people have revolted, and, in the interval, in order that anarchy may not exist, of enforcing with absolutely essential modifications the old Spanish laws and customs.

The combined general and governor has been beset at one time or another, simultaneously or in succession, not only by the insurgents, but by our own impetuous volunteers, who, under the impression that the war was over and anxious to get home, developed (until the situation was made clear to them) the possibility that the Republic might be left without an army at the time when one was most needed. Uncle Sam has performed the difficult maneuver of swapping war horses midstream. The governor was beset also by the strong foreign mercan-

tile firms located in Manila, who resented the limitations upon their trade necessarily imposed by the war. He was pulled this way and that by persons with axes to grind and jobs to develop. He had to create a judicial system, and to assume some of the functions of a law-giver, compelled to enforce the confused Spanish laws while striving to codify, correct, and revise them in gradual preparation for the substitution of a modern and American system. He had to become the taxgatherer of an empire, sitting at the receipt of custom, enforcing Spanish internal-revenue and customs laws and studying them carefully in order that through judicious modifications a reasonable and honestly administered system might be evolved. He had to create local civil governments and an educational system, with hardly an atom of foundation upon which to build. Too often the labor set by the Egyptian of making bricks without straw was imposed upon him.

A TREMENDOUS TASK WELL PERFORMED.

General Otis has attacked the task set for him conscientiously, self-sacrificingly, and with a tremendous capacity for hard work. A fourteen-hour day, instead of one under the eight-hour law, represents his period of labor. A weak man would have been completely overwhelmed with the multifarious duties imposed upon him in conducting an active military campaign in the Tropics and in caring for a great army of men in part unaccustomed to war and confronted by new and strange conditions, and in serving at the same time virtually and temporarily as President, Congress, and Supreme Court in relation to millions of Asiatics.

New Year's did not mean a holiday for General Otis, but it relieved the pressure upon him, so that I was enabled, in the course of a long conversation, to secure from him interesting statements concerning conditions and prospects in the islands. His official headquarters are in the palace of old Manila, on the plaza, next to the cathedral of a walled city whisked from the surface of southern Spain by some Arabian Nights process and set down in the Tropics, with its moat and bastions, its narrow, gloomy streets, showing, on the buildin g line, the blank and forbidding walls of monasteries and convents or the plain, uninviting exteriors, broken only by cage-like, projecting balconies, which bar sight of and entrance to the spacious and attractive interiors of many Spanish homes.

To reach the office of General Otis one enters the impressive vestibule and ascends to the second floor of the palace the wide staircase dominated by a marble statue of Magellan, the Columbus and Captain Cook of the Philippines.

Questioned concerning the promise of the new year for the Philippines, General Otis said:

THE YEAR'S OUTLOOK.

"The year opens with favorable conditions and prospects. There is no actual war in the modern sense anywhere in the islands. Fighting the Filipinos is not even the most important military problem. Transporting and feeding and caring for our soldiers constitute the great task. Wherever and under whatever condition the enemy is struck he is scattered. The military campaign is working itself out

slowly but surely to an inevitable conclusion. In Luzon, north of Manila, there is no longer any organized army of insurgents; the outlaw element of that army is dispersed in small bands, whose offenses of murder and robbery against their own people are bringing them under the ban of Filipino public sentiment and are causing information to be lodged against them by the natives so that their destruction or conversion into permanent "amigos" is a matter of course in a reasonable period.

"While I may not speak definitely of projected military movements, it is certain that during the dry season the same process of dispersion and compulsory disintegration which has been applied to the insurgent forces north of Manila will be extended to the entire island, including Cavite and adjacent provinces, where the last considerable concentration of fighting Tagalogs is being effected.

AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE PATIENT.

"Patience should be a prominent feature now of the public attitude toward the military campaign. A very trying period both for the soldiers and the people has been reached. A misunderstanding of conditions here will easily lead to unreasonable criticism. It is to be remembered that the Filipinos no longer face the American soldiers. If they are in danger of being cornered they hide their arms and appear in peaceful white as the most conciliatory of amigos. The Spanish method was not only to kill insurgents caught in arms, but to devastate the offending district and to shoot down on suspicion these nominal noncombatants. American public sentiment would not permit a duplication of this method. Filipinos captured while bearing arms are relieved of their rifles and after a period of detention are released. It does not pay us to keep them and care for them. The Filipino military need is not men, but arms and ammunition. Tagalog armed opposition seems to dissipate as our force approaches, but as that force passes by or withdraws the Filipino bandit reappears, and if our soldiers return to the starting point instead of pushing forward he celebrates a victory. This kind of warfare is exasperating to the soldiers and from its apparent unproductiveness of results arouses the impatience of the public. Two or three regiments could march anywhere in Luzon and destroy everything which Aguinaldo could oppose to them. While the real war is over, the need of a large and vigilant army here has not passed. The process of weeding out the robber bands will be slow and tedious, but the result is sure.

NATIVE CONFIDENCE INCREASING.

"With an increased cavalry force, with a steadily enlarging knowledge of the topography of the islands, with a vigorous, pushing policy on our part, and with a decrease of Filipino sympathy for the robber bands, which, flying before the Americans, have brutally turned their weapons against their countrymen, the pacification of the islands will be hastened. Whole sections need only to be convinced of the permanence of American protection against the local banditti to cooperate heartily with us. They have been deterred, and are still to some extent, by the fear that after a while the American soldiers will be removed to some other point and that they will be exposed to the murderous fury

of the cutthroats who are threatening with death all who show a friendly spirit toward Americans. The contrast between our conduct toward the people and that of Spanish or insurgent soldiers is appreciated and confidence in us is steadily increasing. Insurgent leaders themselves while in the field have placed their families in the security of American protection at Manila."

MILITARY PROBLEMS MISUNDERSTOOD.

"Misunderstanding of the conditions here and lack of knowledge, to be obtained only by presence on the ground and by a general view of the whole situation, have caused criticism of the apparently purposeless policy of capturing and abandoning towns many times in succession. The vital point of attack was not the town, but the concentrating Filipinos, and not so much the Filipinos themselves as the arms and ammunition which they carried. Our comparatively small force, occupying a long, thin line, could not afford to permit the enemy to concentrate at any adjacent and threatening point, and was compelled to take the initiative and to strike wherever he showed a disposition to assemble in force. If the concentration movement was prevented, if the Filipinos were dispersed with losses, and arms and ammunition were captured, the action was successful, even though through lack of garrisoning force or on account of the undesirability of its occupation for military purposes the village of nipa huts at which the engagement occurred was not held after the Filipinos were chased out. With the increased force of soldiers now in the islands it will be possible to garrison and hold all points of strategic value."

"Must civil development await the complete destruction of the robber bands?"

CIVIL GOVERNMENT NEED NOT WAIT.

"No. The military operations have already reached the stage where their problems are surpassed in importance by those of civil administration. It is much to be desired that Congress should act promptly upon the President's suggestions in this respect, to the end that order may be evolved from chaos. The problem is to build up a structure republican in form upon an inadequate and unreliable foundation. The start upon substantially self-supporting municipal governments has been made, and at many points these are groping toward the light. The outline of a simple form of local government has been framed and put in practical operation wherever feasible. There is a steady, though slow, increase in the degree of Filipino cooperation in such governments. The mass of Aguinaldo's followers are young and irresponsible. Property owners of intelligence already sympathize with the Americans, but, as I have already said, they are in many cases terrorized by the Aguinaldists, who promise death to them as soon as the Americans retire. With the garrisoning of the towns this fear will be dissipated, and the progress of civil government, of education, and of the reign of reasonable and fixed law will then be hastened. American protection, schools, and local self-government will go hand in hand. There are many intelligent Filipinos, in whom I have the fullest confidence as the developers of the future of the Philippines under the protection and with the inspiration of the spirit of the great Republic."

TRADE TO BE FOSTERED.

"An important civil problem has been to preserve and foster the trade of the islands so far as consistent with successful military operations. All of northern Luzon, including the tobacco region tributary to Aparri, is now open to trade, and to-day the embargo has been removed from many ports of importance in the southern islands, including a few hemp ports. Pacification of Luzon south of Manila through military movements will soon open up this section also. Every effort has been made to interfere as little as possible with the natural flow of trade, but military necessities and the demands of commercial activity and prosperity are frequently at variance."

At this point in the interview a dispatch was brought to General Otis which stated that Aguinaldo's wife and sister had just been made prisoners in north Luzon, and that Aguinaldo himself was being chased from rancherio to rancherio with some prospects of his capture. Practically all of Aguinaldo's people are now in custody, and only his presence here is needed for a happy family reunion in Manila. Many of Aguinaldo's cabinet officers and his civil and military lieutenants have also been captured.

In response to a question concerning Aguinaldo's character and influence and the importance of his associates, General Otis said:

AGUINALDO'S CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE.

"Aguinaldo's prestige and influence with the Filipinos have been very great. Even now the lowest class endow him with superhuman attributes, including immunity from bullets, but his hold has weakened among the more intelligent Filipinos, and he has been denounced among them as a mountebank. From the time that he returned to Cavite in May, 1898, and became subject to Mabini's inspiration he had never the intention of cooperating faithfully with the United States, except in so far as the Republic would be useful to him in holding Spain helpless while he worked his scheme of self-aggrandizement. Some of his associates were mere mercenaries; others were ambitious for power. Mabini was the master spirit, able, radical, uncompromising. He furnished the brains which made Aguinaldo's cabinet formidable. He was brought before me recently, paralytic and a prisoner. I offered him his freedom on parole not to stir up trouble; he hesitated and said: 'I have not changed my convictions.'

"I told him that I did not respect him the less on that account, and repeated the offer.

"'I have no means of support; I can not put my freedom to any use,' he replied.

"Buencamino is a professional turncoat, everything in turn and nothing long. He has been an officer in the Spanish army and was secretary of state in Aguinaldo's cabinet when he was captured.

"Paterno, who is not yet in custody, has played a curious rôle. He arranged the treaty by which Spain bought off Aguinaldo and his associates in the revolution of 1896. He demanded from Spain money and a title of Castile, prince or duke, as the price of his achievement. After the United States intervened he again appeared as the agent of Spain in a proclamation which pronounced monarchy the fitting government for the Filipinos, and advised them to side with Spain against

America, recognizing Spanish sovereignty. Next after this tribute to monarchy he appeared as candidate for president of Aguinaldo's revolutionary congress and was elected.

LUNA, PILAR, AND ARELLANO.

"Luna was a strong, determined character, an unyielding fighter, a general of considerable ability. The others were afraid of him. He was building up a power distinct from that of Aguinaldo. He was assassinated at the latter's quarters. Pio de Pilar is a robber. Leader of a gang of bandits before he became one of Aguinaldo's leading generals, he is now back in his old and congenial occupation. One of the ablest of the Filipinos is Arellano, who was Aguinaldo's first secretary of state, but withdrew after a short service, an unbeliever in Filipino independence. He is now the respected president of the Filipino supreme court established by the American Government in Manila."

"Is it necessary or desirable to permit the Chinese to furnish the labor required to develop the Philippines?"

CHINESE LABOR UNDESIRABLE.

"No. The Chinese would flood the islands and destroy the opportunity for the development of the Filipinos which would arise from preserving for them a wide range of industrial employments. Though many thousands of Chinamen are settled in the islands, conducting business enterprises, both wholesale and retail, and employed also in the hardest form of manual labor, and though there has been considerable intermixture of the races, there exists an old hereditary prejudice between them, resulting often in bloodshed. The Chinaman can outwit the Filipino as a trader; but takes his chances of being robbed and murdered by the latter when the appeal is to brute force. This active race enmity is to be taken into account. But above all, in the interest of the Filipinos and of their development and material prosperity, the Chinamen should be prevented from coming here in large numbers. If our workingmen in the United States need this protection, much more it is required by the prospective workingmen among the people who own the soil of the American islands in the Pacific."

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

One of the most important questions to be dealt with here is that of the relations of the monastic orders and the Filipinos. The charge against the former by the latter is that they have acquired large real-estate holdings by fraud, and that, as the absolute masters by usurpation of the life, honor, and property of the Filipinos, they have so used their power that they became the primary cause of the Philippine revolution. The Filipinos demanded and secured from the Spanish governor-general in the agreement of Biac na Bato the promise of expulsion of the monastic orders from the islands. This is their primary aspiration. The indications have been that until this should be attained they would fight, whether Spain, the United States, or Germany held the sovereignty of the islands. General Otis said in reply to a question on this point:

"This will be one of the most difficult questions of all to settle wisely

and satisfactorily. Insurgent leaders, in order to keep alive hostility to Americans, have pictured us to their followers as the allies of the friars determined to restore them to power, and have inaccurately represented me as an ardent Romanist in the power of the priests.

GENERAL OTIS AND THE FRIARS.

"In pursuance of instructions I tried to secure the release of the friars imprisoned by the insurgents, and I was accused on that account of being in partnership with the archbishop. The question of titles to real estate in the Philippines, whether claimed by ecclesiastics or laymen, will have, I believe, to be very thoroughly and exhaustively examined and studied, and this will be no quick and easy task. I do not believe that there will be confiscation by the Government of any property held by the monastic orders or by anybody to which record title is perfect. So far as the return of the friars is concerned, the matter would seem to be really in the hands of the Filipino Catholics themselves. The friars are now practically expelled, and unless the Filipinos, undergoing a change of sentiment, assent to their return it would seem that the Roman Catholic Church in its own interest, as well as for the welfare of the Filipinos, would see to it that the church's recognized representatives in the islands were not violently distasteful to the people whom they seek to guide."

AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH LUZON.

Before my departure from the palace further information was received concerning the concentration of insurgents in Luzon south of Manila, and an additional regiment was at once ordered to the point affected. A general movement southward, planned before Gen. Lawton's universally mourned death, is about to be carried out under the immediate direction of Gen. Bates, who is to succeed to Gen. Lawton's command. There are three or four thousand insurgents now assembled and intrenched in Cavite province, and it is hoped, but hardly expected, that they will make a stand and give battle there. It is more likely, however, that the American sword will cut through a spectral, illusive figure, striking nothing substantial. General Bates, who is known and admired as a leader by the District regiment's officers and soldiers who were close to him at Santiago, is as highly respected here as in Washington. He has just performed the diplomatic feat, without firing a gun, of pacifying temporarily, and during a crucial period, the southern islands of the archipelago, peopled largely by the Mahometan Moros. A like result, reached by different means, in South Luzon will mark the end of war with the Filipino people and reduce the immediate use of armed American force largely to the protection of the Filipinos themselves against scattered robber bands. This proclamation will doubtless prepare the way for earnest and probably successful efforts on our part to remove the spirit of distrust and hostility toward us from the Filipino heart by meeting and satisfying the reasonable aspirations of the people for relief from the burden of Spanish misrule, ecclesiastical and political, under which they have groaned for centuries, and against which they have revolted.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

JOLO JOLLITIES.

SURPRISING AND IMPRESSING THE SULTAN OF SULU—MORO SPEAR DANCE, KRIS AND JABUL—AMERICAN BIG GUNS AND RIFLES, SHIPS, SOLDIERS, ELECTRICITY, AND ICE—DAY IN MAHOMETAN AMERICA.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

JOLO, ISLAND OF JOLO,
SULU ARCHIPELAGO, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
January 17, 1900.

When the Senate ratified the treaty with Spain we annexed, in addition to other acquisitions, a half million followers of Mahomet, a miscellaneous assortment of sultans, dattos (chiefs), and their followers, a nineteenth century reproduction of the feudal system which regulates their relation to one another, and certain fruitful and beautiful tropical islands which they inhabit.

The Sulu Archipelago proper, Mindanao and Palawan (for the exact location, size, and population of which see the geographies and the encyclopedias), contain the bulk of the Moros or Mahometan Filipinos.

The conditions of the problem set for us in this part of the Philippines differ widely from those which confront us in Luzon. Here are no insurgents and no friars to vex us; but in their place Mahometan polygamy and the semislavery of the feudal system promise the possibility of trouble for the future.

Spain's sovereignty here, to which we have succeeded, though fully recognized, was exceedingly feeble, and was bolstered up by agreements with and concessions to the Moro sultans or dattos, and especially the potentate who lives on this island of Jolo.

The sultan of the Sulu Archipelago claims political and religious jurisdiction not only over that group of islands, among which he includes Mindanao, but also over Palawan and North Borneo. His religious control, as representative of the prophet, is more widely recognized than his political and military sway. Mindanao, which has sultans of its own, does not recognize him at all. Palawan also has a sultan. Even in the sultan's own island of Jolo there are dattos who, while grudgingly owning allegiance to him, like the most powerful of the barons of the middle ages, believe themselves stronger than their liege lord, and quarrel with him, and are entirely ready to fight their nominal superior. The sultan has, however, in the Sulu group 120,000 people and 20,000 fighting men, of Mahometan contempt for death and of piratical and blood-letting tendency and inclination, who would probably respond enthusiastically to his call to arms, especially if a holy war were declared; so that, in spite of his troubles as a ruler, he is entitled to receive and has received a certain degree of consideration from the meddlesome Americans who have intervened so recently and so vigorously in Asiatic affairs.

PEACE IN MOHAMMEDAN AMERICA.

Through the wise diplomacy of General Bates and the tact of officers serving under him in dealing with the problem the relations between the United States and the Moros are distinctly amicable, and a dangerous period in the history of American operations in the Philippines has been safely passed. With the Tagalogs on the warpath it was essen-

tial that the Moros should not become actively hostile. With the Sulu sultan, who had expected to succeed to Spanish sovereignty in the Sulu group, and who was disappointed and sulky over the advent of the Americans, General Bates succeeded in making a written agreement, subject to the approval of the President and Congress, renewing several of the features of the treaty by which Spanish sovereignty had been recognized. General Bates has also given verbal and effectively pacifying assurances to other sultans and dattos, as, for example, of religious liberty under American control. The Moro idea of a Christian, based on their experience with the Spanish, pictures a fanatic whose highest aspiration is to cut down the hated Moslem in the same fashion that their own juramentadoes seek with certain confidence the joys of highest heaven through a death achieved while slaying Christians. A Christian proclaiming religious liberty is inconceivable to them and unrecognizable by them. And thus it happened that the Sultan of Sulu assured his people that the Americans were not Christians, but Presbyterians, and our sovereignty is for the time throughout all of the Mohammedan Philippines cheerfully accepted.

As evidence of mutual confidence the Moro, when he enters a city like Jolo, the American headquarters in the Sulu archipelago, disarms at the gate; and so when the American officer or soldier goes out into the country, as from Zamboanga, he also lays aside his arms. The policy of disarming the Americans has the additional advantage of removing temptation from the individual and unregenerate Moros to ambuscade and murder scattered officers or soldiers for the sake of securing their revolvers or rifles, which are much coveted and highly prized among this fighting race.

JOLO FESTIVITIES.

The 16th of January, 1900, was a great day for Jolo. An army transport was in the harbor bringing to the American officers stationed there the second installment of women visitors recorded in the red-letter chronicles of the American military occupation. The Sultan of Sulu, whose shanty-palace was at his nipa-hut capital of Maibun, some 12 miles away, on the other side of the beautiful little island of Jolo, was also a guest. And these distinguished visitors were to be brought together in an irresistible combination of Asiatic and American royalty, the great occasion being celebrated both by Moro and American festivities.

Our party landed early from the transport, the launch scattering the native canoes with outriggers which hung about the ship, displaying Moro products for sale. Jolo boasts a light-house and stone pier, and on landing there we were met not only by representatives of the American officers, but by Jolo's native chief of police, with the coat of arms of the United States conspicuously displayed on his brass-buttoned jacket, and by a delegation of private citizens of both sexes, all sizes, and every degree of nakedness.

Jolo is a miniature walled town, with broad, clean, tree-lined streets. It has room within its tiny inclosure for a population of a few hundred, and is surrounded by a loopholed wall 8 feet high. Its cleanliness, airiness, public structures, flowers, and foliage make it exceedingly attractive. In its improvements it is primarily a monument to the energy and wisdom of the Spanish general, Arolas, who, being sent

here by Spain as a pestiferous liberal to take his chances of life in a recognized pest hole, instead of dying, as might have been expected, drove the disease-producing conditions from Jolo as readily as he expelled the Moros at the bayonet's point from Maibun.

A very broad street, as wide as Pennsylvania avenue, leads from the pier straight to the south wall. It serves the purpose of a plaza and of a parade or review ground for Jolo. This was the scene of the main festivities of the day, beginning with native dances, to be followed by a review of the American troops.

PICTURESQUE MORO VILLAGES.

Before the formal celebration began we visited two native villages adjacent to Jolo. Passing through the picturesque main gate of the city we saw, just outside, the Spanish disarming station, now used as a bolo (knife) market. This station is a raised pavilion inclosed in wire network. In the old days the Spanish soldier stood, as it were, in his cage and received the knife of the Moro before he entered Jolo. This precaution was taken after several Spanish soldiers had been cut down by Moros during the process of disarmament. The pavilion is still a disarmament station, but the inducement thereto is no longer a threatening rifle but the allurement of gold or silver coin. The barong, with its short, heavy, effective blade and its hilt of carved wood, ivory, or silver; the kris, with its wavy, twisting, fascinating blade, and the same varieties of hilt as in the case of the barong; and the campilan, with its long blade, broadening in eccentric shape at the point, and with its elaborately carved wooden hilt adorned by bells and stained horsehair, were sold in large quantities and at a notable advance over the market price to the members of our party. In our humble civilian way we have contributed conspicuously and effectively to the disarmament of the Moros.

Next we proceeded to the nipa-hut fishing village of Bus-Bus, with the few owners of unsold barongs and krises following in our train. On land Bus-Bus consists of a single narrow, filthy, ill-smelling street, which was now for its entire length a native market, where brilliantly colored fish, fruits, and vegetables were exposed for sale, and where our party loaded itself down with spears, parrots, monkeys, hats, mats, sarongs, jabuls, cocoanuts, bananas, and mangasteens. The Bus-Busites swarmed about us in every condition of dress and undress. There were many samples of the characteristic native costumes, with the sarong and jabul for the women and tight-fitting trousers, small jacket, and voluminous sash for the men, but the most frequent costume of all showed as its dominating characteristic the brown skin of the native unadorned. Most of Bus-Bus is a water city, a collection of nipa huts, built far out into the bay on piles, and approached by a single long, narrow, rickety bamboo bridge. Bus-Bus is as safe from attack by land as the villages of the lake-dwellers of Europe of an earlier age.

On the other side of Jolo we visited a second native village called Tulei, which boasts the house at which the sultan stops when visiting Jolo, and is the scene of the cockfighting, the absorbing popular pastime here as in Luzon.

NATIVE COCKFIGHTS.

The cockfighting which we saw at Tulei took place in a sort of bamboo pen. A fragile bamboo framework formed an overlooking gallery.

As in much of our own horse racing the gambling connected with the sport is the main attraction, and the betting is even more fast and furious than the fighting. A long, razor-edged, murderous gaff is attached to the left foot of the fighting cock, and as a rule one of the combatants is killed in a few seconds. Cockfighting is not permitted in Manila, but is allowed in Cavite on Sunday, and nearly every male native passenger on the Cavite ferryboat on that day carries a gamecock under his arm, which he brings back in the evening either with feathers victoriously ruffled or picked and ready for the pot in sign of defeat. The gamecock is unquestionably the national bird, the eagle emblem of the Philippines. There was far more excitement and enthusiasm over the fighting cocks at Tulei than over the sultan himself.

At Tulei we visited a hut where with crude looms Moro women were weaving cloth for sarongs and sashes, and others were making rude clay pottery. Delicate materials like the jusi and the pina made out of the pineapple-leaf fiber by the Visayans and the Tagalogs are not produced here.

We walked from Tulei through a palm-lined avenue to the "Princess d'Asturias," a former Spanish blockhouse, now used as a barracks for a company of our soldiers. In returning to Jolo we passed through groves of bananas and scattered coffee and lemon trees.

MORO SPEAR DANCES.

The native dances took place in the plaza in the welcome shade of tall trees of tropical density of foliage. The spectators formed a circle. Chairs protected from the surging crowd by a rope occupied a section of the ring and were used by the American women and other distinguished visitors. Moros in every variety of picturesque attire, further diversified by an occasional soldier, rounded out the circle and supplied an exhibit almost as interesting as the dancers themselves. On the Moro side of the circle was the native tom-tom orchestra. Two wooden drums were beaten by men's hands. Three gongs suspended from a rope at regular intervals were struck by sticks tightly bound with cords to muffle the sound. Eight small copper-covered pots, standing on cords above a hollow wooden box, were beaten in an intended tune by bamboo sticks.

In the center of the circle were placed a large, heavy wooden shield and a long spear with bells at the handle. The first actor dancer was dressed in the customary tight trousers and jacket, a brilliant sash with his barong thrust through its folds, and a turban made by folding a bright-colored square of cloth. The sleeves of his absurd little jacket were long and came well down over his hands, as if he had outgrown the garment in body but had shrunken in length of arm. The dancer picked up the spear and shield, looked quickly to the right and left for his imaginary antagonist, caught sight of him, and advanced with spear pointed toward him, protecting himself with the shield. He circled around his enemy, thrusting again and again, glancing over his shield with a fierce and cunning expression to note the effect of his blow and to aim another. Finally a well-directed stroke placed his enemy at his mercy. Unsheathing his barong he decapitated his antagonist and retired in triumph.

In the next war dance two men participated, each with shield and

spear, and they imitated in every detail the actual battle, glaring ferociously, advancing, dodging, thrusting, parrying with the shield, until one gave way, and the victor strutted from the ring amid the loudest cries of the Moro bystanders, who had kept up a constant shouting during the whole encounter.

Then followed peace dances, in which men, women, and children appeared in succession. A mat was spread in that part of the circle where the shade was deepest. The orchestra emitted its doleful notes. The women, who were the most interesting in this dance, glided two at a time upon the mat and began a performance of Delsarte posturing with the hands and arms, to which an extraordinary undulating movement was given, writhing, twisting, and turning in serpentine curves, bringing every muscle in these members into play, and apparently demonstrating that the dancers were boneless wonders so far as the hand, wrist, and arm are concerned. The only other parts of the body which seem to participate even slightly in this so-called dance are the feet, which keep the body gliding slowly in a small circle while the arms are undulating.

In America and Europe the legs dance. In Egypt the body achieves so-called dancing. In Jolo the function is transferred still farther upward and the arms and shoulders have their day.

The women dancers were dressed in a long, straight skirt falling to the ankle, a close-fitting, tight-sleeved jacket extending several inches below the waist, and a brightly colored straight garment, called the jabul, serving as a head wrap, and stretching over one shoulder and underneath the other arm, thence falling to the bottom of the skirt. The toes of their bare feet were pushed into heelless slippers several sizes too small, which were held in place in some miraculous fashion.

The performance concluded with more spear dancing by the men, including a snake dance, in which the performer indicated in pantomime the pain and horror of one bitten by a serpent, which had hidden under his shield.

THE SULTAN OF SULU APPEARS.

Word was now received that the sultan was really coming, and all the Jolo world moved toward the south gate in order to meet him. His majesty had exercised the royal prerogative of delay. He had been expected the day before, but in the afternoon his sword bearer, a comical manikin, galloped up to the commanding officer, Major Sweet, while he was with our party from the transport, shook hands enthusiastically with everybody, and announced that his majesty had found difficulty in securing the necessary horses and would not arrive until next day. The sword bearer thereupon returned to Maibun, bearing to the sultan, it is alleged, such accounts of the American houris then assembled at Jolo that his majesty proceeded forthwith to catch his horse and to gallop over in the evening to Tulei, just outside the wall of Jolo town. His reception was then fixed for the next morning, but as the hour approached his sword bearer again appeared and announced that his highness, who was fasting, was too feeble to endure excitement at that period of the day, but would undergo the ordeal in the afternoon.

Now, however, the sultan is really coming, and all previous disappointments are forgotten. We met his highness at the main gate, attended by his two brothers, his prime minister, Datto Calvi, the

Moro chief living nearest to Jolo, and a motley crowd of armed and unarmed retainers.

The procession, with its show of bright and, in some cases, of rich fabrics, its silver and ivory and gold in kris hilts and betel-nut boxes, and rubbing close against this richness its rags and filth and nakedness, sets Mother Goose's jingle to ringing in one's ears:

Hark, hark, the dogs do bark,
The beggars are coming to town;
Some in rags, and some in tags,
And some in a velvet gown.

We were introduced and shook hands with the sultan as informally as if he were Mr. Smith, of Kalamazoo. His majesty is short and chubby, with a dark, puffy, pockmarked face, a thin moustache of the rudimentary Japanese type, which failed to cover an ugly mouth, and the dull eye of the blasé, unenthusiastic Turk. His filed and betel-stained teeth are decayed and blackened. He wore a European suit of light gray, with white shirt and collar (but lacking tie and cuffs), tan shoes, and a close-fitting black velvet turban. A very broad, loosely tied cotton sash encircled his waist, and was, in its breadth and in the extent to which it fell below the bottom of his coat, the incongruous element in his European costume. He wore several rings, including a large pearl, a gold watch chain showed conspicuously outside his coat, and he carried a black silver-headed cane.

The crown prince, the Sultan's next younger brother, was much more alert and prepossessing in appearance. He was dressed in the picturesque native costume, varying it only by wearing a pair of black patent-leather pumps. His barong, with its finely carved ivory hilt, attracted the eye.

The Sultan and each datto had close at hand a servant, carrying a silver or brass box, in which were all the necessary ingredients for betel chewing. The youngest brother of the Sultan was not deterred by the solemnity of the occasion from indulgence in the habit, and he chewed and emitted blood-red expectorations uninterruptedly.

The companies of the Twenty-third Regiment at Jolo were drawn up in front of the gate to salute in honor of the Sultan. The stalwart, disciplined, well-armed, and effective soldiers contrasted conspicuously with the miscellaneous, irregularly armed rabble which attended the Sultan.

The party now proceeded to the plaza, where the companies paraded and were reviewed. When the Star Spangled Banner was played, and also when the flag passed, the Sultan and his retinue stood up with the other Americans.

A BIG GUN SALUTE TO THE SULTAN.

After the dress parade the sultan and dattos and some of the attendants were taken out on the launch to the transport, and just before we reached the ship seventeen guns were fired from it in salute. We were so close at hand that the reports jarred severely upon the Sultan's nerves. At the first reverberation he grasped a post of the launch with one hand and braced himself against his seat with the other. He is not, however, unfamiliar with heavy gun firing, having been saluted by other American ships and by the British at Singapore.

It was explained to the royal party on the launch that the guns which made so much noise were comparatively small affairs; that some of the American guns were as long as the launch itself, and could shoot from Jolo Harbor to Maibun. This statement created an obvious sensation.

On the transport the Sultan fired one of the 6-pounders, and with his party inspected the entire ship. The Moros were most impressed by the electric light, which some of them hesitatingly felt to see if it would burn; and the electric fan, the breeze from which was a mystery and a source of joy.

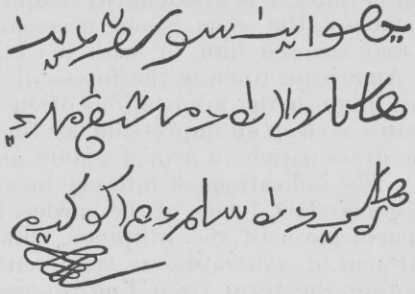
At 6 o'clock the Sultan could break his fast. So at that hour his party was escorted to the ship's saloon, that it might enjoy a light luncheon. The royal fast was thoroughly broken. Judging from their achievements at table, the remainder of the party, as well as the Sultan, had been fasting for an indefinite period. They held possession long past the dinner hour of the ship. After one Moro (not, however, at the Sultan's table) had experimented with ice water and lived, he passed it to his table associates. They sipped it and forthwith all ordered ice water, but before drinking made a heavy drain upon the sugar resources of the ship in order to sweeten the beverage sufficiently. Ice itself was a fascinating mystery to them, to be touched only with fear and trembling, and after some officer in whom they had confidence had braved the danger. Some of them tried bold experiments with buttered bread, their first experience. All drank copiously of coffee and consumed with exasperating slowness vast quantities of cakes, raisins, nuts, small pickled onions, and olives. It is to be hoped that no one of the Moro guests had internal reasons later that night for suspecting that the Americans, under pretense of doing him honor, had tried to poison him.

HIS MAJESTY UNBENDS.

The Sultan, who had been sullen and sulky in appearance until he had broken his fast, now blossomed out into cheerfulness and affability. He came up on deck and through his interpreter conversed with the Americans. He said gallantly that he could now form an idea of what America must be like after seeing this great ship and the American ladies upon it. One of the ladies aforesaid intimated that America was much grander than the Sultan could imagine on the suggested basis, and concluded by saying that there were buildings in at least one of our cities that were twenty-one stories high. At this bit of statistics the Sultan gave a distinct cluck, which may have been an exclamation of astonishment and admiration, or, on the other hand, may have indicated incredulity. The suggestion that the Sultan should come to America and settle the matter by personal inspection was received by him with dignified enthusiasm. He wished very much to visit America, and hoped that some day he might be able to do so. He had been to Mecca, and wished to enlarge his travel experiences. The crown prince also showed a lively interest in the suggested American trip, and asked how many days would be required to make it.

Encouraged by this unbending with the representatives of the women of America, some of the ship's party inveigled the Sultan into the captain's cabin and induced him to make for them a few autograph signatures, but he soon wearied of this labor. When he found that I came from the capital city of the Republic he forwarded through the Star

his greeting to the President of the United States in the following words:



Finally the royal party went ashore, and its entertainers rushed ravenously to the saloon.

The day's festivities concluded with a ball given at Major Sweet's headquarters by the officers of the regiment to the American women on the transport. The sultan's youngest brother represented the royal family on this occasion, the others being exhausted by the labors of the day. The youngster was accompanied by three of his retainers and the interpreter. He is 19 and has only three wives in his palace. He is looking for another. He sat chewing constantly the betel nut and watching intently the waltzing couples. He expressed himself as highly pleased with the American dancing, and as enjoying the music much more than that of the Spaniards. The Spanish had, however, never invited him to a ball, he said. When refreshments were passed, he evidently viewed the ice cream with suspicion and distrust. The interpreter explained to him that all American women were very fond of the dish, and that the ladies present were anxious that he should taste it. Thereupon he reluctantly put aside his betel quid and took two mouthfuls of the cream. He immediately pronounced the verdict: "It is very cold," and devoted himself to the cake, to which the sweet-toothed Moros seemed to take kindly.

Something of a cloud was thrown upon the day's enjoyment at the eleventh hour by the news that in his visit to the transport the sultan had lost or been robbed of his cane. The first report was to the effect that the missing article was his sacred cane from Mecca; that he had demanded that the ship be stopped and searched for it; that in the event of failure to produce it no compensation short of the annexation of the American women on the ship as additional wives would be satisfactory, and that lacking both cane and women he would promptly declare war. Later news, however, disclosed that the missing stick was not the sacred cane with jeweled handle, but a darker stick with a plain silver head. And our ladies breathed more easily.

The events of the day, in addition to furnishing entertainment and instruction to a few Americans through a novel experience, serve a useful and practical purpose in impressing upon the leading Moros the power and diversity of resources of the nation whose sovereignty they have recently recognized. The American influence over them is strengthened in proportion as they are moved to wonder and admiration by things American. Their impressions of the Republic are practically all to be formed. Most of them have never before even heard

of the United States. The trip of the sultan and a few of his retainers to Mecca represents the most extensive foreign travel of the ruling family. If the sultan himself is avariciously stolid, and subject only to the influence of money, the same is not necessarily the case with his brothers, who may succeed him, or with his chiefs and advisers. The ability of the Americans to sway the forces of nature, as demonstrated to the Moro mind in the applications of electricity and in the making of ice, creates as deep an impression as the show of military strength in the fine dress parade of armed giants and in the booming of the great guns. The indications of interest in and regard for the Moros have also a good effect. One of the hardest factors to be overcome in the real pacification of the Filipinos, which is to follow the war, is their resentment of contemptuous treatment by many of our soldiers, who, adopting the term from English residents in Manila, have systematically spoken of the Filipinos and treated them as "niggers." If we are to follow English example, we would be wiser to imitate the policy of the English officials in dealing with the native princes who hold relations with their government. A showing both of consideration and of strength and an appeal to the love of the spectacular are especially effective with Asiatic peoples. The suggested trip of the sultan and his brothers and a few of the most powerful dattos to America could hardly fail to have the most beneficial results in the maintenance of peace and good order in the Sulu archipelago and the continuance of amicable relations between Americans and Moros.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

MORO-AMERICANS.

EVILS OF SEMIFEUDAL SLAVERY AND MOHAMMEDAN POLYGAMY—MAKE HASTE SLOWLY TO CURE THEM—DATTO CALVI'S PROTEST AGAINST NEW CUSTOMS TAXES FOR THE SULUS—THE SULTANA'S PHONOGRAPH.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

JOLO, ISLAND OF JOLO, SULU ARCHIPELAGO, P. I.,
January 18, 1900.

The problem of a wise, just, and beneficent American policy for the southern Philippines, which shall maintain American sovereignty, promote peace, and advance the interests and meet the reasonable public sentiment of the people both of the islands and of the United States, has not by any means been permanently solved. It is very easy indeed by thoughtlessness or by obstinate blundering, either here or at Washington, to overturn whatever has already been accomplished and to raise up troubles for us which will dwarf those that have confronted us in Luzon.

We have made a start in the right direction, and the good work of General Bates in securing by peaceful means the recognition of American sovereignty by the Moros is being supplemented apparently on the same lines of tact and judgment by the subordinate officers in command at Zamboanga and Jolo. Major Sweet, of the Twenty-third Infantry, in charge at Jolo, whose record as a youngster in the civil war was that of a dashing fighter and not a negotiator, is apparently developing in his new field of labor into a suave diplomat.

When I asked Major Sweet what his general policy was in dealing with the Moros he replied: "One of conciliation and mild coercion, fostering amicable relations, seeking to lead and guide and not to drive. As a result we are steadily, if slowly, gaining and confirming their confidence and good will, in spite of the suspicion and distrust of the white race which their contact with the Spanish developed in them."

"Have you been troubled by the murderous juramentadoes?"

"No. The last case of this running amuck by Mohammedans, who kill Christians until they are themselves killed, occurred toward the end of the Spanish occupation. They have never attacked us. Word was sent to the Sultan that not only would any juramentadoes be promptly shot, but that he would be held responsible. He assured us that these fanatical murders would be suppressed. It was in this connection that he made the discrimination, of which you have heard, between Americans and Christians.

"Have you had occasion recently to intervene as adviser among the Moro chiefs?"

"A short time ago some Moros were publicly hacked to pieces at the neighboring village of Bus-Bus for stealing a few fish. I remonstrated with the chiefs concerned, represented that life was too precious to be taken away for so slight a cause, and urged that they were chiefs only in name if they could not prevent such butcheries.

"The strongest representations made to the Moros have been on the subject of the necessity of refraining from attacking Americans. The chiefs were urged, if they or their people had any grievance against American soldiers, to let me know and not to kill unless in self-defense. They were assured that the murder of Americans would mean the coming of gunboats and of an army with disastrous results.

PECULIARITIES OF THE AMERICANS.

"In response to these representations the Sultan issued a circular to his people, in which he pointed out the difference between the Americans and the Spaniards, and cited cases of kind treatment of Moro women by the former, which marked them as humane. He mentioned as a peculiarity of the Americans for the guidance of his people that when they wanted anything done they wanted it done quickly; and he warned the Moros not to kill an American under any circumstances. He indicated that the individual American did not represent himself alone, but that if one were hurt or killed all Americans rushed to his defense or to punish those who had attacked him. He likened us to a box of matches in which if one is struck and ignited the whole box goes off. His figurative warning seems to have been effective, for we have had no trouble whatsoever."

The agreement with the Sultan of Sulu stipulates that the freedom of slaves may be purchased at the market price, and President McKinley in his message to Congress, while approving the agreement, declares that it "is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu Archipelago." It is clear that the subject is one of difficulty. Major Sweet, when questioned on this matter, said: "Slavery here is not the slavery of the South before the war or the peonage of Mexico. It is a mild form of feudal bondage. There is no cruelty based on the existence

of the relation, no humiliating race or caste discriminations involved, and no severe labor required. I believe that there is no transfer without the slave's consent. The agreement with the Sultan seems to contemplate the gradual eradication of the evil by compensated emancipation."

NEW TAXES IN THE SULUS.

By treaty between Spain, Germany, and England free trade was established in the ports of the Sulu Archipelago. When we succeeded to Spain's sovereignty the treaty became voidable, and is now terminated by us. We are gradually putting in force in the Sulu ports occupied by our troops the system of customs duties, adopted with some modifications from the Spanish regulations, which prevails throughout the rest of the Philippines. Major Sweet said on this subject: "There are no Moro merchants and the customs duties do not fall directly upon them. The Chenos (Chinese) are the retail-merchant class of the East. They, of course, shift the weight of the duty as far as possible upon the Moros. I have recommended to General Otis a remission of the duty on rice for one year. Disease has swept away the cattle which are used to cultivate the soil of the island, and the people must have cheap imported rice in order to live.

"The Sultana, the Sultan's mother, who has been of service to us through her good will toward the Americans and through her influence with her son, has asked the exclusive right to introduce Chinese tobacco into the Sulu Archipelago. This request is in pursuance of the Spanish custom of creating such monopolies and of selling them or parceling them out among favorites. It is entirely inconsistent with the American system and had, of course, to be denied."

The sultana, to whom Major Sweet thus referred, is an intelligent, witty, and very interesting woman. Unfortunately, she is old and infirm, and has not the strength to exercise frequently her undoubted influence with the sultan.

THE SULTANA'S "VOICE ENGINE."

General Bates had a phonograph purchased for the Sultana, which Major Sweet sent to her. This machine talked Moro, repeating several passages from the Koran, and conversations in the same language concerning affairs in which the sultana was interested. The effect upon the royal audience when the phonograph began to declare itself in Moro is reported to have been tremendous. In view of the boyish enthusiasm of the learned and dignified members of the American Academy of Sciences as they listened with curiosity years ago to the metallic outgivings of the perforated tin foil of the first Edison phonograph in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, any open-mouthed wonder displayed by semisavages at a similar experience could well be pardoned. The sultana expressed her appreciation of the phonograph in a letter written in Arabic and marked by her seal, which reads as follows:

"This letter from your sister the Sultana Inchy Jamela to my brother the Brigadier-General John Bates, and to Major Sweet, the governor of Tiangy. I beg to inform my brothers that the voice engine you made me a present of has reached me, and that I shall look upon it as an heirloom. I am very grateful to you for the brotherly way you

are treating me. You have placed me in your heart and I will also place you in my heart. I beg to send you my best wishes, and may God repay you for your kindness toward me. Written this 16th day of the moon Rajah, in the year 1317."

A ROYAL NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

But the Sultana is not the only ready letter writer in the royal family. At the end of December, 1899, the sultan sent through Major Sweet a New Year's greeting for 1900 to President McKinley, which has been duly forwarded and received, and which may consequently without impropriety be here recorded:

"This letter from your brother His Highness the Sultan Hadji Mohamad Jamalul Kiram to my brother, Maj. O. J. Sweet, Twenty-third Infantry, the governor of Tiangy (Jolo):

"I beg to send my heartiest New Year's greetings to the President of the United States, also to yourself and all my brothers in Tiangy (Jolo), your adjutant, and the secretary, and all the soldiers. May you all be prosperous and happy during the coming year, and may God assist you in all your undertakings, and may we become closer friends and brothers. I also beg you to be kind enough to give me a copy of the agreement in English, and also a flag for the purpose of sailing about with. If I can possibly manage it I shall pay you a visit to-day. Written this 28th day of the moon Shaaban (December), in the year 1317."

A MORO PROTEST AGAINST TAXATION.

While I was talking with Major Sweet at his headquarters Dato Calvi, the powerful Moro chief who lives nearest to Jolo and who has been a firm and effective friend of the Americans, appeared on the street with a small crowd of followers, and in an interview with him I obtained an idea of the Moro view of the burning question of the day in Jolo.

As we awaited the arrival of the interpreter Major Sweet showed the dato and his party a handsome sword (described as an American barong) and a gold-ornamented helmet. Cigars were offered and eagerly accepted and soon all the members of the party were smoking.

Dato Calvi has a clean-cut mulatto face of keen and attractive expression. He has closely cropped, straight black hair, a thin mustache and goatee, and his teeth are frightfully discolored. He was bareheaded and barefooted. He wore an unostentatious Moro business suit, consisting of a thin gauze shirt, tight-fitting canvas drawers for trousers, and several circumferences of many-colored scarfs at his waist. He carried the inevitable kris and wore a seal ring on his little finger. Close at hand was a boy bearing a silver box with the ingredients for betel chewing, to which the dato had frequent recourse.

While he sat smoking a belated member of his retinue or a messenger entered the room and collapsed prostrate on the floor in front of his bare feet before venturing to address him.

Finally the interpreter arrived, and through him I expressed my pleasure at meeting so powerful a dato and so good a friend of the Americans. Calvi replied: "I am not the most powerful of the datos. The sultan is over all. But I am a friend of peace and of right."

I asked him what message he would like to send to the American President and people through the Star. He answered: "I am not the

Sultan. I can not speak with full authority. But my message for my own people would be to call attention to the burden placed upon them by the import and export duties which the American Government has recently imposed. These duties have increased the price, in some cases doubling or trebling it, of everything which my people buy—sugar, sarongs, rice, tobacco, gambier, matches, etc.—rendering it almost impossible for the poor man to live. What he has to sell is cheapened by the export duty. If this taxation continues it will be necessary for the Moros to raise the prices of whatever they make or collect for sale—as copra, hemp, pearls, and shells, cocoanuts, and fruits of all sorts."

The fact was here developed that Major Sweet had recommended remission of the duty on rice. Dato Calvi expressed gratification that this concession had been recommended, and hoped that the same course would be followed in respect to the other articles. He was pleased to have the opportunity of conveying his thoughts to the American people.

MINOR CASES ON THE GOVERNOR OF JOLO'S DOCKET.

Dato Calvi then discussed with Major Sweet several minor and personal causes of complaint, which may be noted as of interest in disclosing the kind of questions involving responsibility which come before American officers and military governors in the southern Philippines.

Calvi set forth that in a visit to an American transport before Major Sweet came to Jolo a kris had been stolen from him, and that the officer in charge of the transport (naming him) had promised either to recover the kris or to secure for him from the Government a rifle. This officer was not now at Jolo. Calvi was anxious to get either the kris or the rifle before the matter had passed from memory.

Major Sweet said that this was the first time that he had heard of Calvi's loss, that he would write to the officer in question and inquire whether the kris had been recovered, and if it had not been found that he would ascertain what it was proper to do in the matter.

Calvi said that during the latter days of the Spanish occupation a Chinaman, who had married his Filipino slave, owed him (Calvi) a debt, and had promised that if this Filipino woman ceased to be his wife she should become the dato's property in payment of the debt. The woman had run away from the Chinaman, who was no longer at Jolo, and had married a Filipino. Calvi wanted from this latest husband either the money of the debt or the woman, whom he viewed as security for it.

Major Sweet said that he could not undertake to straighten difficulties which occurred during the Spanish occupation; but that he would cause inquiry to be made of the Filipino husband to see whether he was willing and able to pay something under the circumstances.

Some of Calvi's people had committed murder and robbery and fled to Sandakan, in north Borneo. Calvi wanted a pass which would enable him or his agent to go to Sandakan and get redress in the Borneo court. The pass was promised him.

Finally, Calvi explained to Major Sweet, in verbal response to a letter written to him concerning some Government horses which had been stolen, that he had made every effort to get track of the horses,

but that they were not to be found; that he did not believe they were taken by his people, but if this turned out to be the case they would be returned and the thieves punished. Further discussion of the matter developed the interesting fact that a follower of one of the Sultan's immediate people had stolen some horses from one of Calvi's retainers; that redress had been demanded in vain, and that in retaliation horses from the Sultan's immediate jurisdiction had been taken by some of Calvi's people.

RETALIATORY ROBBERY.

Such quarrels over cattle, characterized by reprisals in robbery, are very apt to lead to bloodshed, and Major Sweet has endeavored to enact under such circumstances the rôle of a peacemaker.

In spite of Calvi's protestations in his interview with me of subordination to his overlord, the Sultan, he and his brother Joakinine, whose district adjoins that of Calvi, are by common report almost at the point of open rupture with that potentate. The combined forces of the two brothers are believed to be at least equal to those which the Sultan can control. Joakinine is a famous fighter and general among the Moros. Calvi is the statesman, the speaker, the wise adviser. Calvi makes a far better impression upon one as a man of brains and force than the Sultan himself.

One of the supposed objects of the Sultan's visit two days ago to Jolo, when he reviewed the troops and held a reception on the transport in the harbor, was to discuss with Major Sweet the same question of customs dues about which Calvi spoke. But the Sultan is not credited with desiring to benefit his subjects by anything that he does or proposes. Most of his public acts are attributed to mercenary motives, to the desire for personal gain, regardless of his people.

While he held Siassi by surrender on the part of the Spaniards before the Americans had appeared in the archipelago he made the most excessive and outrageous assessments. In many ways the Americans have cut down his opportunities for filling his pockets at the expense and to the injury of both foreigners and Moros, and he does not especially love us.

The opinion concerning the Sultan's cupidity is so general that it was openly and contemptuously expressed by Dato Mandi, the Mindanao chief who was so efficient a factor in bringing Zamboanga under American control. When told by Colonel Pettit, the energetic commanding officer at Zamboanga, that the Sultan had recently visited Jolo, he gave to his fingers the significant movement of one who handles coin and asked, disdainfully, "Why did he come? For this?"

MINDANAO REPUDIATES THE SULU SULTAN.

Dato Mandi is the most attractive and apparently the most forceful of the datos whom I met, making a better impression even than Calvi. He has Spanish blood in his veins and has visited Madrid and Barcelona. He has a strong, smooth-shaven face, a curving nose, and a keen eye. He makes no pretense of recognizing the authority of the Sulu Sultan, either as a political or religious leader. When questioned on the subject of allegiance to the Sultan he scoffed at the very idea. The other datos of Mindanao are, it is reliably reported, equally outspoken in denying the claim of the Sultan of Sulu.

Mandi is a force to be taken into account in Moro affairs. In company with Colonel Pettit I met him and talked with him in the new village which his people are building on the site of that which was destroyed during the fighting at the time of the Spanish evacuation of Zamboanga, and in front of the large house which he is constructing for himself. He claims control of northwest Mindanao from Zamboanga to Dapitan. When I expressed gratification at making the acquaintance of one who had proved himself by deeds so valuable a friend of the Americans, he reciprocated courteously the expression of pleasure at the meeting and added: "I am now an American myself."

SUGGESTIONS OF POLICY.

A few conclusions, based upon what one sees and hears here, impress themselves as obviously reliable, even upon the casual, hasty observer who can penetrate but little beneath the surface of things.

It is evident, for instance, that an agreement with the Sultan of Sulu will not suffice to bind in amity more than a fraction of our half million Moros in the Philippines, and that rupture of this tentative agreement will not be absolutely certain to render hostile more than the same fraction. It follows that the simple, verbal understandings reached by General Bates and his subordinates with Mindanao Sultans and datos, and also with some of the Sulu datos, are as valuable in their way and should be followed up as carefully as the more elaborate written agreement with the Sulu Sultan, which requires the red tape accompaniments of a treaty, is submitted for consideration and approval by the senate, and, when approved, becomes a binding record fixing the Sultan's treaty-making status. It follows, further, that we should cultivate friendly relations and secure and retain strong influence over all the Sultans and datos, not making formal written conventions with them (unless it is absolutely essential, as appeared to be the case in dealing with the Sulu Sultan while the Tagalog revolt was at its height), and neither unduly magnifying the latter Sultan to the detriment of the other chiefs, with the result of inflaming his vanity and avarice and of rendering him doubly difficult to deal with, nor unwisely depreciating his religious and political influence, with the result of upturning friendly relations and of precipitating hostilities, which, while crushing the Sultan, would be bloody and protracted.

It appears that a discrimination must be made in laws and form of government between Moroland and the rest of the Philippines. The conditions are entirely different in the two sections. Legislation which would be wholesome in one would threaten immediate war in the other.

GO SLOWLY IN RECONSTRUCTING THE MORO.

To withdraw from the southern Philippines and to wash our hands of responsibility for the control of them is apparently an impossible alternative. If we hold the islands (as we will) we must, however, exercise our authority in such a way as to save life and promote happiness on both sides of the Pacific and to spread the blessings of civilization in such fashion that they do not become curses to our beneficiaries.

Slavery is hateful to the American idea. Unmistakable slavery, though of the mild feudal type, exists in the southern Philippines. Shall we abolish it offhand, shedding American blood to reconcile the

Moros to what they will look upon as confiscation of their property? Or shall we proceed cautiously and peaceably to eradicate the evil, perhaps through some moderate measure of compensated emancipation, such as that which with many safeguards of economy was put in operation by the Dutch in Java?

Polygamy is antagonistic to American sentiment. It is a part of the religion of Mohammed and prevails among the comparatively wealthy few in our Mohammedan islands. Shall we bring on "a holy war" in the Philippines by demanding the immediate eradication of polygamy and the exodus from the harems of all but wife No. 1? Or shall we follow the example of exceeding forbearance set by other Christian nations with Asiatic and Mohammedan dependencies and our own precedent in winking for a time at the social customs of the American Indians? Polygamy is a luxury of the rich. Education and contact with civilization will render it more and more expensive every year, will steadily increase the discontent among the plural wives, and will doubtless gradually abolish the evil of many simultaneous wives by driving men to our own superior system of many wives in succession through the operation of our lax marriage and divorce laws.

If we decide that the immediate extirpation of neither slavery nor polygamy from the Philippines is worth the shedding of a drop of American blood we may also conclude, with advantage, to go slowly at first in regard to the imposition of unaccustomed taxes upon the Moros. An export tax in practical effect reduces the price of what they sell; an import tax is made to increase the price of what they buy. The Chinese middleman with the duties as a pretext swindles the Moro by making the reduction of the selling price and the increase of the buying price respectively much more than the amount of the duty in each case. The military authorities will doubtless find a way of preventing this imposition. In regard to the equities of taxation, it is, of course, to be remembered that American occupation brings and will continue to bring to the Moros trade, prosperity, circulation of money, and enlargement of taxpaying capacity, and that the islands must as soon as possible produce the revenues necessary to meet the expense of their economical government. But it is far more important for the immediate present that the Moro should not conceive the idea that he is being taxed and oppressed in novel ways to which even the Spaniards did not resort, than that funds should be secured for public improvements in the Sulu Archipelago, which can well wait that more convenient season when all will be quiet in the Philippines.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

LUZON'S ONE RAILWAY.

CARABAO AND TROTTING BULLS—RICE, SUGAR, AND COCOANUT PALMS—INSURGENT TRAIN WRECKERS—LUZON NEEDS ABSENCE OF FRIARS, PRESENCE OF SCHOOLS AND RAILROADS—TALK WITH GENERAL MACARTHUR.

[Editorial correspondence of The Evening Star.]

MANILA, P. I., *January 24, 1900.*

Rapid transit in Luzon is typified by the carabao or water buffalo, which furnishes the universal motive power for inland heavy trans-

portation. The carabao is amazingly strong and exasperatingly slow. Æsop missed the mark when he selected the tortoise instead of the water buffalo as the representative of the slow-but-sure class to race against the hare.

Luzon boasts only 120 miles of railroad, a large section of which has been until comparatively recently in the hands of the insurgents. Lacking a sufficiency of railroad and pack-mule facilities, the American army here has been compelled to utilize the carabao as the quartermaster's main reliance for inland movements, and in connection with every campaign large numbers of these animals have been impressed, many being taken without notice, but of course with compensation for use to their owners, from the streets of Manila.

Luzon's railroad is now in American possession, and army mules are arriving in numbers and dwarfing the little native ponies as much as their drivers do the average Filipino. Consequently the carabao may soon be relegated largely to private and domestic uses, and with a thorough railroad system to be constructed here through American capital and enterprise, the engine will be substituted for the water buffalo as the type of Filipino rapid transit in the new century.

In January, not many weeks after the capture of Tarlac, the clearing of the railroad line between Manila and Dagupan, and the running of trains by Americans over the entire route, I made this interesting trip, traversing one of the richest and most populous sections of Luzon, passing through the scene of the severest fighting that occurred in the Filipino outbreak, touching at several of Aguinaldo's successive capitals, and running the gauntlet of the bands of train wreckers and robbers into which the Filipino army in this part of Luzon has been disintegrated and dispersed.

UNCLE SAM RUNS A RAILROAD.

The Manila-Dagupan railroad is temporarily abandoned by its owners to the Quartermaster's Department of the United States Army. Two trains are sent out every morning from each terminus, which are supposed to make the run to the other end of the line before night. One of the two trains starting from each end of the line is for the use of natives, with open and closed cars, freight cars, coal cars, and box cars, anything on wheels that can keep to the track, all packed with Filipinos and their accompanying bundles and boxes. The other is the military train, carrying supplies, including distilled water in large cans for the different army posts, mails, officers, and soldiers. Transportation is gratuitous on both trains, passes from the Quartermaster's Department being the substitute for tickets. The running of the native train permits some slight resumption of trade and communication, and gives the Filipinos cause to appreciate the value of having the line in operation and suggests the inexpediency of destroying the railroad property. The native train in every case runs ahead of the other, and thus to some extent guarantees the safety of the latter from wrecking, on the principle of Punch's plan of insuring against railway accidents by fastening two directors of the road to the cowcatcher of each engine. The groups of bandits into which the Filipinos still in the field in north Luzon are now scattered do not, however, make nice discriminations of nationality, and, as we found before the day was over, are apparently as ready to kill and rob their own countrymen as they are to destroy the Americans.

At 9 o'clock, an hour after the departure of the native train, we started on our journey. An antiquated third-class car, labeled officers' car, supplies to the favored civilian passenger a seat, if one is unoccupied. The car is divided into four compartments, entered at the side, and the narrow wooden seats, facing each other, bring your knees in close contact with those of your neighbor opposite, and are hard and uncomfortable. About eight hours are required to make the run of 120 miles when schedule time is observed, which does not often happen.

The deficiencies in the equipment of the road are due to the fact that nearly all of the old rolling stock lies in wreck alongside the tracks, twisted, burned, useless, a most conspicuous feature of the scenery as viewed from the train. When the Filipinos were compelled to abandon the railroad line they destroyed, as they thought, the rolling stock in their possession. They started engines under full steam toward each other on the same track, and relied on the collision to render them useless. They demolished vital parts of the engines, and they cut and burned the woodwork of the cars. But they did not make sufficient allowance for American mechanical readiness and inventiveness. Railroad men among our soldiers quickly straightened out and put together, patched and disfigured, but still available, enough of the rolling stock to serve to utilize the road for military purposes.

RICE FIELDS AND BATTLEFIELDS.

In leaving Manila the train passed through Tondo, the native nipa hut section of the city, where so many houses were burned at the time of the Filipino outbreak in February of last year. Some vacant spaces are still visible in the burned section, but the streets swarm with people, and many of the huts have been replaced. Soon we are skirting Manila Bay, then passing through native villages, whose entire population, apparently, turns out to see and to shout at the moving train. Now we are among rice fields, where green ridges of raised earth inclose, restrain, and give access to the flooded rice beds and spread over the landscape a symmetrical checkerboard.

Along the entire course of the railroad, and especially in the southern section, are frequent reminders of the Filipino outbreak. We pass village after village where the Filipinos made temporary stands, assaulted and taken by our troops, and then abandoned, to be retaken later. Here are lines of insurgent trenches, and here the ruins of buildings destroyed in the fighting. The signs of such destruction are more painfully conspicuous than they were last April in Cuba along the line of the Habana-Matanzas Railway.

At Caloocan (a name which, like others to be mentioned, will be recognized as familiar by the careful readers of the war dispatches) we overtook the native train, whose engine had weakened in some way, and after a halt we went on ahead of it. Among the passengers in the native train were the coquettish Filipino wife of an American minor officer, who was himself traveling in the military train, and also the members of a native band from Calasiao, whose instruments of bamboo were ingeniously made and skillfully handled.

Now we are at Malolos, Aguinaldo's capital during his dictatorship, his period of glory and of high-sounding proclamations. At the station here, in addition to the omnipresent soldier and the native venders of hard-boiled eggs, bananas, cakes, water, beer, and ginger ale, was a long line of Filipino vehicles to convey visitors to the main village.

FUNSTON DID NOT SWIM.

We cross the river at Calumpit, the scene of Funston's exploit. We know now positively, however, that the hero of the occasion did not swim the stream. The historic painting must picture him, like Washington crossing the Delaware, as the central figure on a boat or raft. The effect will be more artistically effective, as well as more approximately truthful, to substitute for the dripping, struggling form of the swimmer the erect figure of the American officer, wrapped, perhaps, in the stars and stripes, with one hand on his heart and the other pointing unflinchingly to the opposite shore, while the fire of a high and determined purpose gleams in his eagle eye.

Calumpit is additionally interesting to Washingtonians as the point where Lieutenant Ross, son of Commissioner Ross, is stationed in charge of the Macabebe scouts. The train did not stop long enough here, either on the up or down trip, to enable me to hunt up Lieutenant Ross, and he was not at the station on either occasion, but some men of his regiment with whom I talked gave pleasing evidence of the good record which he is making and of the high regard in which he is held.

The streams crossed at frequent intervals along the entire route are in most cases tributaries either of the Rio Grande de Pampanga, which flows southward into the Bay of Manila, or of the Rio Agno, which flows northward into Lingayen Gulf. They furnish their share of obstructions to the northern march of the American soldiers in conjunction with the swamps and bottomless mud of the rice region, and the expanses of stiff grass farther north, which often stretched higher than a man's head, and which so resisted passage that to force a way through them for any considerable distance was exhausting even to the strongest.

COLD-BLOODED MURDER OF PRISONERS.

At Angeles, where General Grant is stationed, the north-bound and south-bound trains cross, if nothing has happened to either of them to interfere with the schedule. The officers and soldiers at this station were excited and indignant over the murderous action of a large band of Filipinos, whose refuge was in Mount Aryat, which loomed up apparently close at hand across the plain. During almost the entire railroad trip this mountain dominates the scene, as Mount Shasta does in the eyes of the traveler traversing northern California. The Filipinos collected on Mount Aryat had just been attacked by an American expedition, and, before running away, had taken out and slaughtered five American prisoners, captured stragglers picked up by them individually and separately.

The country traversed by the railroad is wonderfully fertile, capable of producing large crops and of sustaining a vast population. At first come the rice fields, then the land of the sugar cane and of cocoanut palms, to which are later added stretches of pasturage and the home of the Luzon trotting bull. Still farther north than the terminus of the railroad is the tobacco-growing section, and in the southern end of the island are the hemp districts. It is hard to believe, however, that any other portions of Luzon are more attractive, from the agricultural point of view, than the railroad-traversed provinces where rice and sugar cane flourish.

The lead-colored, heavy-horned carabao is the characteristic animal of the country. He is seen everywhere, drawing heavy burdens, dragging the plow, enacting the rôle of coach horse or riding horse, or, in his moments of leisure, wallowing luxuriously in muddy water.

At Bayambang one of the station peddlers was mounted on a carabao. Behind him and his competitors in trade stretched the main street of the village, lined with cocoanut palms. A picturesque rivulet flowed parallel with this street, and at right angles to it and on the other side of the stream extended another road, on which two carabao teams were outlined in profile, each carabao mounted by a small boy and each drawing an open framework wagon, containing apparently vegetables and fruit. For the background of the picture first came banana trees; then in the rear, rising higher and higher in successive stages until the green barrier seemed to shut out the sky, appeared magnificent palms.

A LIFE-SAVING ACCIDENT.

Our engine had been growing feebler and feebler in its northward journey, losing time steadily until we were far behind the schedule, and darkness was at hand, when at Murcia it gave out completely, an accident which caused vigorous and universal grumbling at the time, but which undoubtedly saved many lives.

The nearest engine available for our use was at Bautista, not very far from the north terminus of the road. In response to a telegram this engine came southward toward Murcia. About 5 miles from Bautista it ran into two logs of wood that were laid across the track. Near Tarlac, the station north of Murcia, it encountered a bunch of wire, evidently placed there with the idea of entangling the wheels. Finally, while backing slowly down between Tarlac and Murcia, it suddently left the rails and turned over on its side. The crew jumped from the engine and raced for their lives down the track to Murcia, some 3 miles distant, where they gave the alarm. The train wreckers, hidden in the bushes, where signs of their presence were afterwards found, did not interfere with the engine's crew. They had taken out a rail just south of a bridge across a creek with very high banks, and had so placed it upon the track as inevitably to throw a north-bound train into the bed of the stream or into a deep ditch running parallel with the track. They were not expecting an arrival from the north, and in their surprise and perhaps in their fear of a possible trap, they remained where they were until the soldiers responding to the alarm approached from Murcia, when they disappeared in the jungle.

Nearly all of the company at Murcia went out in pursuit of the train-wrecking insurgents, and the suggestion spread among those who were left behind that the bandits who had recently stolen 30 rifles and much ammunition from the army post at Tarlac might take advantage of the absence of the soldiers to attack the train and Murcia station. But the train robbers were running not fighting that night, and our slumbers in the cold air on the floor of the third-class officer's car were peaceful and undisturbed, at least so far as annoyances from insurrectos were concerned.

In the morning I joined a small party who resolved not to wait at Murcia for the arrival of the wrecking train from Manila and the clearing of the track, but to push ahead in a hand car until overtaken by the train. Our motive power was derived from Filipinos and

Chinese, some running on the ties and pushing from behind, and some standing on the car and poling expertly with long bamboo rods. In our party were Captain Booth and Dr. Brewer of Colonel Bell's regiment, whose company and hospital, respectively, are at Calasiao, near Dagupan, and who, in their courtesy, did much to relieve their civilian associate from the discomforts of a semimilitary experience. Dr. Brewer is a Washingtonian, and is an intelligent and observant student of Philippine conditions.

THROUGH TARLAC WOODS ON A HAND CAR.

Our hand car started at a rapid pace, and we quickly covered the 3 miles to the wreck, around which the hand car was carried. Careful examination of the work of the train robbers brought the conviction that a north-bound train leaving the track here would surely have been piled in wreck in the bed of the stream. The native train, which in ordinary course would precede the military, and had a comparatively small guard, carried on this occasion several thousand dollars in silver as well as many bundles and boxes of goods, and the motive of the wreckers seems to have been solely that of the train robber—to make this rich haul without any regard whatsoever as to the nationality of the individuals to be murdered or robbed.

Beyond the wreck our car was driven between the dense and gloomy woods and jungle which hemmed in both sides of the track for 3 miles to Tarlac. The jungle of Tarlac woods is the lurking place of the local banditti, and as there was a possibility that some of the gentry might be tempted to attack our small party, we urged our somewhat winded pushers and polers to extra efforts by means of all the polyglot injunctions to speed with which our experiences with 'rickshaw men and carromatta drivers had rendered us familiar.

Tarlac is the latest of Aguinaldo's capitals. Since he was chased from that village at a comparatively recent date he has never stopped publicly at any point long enough for it to receive full recognition as a new capital. At the present time the American authorities would very much like to know the location of his seat of government, whether in north Luzon, south Luzon, Hongkong, Singapore, or Paris.

In Tarlac there is opportunity to inspect the buildings used by the insurgent government and the houses occupied by the various American generals (including General Wheeler) who have been stationed here. An interesting market was in full blast during our visit, and I invested in a package containing the leaf, the lime, and the nut which constitute the ingredients of betel chewing. The most curious of Tarlac's sights was that of a group of native fishermen, men and boys, in the Tarlac River, with spears, bows and arrows, and a clumsy hand trap, all of which they used successfully as substitutes for the angler's rod and fly and for the net.

At an army post several miles beyond Tarlac, across the great washout of the river, we abandoned our handcar and waited for and finally took the native train, and by it proceeded to the end of our railway trip northward in Luzon.

A TALK WITH GENERAL MACARTHUR.

Before I returned to Manila I called upon General MacArthur, who is in command in this district, with headquarters at Bautista. The son

of our Judge MacArthur, for so many years of the District supreme court, is necessarily a Washingtonian in local interest, no matter what State he may hail from, and the capital will take a natural pride in its quasi-representation by this thorough soldier and clear-headed administrator, whose recent promotion is everywhere applauded as well deserved. General MacArthur thinks well of the capabilities of the Filipinos, but warns against going ahead too fast in the attempt to impose the American system and methods upon an Asiatic people, at this time sensitive and distrustful. The local civil governments which are being established will, he thinks, prove excellent schools of instruction in American methods.

General MacArthur pointed out that many of the rich mestizos—half-castes with Chinese blood—who, next to the Spaniards, have been in control in Luzon, are to be reckoned as an obstructive factor in our solution of the Philippine problem. They have no desire for American methods with honest administration for the benefit of the whole people. They have bought special privileges and exemptions from the executive and judicial representatives under the Spanish rule when the occasion required, and the proposition that they shall be treated like everyone else under a system of even-handed justice which aims to benefit the people and not a few individuals comes as a shock and a disappointment to such persons.

Concerning the land problem, General MacArthur thinks that there should be a properly constituted court—like the Court of Claims—which, upon formal application, will look into questions of title in respect to the tracts claimed by the monastic orders.

He is of the opinion that the Chinese must not be allowed to come in to any greater extent than in the United States. Labor openings and opportunities must be guarded and preserved for the Filipinos and they must be judiciously pushed into work. We are not to conduct Philippine affairs with immediate personal gain to ourselves in view, but are to so regulate conditions that the material prosperity of the Filipinos may be enhanced. The English firms which control Philippine trade naturally wish Chinese cheap and reliable labor in unlimited quantities, but for the good of the Filipinos, which is the motive for our intervention, the Chinese must not be permitted to come in without restriction and to drive the Filipinos entirely out of the labor field.

WHAT THE FILIPINOS THINK.

At Calasiao I had a talk with the local presidente or mayor, under the civil government instituted by the Americans. He is an intelligent Spanish-speaking Filipino, of some education, and of wide, practical business experience. He had lived in Manila and Dagupan and had conducted business operations in the intervening region. He had dealt in rice, sugar, and tobacco, and at the time of the insurrection had an interest in three distilleries of bino, the native drink. The insurrectos took possession of the distilleries and used the metal of the machinery for cartridges and other military purposes. The presidente represented the principal need and desire of the Filipinos to be education, the establishment of schools, especially industrial schools, in which English shall be taught as the most useful commercial language. The detestation of the Filipinos, said the presidente, is the friars (frailes), who kept the natives blind in education (vividly indicated by

the presidente's gesture, which covered the eyes with the hand), and who robbed, seduced, and murdered. The Spanish governor agreed with Aguinaldo that the friars should go. They must go, he continued, or there will be constant, if petty, warfare, or a succession of outbreaks, no matter who exercises sovereignty in the land.

The country needs also, he added, railroads, wagon roads, commercial development, protection of life and property. If these benefits, including the expulsion of the friars, are enjoyed the great majority of the Filipinos will be pacified. There will be little danger of serious uprisings. The people will consider their condition practically as good as that of the Americans themselves.

A special item, he indicated, under the head of protection of life and property would be the assurance of continued security to those who are willing to cooperate with the Americans, who are threatened with death now and who will be killed to a certainty if the Americans withdraw.

In response to a question the presidente replied that the Filipinos had not taken into account the probability of the absorption of the Philippines by Germany, through purchase, from Spain, if the United States had not retained the islands. He added that the Filipinos had expected to accomplish by obstinate insurrection the expulsion of the friars and other promised reforms even under Spanish rule.

HOPEFUL BUT NOT CERTAIN OF AMERICAN BENEFICENCE.

The presidente was not at all hypocritical in effusive admiration of and confidence in the benefits and blessings of American control. His strongest expression concerning the relations of America to the Filipinos was one of hopefulness, based upon American history and principles. He was inclined to think that America would be more liberal and considerate toward the Filipinos than Germany or any other foreign power.

In response to my request he pointed out defects in the printed plan of local civil government, of which he is an administrative officer. Certain criminal provisions are ineffective through uncertainty. Civil procedure is in substance merely arbitration, suits being dependent upon the willingness of defendants to be sued.

In some respects the attitude of this presidente is typical of that of those Filipinos who are disposed to cooperate with the United States with whom I have conversed or concerning whose opinions I have secured reliable information in other ways.

Not all lay the same stress upon education. Indeed, General Hughes, who is in command in the Visayan or central Philippine Islands, whom I met at Iloilo, does not believe that there is much spontaneous desire among the Filipinos for schools, and thinks that our system of public education in the Philippines must be compulsory. While in charge at Manila General Hughes started the public-school system there, and he has had other opportunities for instructive observation. But whether the Filipinos are thirsting for free schools and liberal education, or whether the mass of them care little for such instruction and merely send their children for a time while the schools are a novelty in order to please their American rulers and in obedience to the will of the native presidentes, the fact remains, to which all assent, that these schools must be everywhere established and maintained.

UNANIMITY OF SENTIMENT AGAINST THE FRIARS.

Concerning the friars there is a substantial unanimity of sentiment, which must make an impression upon everyone. I have been disappointed in my expectation that I would find the Filipinos, outside of the hostile fraction in arms, full of confidence in the Americans and heartily welcoming their control. Their attitude is apparently one of anxious expectancy, tinged with more or less of hopefulness, according to the individual disposition. I believe that this doubt concerning the benefit of American control is based more upon uncertainty concerning our policy in respect to the friars than in respect to any other issue whatsoever, even that of full self-government.

I do not think that there will be genuine peace, happiness, and prosperity in the Philippines if we attempt, and as long as we continue, to enact Spain's rôle as the ally and backer of the friars.

The monastic orders and Spain have been identical in the Philippines. The archbishop here has always been more powerful than the governor-general. In any conflict the individual opposed to the friars inevitably went to the wall. The vast tracts of valuable land to which the orders lay claim were in part obtained through the Government and by virtue of this ecclesiastical control of the Government, and to this extent the ecclesiastical land is still virtually Government property, and would naturally pass to the United States by the cession from Spain. The treaty of Paris is so worded, however, as to render difficult a solution of the problem, which recognizes the truth that the Spanish Government and the monastic orders in the Philippines are one and inseparable. Article 8, in which Spain cedes all public property in the Philippines, says: "Although quite unnecessary to do so, it is hereby declared that the cession stipulated shall in no way affect the property and rights accorded by custom or law to the peaceful holders of goods of any sort in the provinces, cities, public or private establishments, civil or ecclesiastical corporations, or any other collectivity which has any legal right to acquire goods or rights in the ceded or abandoned territories, and the same applies to the rights and properties of individuals of every nationality whatsoever." Would land, which was in equity public property, but title to which had been placed in the monastic orders, which in effect represented Spain in governing the Philippines, pass to the United States by this cession?

Assuming what is probably the truth, that the United States will not attempt to interfere in any manner which would savor of confiscation with property to which the monastic orders can establish valid record title, the friars claim that they must go to the various parts of the Philippines to administer this property, and must be protected there by the United States Government as peaceful, law-abiding citizens, claiming and exercising only their conceded rights.

WILL UNCLE SAM FORCE FRIARS ON THE FILIPINOS?

But the United States is now in military occupation of the Philippines and is engaged not only in overcoming hostile forces, but in removing causes of continuing hostilities. The monastic orders have been by their acts the primary cause of the revolt of the people who have fought Spain because she identified herself with the friars, and

who will, I believe, continue to rise against us if we make common cause with those who are hateful in their sight.

The friars have been driven from the provinces, and practically all who have not left the islands are collected in Manila under American protection. They have been in effect expelled by the Filipinos. If they go back it will be because the United States, on the plea of preserving their civil rights, forces them with the aid of our soldiers' rifles upon the Filipinos. The military authorities engaged in a labor of pacification can not permit individuals, whether ecclesiastical or lay, to go back to the villages who are hated by the people for alleged crimes, and whose presence will tend to keep alive hostilities and to lead to homicides or other breaches of the peace. As a military precaution, incidental to the army occupation of the islands, the protection of the United States should be refused to the friars. If the monastic orders have committed a fraction of the offenses of which the Filipinos believe them to be guilty, they are lightly punished by exile from the Philippines.

The Filipino hatred of the friars is not directed against them as Roman Catholics. The mass of the Filipinos are nominal Catholics, and there is no religious revolt whatsoever. The churches are well attended. For example, I observed hundreds flocking at an early hour in the morning to mass at the church in Calasiao. The Roman Catholic Church will in its own interest do well to consider how far it is wise to alienate a Catholic population by attempting to force upon the people as its representatives men who are feared and detested. Of course generalizations about the friars as a body will fail to fit the cases of some individual priests, who, as good men, may be personally acceptable to their parishes. But on the broad question of making the cause of the friars its own the decision of the Roman Church is eagerly awaited, both by the Filipino people and by the Protestant denominations of the world, which are ready to take advantage of any blunder in policy which may be committed.

ANTIAMERICAN INFLUENCE OF THE FRIARS.

There is no reason why American Catholics should side with the friars. These men are Spaniards, with more than the natural national grudge against us. They are the essence of Spanish misgovernment in the Philippines, which we have overthrown. They hate us and spit upon our flag. In most cases if returned to the villages they will become centers of anti-American sentiment and influence. If Luzon is to be gradually Americanized this task will be aided, so far as the influence of the Roman Church extends, only through English-speaking priests.

In Panay, as in Luzon, the monastic orders claim ownership of the most valuable lands in the island, and have been driven out by the people. Speaking to me on this subject at Iloilo, General Hughes said that in his opinion the Catholic Church should put in every parish a sensible English-speaking priest, to dispel gradually the prejudice against the Spanish friars and to counteract the influence of the native priests, who are almost all insurrectos, and in many cases ignorant and corrupt.

Everyone who undergoes the experiences of the railroad trip to Dagupan becomes unfailingly the enthusiastic advocate of the policy

of discriminating as soon as possible between the scattered Filipino bands still in arms and the insurgent army. Treat the war against the latter organization as over, declare amnesty, maintain no grudge or animosity against former hostiles submitting in good faith, and by prompt fulfillment in specific shape of general promises of good government and redress of old Spanish grievances make such submission easy and permanent. On the other hand, the wandering bands who kill and rob Filipinos as well as Americans, who attempt to wreck and pillage even native trains, and who brutally murder their American prisoners when closely pursued, should be treated, when captured, not as prisoners of war, but as bandits, to be pursued and exterminated like train wreckers and similar murderous robbers in our Western States. This policy is in the interest and for the protection of the Filipinos as well as of the Americans.

THE CONDITIONS OF GENUINE PEACE.

While declaring that the Filipino war is over, let us remember that it is not over permanently or in truth unless we take advantage of the opportunity to remove as far as possible the causes of war. By dispersing the insurgent army we have gained the chance, hitherto lacking, to demonstrate to the people of the Philippines the good faith of our assurances and the beneficence of our control. Certain Filipino leaders have endeavored to seize arbitrary power in the islands for themselves, raising the delusive cry of independence. War has determined that their ambitions are not to be gratified. But there is nothing in the results of the war which alters the attitude of the United States toward the Filipino people. The Republic is still bound to correct as far as possible the evils of Spanish misrule and to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the Filipinos for better and freer government.

As the first step which counts, let us settle the question of excluding the friars as far as possible in accordance with the wishes of the people. The agreement of Biac-na-Bato represented the minimum of redress of grievances which would conciliate the Filipinos. What Spain promised let us fulfill. To accomplish this result with a minimum of infringement upon the abstract rights of the friars is a problem for our statesmanship. It ought to be effected through the Roman Catholic Church itself; but in one way or another it should be accomplished without fail.

The evil of the holding by monastic orders of title to boundless tracts, including whole provinces of the most valuable lands in Luzon, endangers the future of the island. The soil can not remain indefinitely the property of alien landlords, whether ecclesiastical or lay. Luzon is not to become another Ireland, with the evil conditions of that unhappy island magnified a hundredfold. The people who inhabit the land, who cultivate it and develop it, must have an interest in it. It is said that the orders have not valid record title to much of the confiscated land of which they have taken possession by virtue of their relations with the Spanish Government. As has been suggested, some sort of a tribunal should examine into the whole question of these titles. If no other effective method is discovered these extensive alien land holdings may be broken up by the imposition of a very heavy ground tax. Land is almost neglected as a source of revenue under the Spanish tax system which we are enforcing.

Our Philippines experiment would seem to be threatened in advance with complete failure if we undertake to keep the peace and to bring prosperity and happiness to an island in which the hated friars own the land and the discontented insurrectos live upon it. Under this arrangement Spain would retain through the monastic orders the ownership of the Philippines, and would have ceded to us merely the duty of protecting her in that ownership, and of governing and subduing with our army in her interest the landless, desperate, and constantly revolting Filipinos, whom she was unable by her own efforts to overcome.

A CHOICE OF POLICIES.

Two paths of policy open before us. We can accept the Philippines as a trust imposed by Providence to be administered for the benefit of the millions of people who inhabit the islands. In this case we shall side with the Filipino against the Spaniard, with the Filipino against the friar, with the Filipino against the Chinaman, and in each of these controversies we shall make the cause and interest of the Filipino people our own. On the other hand we may accept these islands as the spoils of war, unaccompanied by any obligations whatsoever to the people who happen to live upon them. In which case we may enter upon the broad and apparently smooth way of the policy which merely substitutes our mastery for that of the Spaniards, indorses and adopts the Spanish system of government, taxation, and general treatment of the natives, recognizes the friars as the owners of the land and the masters of the people, and utilizes the reliable Chinaman as the universal workingman of the islands. Under this policy we should reserve despotic government of the Philippines to ourselves, turn over the land to the friars and the labor to the Chinese, and consign the Filipinos to the tender mercies of a large American standing army, expensively transported for many thousand miles to the scene of a distasteful and un-American task.

The Philippines labor problem is many-sided and is not to be disposed of hastily. The only necessary decision of the present is the preliminary one that opportunities in the labor field shall be secured for the Filipinos. Some men, whose opinions are entitled to respect, say that the Filipinos will not work; that they will not utilize the chances to do so when afforded them. This sweeping condemnation has yet to be demonstrated to be well founded. The Filipinos might be expected to work with suitable encouragement as well as the Javanese, with whom they have racial affinities. If, however, having had full opportunity, they fail to seize it, and the development of the islands in any direction suffers from lack of labor, there will still be time to supplement the thousands of Chinese and mestizos already here and for Uncle Sam to enter into a partnership of capital and labor with John Chinaman, such as John Bull has formed with him in Singapore. This is not a case, however, where, as in the formative days of the Straits Settlements, from paucity of a fixed Malay population the best workers from the outside can be selected deliberately, untroubled by interfering equities. Luzon is so thickly populated that in order to avoid the possible famines of the future and the outbreaks which spring from the desperation of the half starved every effort should be made to bring the natives into productive contact with the soil or into other self-supporting forms of labor, even to the

extent of the judicious pushing suggested by General MacArthur. Meanwhile the numerous Chinese already in Luzon, entitled to be classed among the Filipinos if they desire it, can, during the experimental period and even afterwards, perform any kind of labor in which it may appear that the Malay Filipinos absolutely will not engage.

There are many minor needs of the Filipinos—as for the gradual development of self-government, beginning with control of the municipalities, in the matter of schools, railroads, and improved highways; in relief from old Spanish laws and taxes, and in greater consideration and courtesy on the part of our soldiers and of Americans generally. But until a settlement is reached of the vital questions—as whether they are to be subjected again to the domination of the friars, whether they can readily acquire an individual interest in the soil on which they live, and whether the means of existence represented by the labor of the islands shall be tentatively reserved for them—discussion of the other matters seems premature and futile.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

HINTS FROM JAVA.

RESULTS THAT MAY WELL BE EMULATED IN LUZON—JAVANESE MALAYS WILL WORK—JAVA'S LAND AND LABOR OPPORTUNITIES RESERVED FOR THE JAVANESE—CULTURE SYSTEM IN LUZON.

[Editorial correspondence of The Evening Star.]

America's comparative inexperience in dealing intimately with Asiatic peoples and in grappling with and mastering for the highest use and benefit the conditions of soil and temperature which prevail under a tropical sun gives to all the pertinent precedents for the wisest solution of the Philippine problem an indefinitely multiplied value.

What the Dutch have well done and ill done in Java—an island not much larger than Luzon and inhabited by a people in whom, as in the Filipinos, Malay blood predominates—can not fail to furnish both example and warning in meeting in the Philippines similar difficulties to those which have been solved for good or evil in the beautiful southern island.

So what the English have well done and ill done in the tropical garden of Ceylon and in dealing with the Cinghalese is profitably to be considered in deciding what will be wise and beneficial for our own tropical islands and the peoples who look to us for guidance and development.

Lack of judgment is shown in brushing peremptorily aside the Javanese and Cinghalese precedents on the ground that government in these islands, which is credited with determining the character of their institutions, is through hereditary native princes, who do not exist in the Philippines. Precisely such native rulers are found in the Moro sultans and dattos in the Sulu Archipelago, Mindanao, and Palawan; while they have long ago disappeared entirely from Ceylon and nominally govern still in only two of the provinces of Java. Outside of Djokja and Solo in Java, and in all parts of Ceylon, the title to the soil is primarily in the Dutch Government and the English Government,

respectively, just as title to all the soil of the Philippines was primarily in the Spanish Government, and passed to the American Government through cession, so far as the remainder, unalienated at the time of the treaty of Paris, is concerned.

In both islands certain of the most troublesome of our questions were long ago met and solved by methods which, while customary in that age, are unavailable at the end of the nineteenth century. There is some suggestive value, however, even in these experiences of an earlier century. Japanese history records the development of a Malay people like the Filipinos into a race of workers. In both Java and Ceylon the occasional blunders of the whites in so treating the yellow-skinned peoples as periodically to arouse discontent and to incite revolt can be studied to advantage. The Ceylon system, under which the Government sells the land outright to the cultivator, and the Javanese system, under which the soil is in the main merely leased by the Government, will both repay thorough examination. In Java the question of permitting unlimited Chinese immigration to compete with the native Malays in the labor fields has been disposed of, and a hint given as to the extent to which the Malay can be employed to advantage as a civil official and as a soldier. In both islands slavery and Mohammedan polygamy have raised the same problems which confront us in the Moro Philippines.

PRECEDENTS OF JAVA AND CEYLON.

The physical aspect of both islands is such as to impress the observer and to arouse his curiosity concerning the methods by which admirable results have been produced. If we can make Luzon as beautiful and productive as Java and Ceylon, and keep its people as free from famine and disease, as prosperous and as seemingly contented as the Javanese and Cinghalese, we may survey our work with satisfaction. And profiting by the lessons of the recorded experiences of the Dutch and English islands we should be able to reach the end sought by a somewhat shorter and easier way than the difficult, painful course over which the Dutch and English have stumbled to success. We may at least note and avoid the most obvious of the disaster-producing obstacles in their path.

When I visited Java in February the rainy season prevailed, but the clouds were considerate, and a very large percentage of the daylight hours showed the brightest sunlight. Rain and sun gave quickened and overflowing life to all the products of the soil, man contributed by intelligent labor, and altogether I have never seen anywhere such wonderful development of the capacities of a fruitful soil as were noted from the train which traverses the island for nearly its entire length, and from the carriage by which I traveled for many miles in the interior.

Batavia, where one lands in Java, is the political and financial capital and commercial metropolis. The modern residence city, with low, wide-spreading white houses, each setting well back from the broad tree-lined street and surrounded by an extensive tropical garden, stretches over a vast area, whose surface is further diversified by occasional canals, which are an especially notable feature of the old Dutch city. There are sections which need only a sprinkling of windmills and cows to suggest Holland. Batavia consists of the ancient

city, now a business section, reputed to be unhealthful, in which are the old stadthuis and other historic structures and memorials; Chinese and Arab settlements, and the modern residence city already mentioned, which includes numerous attractive suburbs, and which is adorned by the usual complement of parks and parade grounds, statues, and public buildings, including a fine museum.

WORLD'S FINEST BOTANICAL GARDEN.

Forty miles inland is the summer capital, Buitenzorg, built among the hills at a cool and healthful altitude. Here is the summer residence of the governor-general in the finest botanical garden in the Orient, where the Dutch (who are noted botanists and gardeners) have worked wonderful results from the productive, tropical soil, and have concentrated in a few hundred acres a miniature Java, displaying the finest specimens of all tropical products. Every Javanese garden is a delight to the botanist, but here the luxuriant growths are scientifically classified, and experiments in the cultivation of new plants of economic value to the planters of the island are made. Here are the tallest kanari trees, arching over the finest avenues, the largest lotus leaves, groves of tree ferns, avenues of royal palms, the banian-like warringen trees, wonderful clusters of bamboo, and the greatest profusion of tropical fruits and spices.

The railroad between Batavia and Buitenzorg traverses a low-lying level section of the island, upon which rice and cacao especially are grown. It resembles the rice and sugar-growing portion of Luzon north of Manila, which is crossed by the railroad to Dagupan. In contrast with the densely populated and closely cultivated acres of Java the corresponding section of war-stricken Luzon seems now deserted and neglected, but there are the same terraced rice fields in both islands, and hundreds of the same gray and clumsy water buffalo are everywhere in evidence.

JAVANESE AND FILIPINOS BOTH MALAYS.

In comparison with Java, which in 1898 contained 26,000,000 people and has now probably passed Belgium as the most densely populated portion of the world, the Philippines, even in times of peace, are thinly inhabited. But the men, women, and children who swarm in Java, on the streets, in the fields, the houses, and the markets, are distinctly of the same race as the scantier populations which people the Philippines from Luzon to the Sulu archipelago. All are Malays, though they differ in some details of dress, in language, and in religion.

Alfred Russel Wallace, the English scientist and traveler, pertinently says: "What may be called the true Malay races, as distinguished from others who have merely a Malay element in their language, present a considerable uniformity of physical and mental characteristics, while there are very great differences of civilization and language. They consist of four great and a few minor semicivilized tribes and a number of others who may be termed savages." The four great Malay tribes, according to Mr. Wallace, are (1) those who inhabit the Malay peninsula and almost all the coast regions of Borneo and Sumatra (it may be noted that the Sulu archipelago was populated from the north coast of Borneo), (2) the Javanese, (3) the Bugis, who live in the Celebes, and (4) "the Tagalas in the Philippine Islands."

The Javanese Malays are, as a rule, more delicate and refined in features, smaller in stature, and of softer and gentler speech and manner than their northern brethren. Instead of the Filipino's white trousers and thin white shirt falling with an undress effect outside of and below the waist of the trousers, or the Moro's long, tightly fitting colored trousers and short-waisted, long-sleeved jacket, the Javanese, as a rule, has his sarong about his legs and a cotton jacket on his body, with the slandang scarf thrown over his shoulder. And instead of the long-trained skirt of brightly colored cotton, the short, loose jacket, and kerchief of the Filipino woman, the Javanese and the Moro women alike wear the sarong, variously shaped jackets, and a long, flowing scarf for the head and shoulders. The Malay kris is at the waist of both Javanese and Moro; at the front in the latter's sash, at the back in the former's. The same prostration which the slave of Dato Calvi, at Jolo, performed before venturing to address his master was repeated in the Dutch island by our railroad porter seeking permission to light the lamp in our compartment, a startling piece of humility in a Pullman porter, even in Java.

The musical instruments which accompanied the native dances at Jolo are duplicated as Javanese in the Batavian museum.

One people is nominally Christian; the other two are nominally Mohammedan. All speak different languages, but in skin, in facial and bodily contour, and in methods of thought all are Malays.

MOST PRODUCTIVE REGION IN THE TROPICS.

From Buitenzorg the railroad runs to the eastern end of the island, at Sourabaya, thus traversing it for nearly its full length east and west. This railroad ride of over 500 miles is through the most varied, interesting, and frequently magnificent scenery. Volcanic mountains are visible; also lofty terraced hills and beautiful valleys, like that of Leles, unsurpassed in picturesqueness and in wealth of tropical vegetation anywhere in the world. For miles the track runs at an altitude in the hills where it traverses tea and coffee plantations. The valley of Leles spreads before the eyes of the traveler vast stretches of cultivated ground, checkered in a many-colored patchwork, which displays the yellow of harvest rice, the green of the growing paddy, and sky-blue reflections in the flooded terraces. Oases of foliage, palms, and bananas break here and there the level surface and half hide clusters of native houses. The small terraced knolls at the edge of the valley resemble somewhat the terrace formations rising in hill shape one above another at the Mammoth Hot Springs in the Yellowstone, varying shades and tints of green being substituted for the white, pink, yellow, and other colors of the deposits from the hot waters. The most striking objects in the scenery of the railroad ride are two great hills or small mountains at the valley of Leles, whose tops are between 3,000 and 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and which are terraced and cultivated to their very summits, with nearly every foot of surface fruitful for man's welfare. They are as notable monuments of human industry as the Egyptian pyramids, with the additional merit of useful practical results, while the expenditure of intense human labor and sacrifice of life upon the latter served merely for the gratification of human vanity. This pyramid of Java is a life-sustaining hive of industry; the pyramid of Egypt is a tomb.

At the city of Djokja one leaves the train in order to drive for 25 miles to the ruins of the Buddhist temple, Boro-Boedor, to visit the ruins of the Brahminical temple Brambanam, and to study one of the two Javanese provinces still remaining under the nominal control of native princes. It is now possible to reduce the carriage ride to Boro-Boedor to 8 miles by taking a steam trolley from Djokja and leaving the car at Moentilan station. But I would advise no one to lose a mile of that most interesting drive over smooth hard roads through a series of villages with their open-air, picturesque markets in constant busy operation, and through fields cultivated with Dutch minuteness, which show in progress side by side rice planting by men who wade in mud, rice plowing with the carabao attached to the rude wooden share, and rice harvesting by gleaners of both sexes and all ages. In no other way can a better idea be formed of the density of the population, the richness of the soil, and the intelligence of the cultivation, which well supports these millions of industrious, prosperous, and reasonably contented people.

WONDERFUL REMAINS OF ANCIENT JAVA.

The ruins of Boro-Boedor and of Brambanam, with their wonderful carvings, the finest remains of countless buried temples, demonstrate the antiquity of the Javanese, and furnish evidence that centuries ago the island was inhabited by a people more highly civilized and cultivated in certain arts than the Javanese of to-day. Among the ruins of Buddhist temples, Boro-Boedor is surpassed in size only by the Nagkon Wat, in east Siam, and in interest by none.

Thus the remains of an ancient Java contribute to the attractions of the Java of to-day, with its volcanoes and valleys, its plantations and gardens, its pleasing, picturesque, dark-skinned millions, and the leaven of dominating Dutchmen, to whom its modern development and civilization, with full security to life and property, are due.

So far as my observations go, I am ready to coincide with the conclusions of Alfred Russel Wallace, the English scientist, who visited Java more than thirty years ago, and who says: "I believe, therefore, that Java may fairly claim to be the finest tropical island in the world, and equally interesting to the tourist seeking new and beautiful scenes; to the naturalist, who desires to examine the variety and beauty of tropical nature, or to the moralist and politician, who want to solve the problem of how man may best be governed under new and varied conditions."

THE DUTCH LAND SYSTEM IN JAVA.

While in Batavia I had an interesting talk with the Dutch resident (or governor) of Batavia, Jan Jacob Bischoff, and his secretary, A. G. Valetti. English is spoken by both officials, by the secretary fluently and accurately, and through him most of the information concerning things Javanese was secured.

In response to a question concerning the system of land tenures now prevailing in Java, I was told that when the Dutch came to the island they found it divided up into sultanates; that at the present time all of these sultanates and the whole of the island except the sultanates of Solo and Djokja had come under the direct control of the Dutch Government; that this Government had declared itself the owner of all the ground in the provinces of which it had possession; that in Solo and

Djokja, by agreement with the descendants of the old princes, the latter still retained nominal control and nominal title to all the land, similar to that held by the Dutch Government in the rest of the island; that the government and land ownership of the native princes in Djokja and Solo are subject to the control of the Dutch Government through its representative the Resident, whose consent is necessary even to a sale of land by the native prince, and it was implied that in substance and effect the Dutch are as much in control of the land in Solo and Djokja as in other parts of the island.

Javanese Dutch can buy from the Government in fee simple any kind of land. Native Javanese can buy or lease, but everywhere a large part of the agricultural ground is reserved by the Government for the natives, especially for rice planting.

COMMUNITY CULTIVATION.

The lands in the different provinces thus reserved for the people are distributed on a communal basis each year, the ground about each village to the inhabitants thereof for individual use for the annual period. A native must live for a fixed term of several years in a village before he can participate in this assignment of its communal land. The extent of ground occupied by the individual depends to some extent upon the relation of the area of the agricultural crown lands surrounding the village to its population. Only natives can participate in this distribution. They are compelled to cultivate the land; if they do not it is assigned to others. The cultivator takes the full crop and pays one-fifth in land tax to the government in money. It is proposed, however, to alter this system of communal possession with changes in individual occupation every year, to individual continuing possession, based on irrigation and other improvements.

There is a difference between agricultural lands, including those thus reserved for the natives, and land in the cities, of which the government permits even foreigners to get possession.

The government also executes long leases, as for seventy-five years, on payment of annual ground rent, and these leases descend from father to son. There are some such renters among the Chinese for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and indigo, and many among the Dutch.

The natives are considered as the real inhabitants of the country. Other people, even the Dutch not born here, are treated when they first come to the island as strangers. All of them, including the Dutch, must report themselves and at first get permission to live for six months only in places open to general trade—certain seaports. This permission may be extended for an additional six months. After the period of probation, if the stranger can prove that he has sufficient means of support, he can get permission to become an inhabitant of the Dutch colony, can live anywhere he likes, and as an inchoate naturalized citizen, so to speak, can buy or hire land like those born in the island.

REMAINS OF OLD CULTURE SYSTEM.

The present land and labor system of Java is, I may add, the old culture system modified in accordance with the demands of modern public opinion.

Before the arrival of the Dutch the title to all the soil and the right

to require for a period the uncompensated labor of the subject were in the native princes, who divided the island among them. Vast structures like Boro-Boedor, involving from their size and elaboration of decorative carving an infinite toil, remain, though in ruins, as reminders of the decades during which the people were driven despotically to unpaid labor. Land was cultivated under the communal system, of which the principle still remains. Annual allotments were made to every family or individual. Of the crop, as a general rule with many variations, thirty-four sixtieths were retained by the cultivator, two-sixtieths went to the village priest, and twenty-four sixtieths were claimed by the sovereign. The representative of the latter could compel the cultivator to sell his share of the crop at the ruling price. Like the share of the crop, the quantity of unpaid labor demanded by the sovereign varied at different times and in different parts of the island, but generally ranged between fifty and seventy-five days in the year.

The Dutch under Marshal Daendel, and later and especially under General Van den Bosch, after the English interregnum, placed their government squarely in the shoes of the native sovereign whom it displaced, with the same title to the soil and the same right to compel unpaid labor. The sovereign's share of the crop was reduced to one-fifth and the period of unpaid labor to one-seventh. Through this compulsory labor Java was covered with fine broad roads by Marshal Daendel. The culture system, as perfected by General Van den Bosch, utilized fully the system of forced labor, unpaid and paid in a share of the crop, enforced the requirement of the sale of the cultivator's share of the crop at a fixed and very low price, made dealing in the products of the system a Government monopoly, and later, through advances of capital, built up a system of middlemen to manufacture the raw material, thus compulsorily furnished, keeping all parts of the machinery of the system completely under its control.

Under this system the island was thoroughly cultivated, the population largely increased, and cultivator, middleman, and sovereign were prosperous and in funds. But the underlying principle of the system was absolute despotism and the cultivators were in substance well-fed serfs, so that gradually public opinion has modified the system, until now all that remains of it is as already described.

The Government has ceased to monopolize the trade in the products, the middleman shifts for himself and has no competitor in the Government, the unpaid labor takes the shape of a poll tax with labor for the public as an alternative, and the sovereign's share of the crop becomes a land tax, which, however, with the retention of title to the land and the plan of annual allotments, approximates very closely to the old system, for the land tax is indirectly, and often directly, paid in a share of the produce. The best results of the old culture system are the habit of work, the tendency to universal industry, and skill in the art of scientific cultivation which remain.

While the original Dutch system may have taken small account of the interests of the natives, that is not the case to-day under the modified "culture system," which recognizes that the Dutch and Javanese welfare and prosperity are inseparable. The natives are in every way protected; they are prosperous, too, and not oppressed; they are used by the Dutch extensively in civil employment and in the army, but it remains, as of old, that the white decides what is best for the dark-skinned man, and enforces it, not permitting the latter to decide for himself.

LAND TENURE IN LUZON.

For purposes of comparison the tenure of land and the labor system in the Philippines under Spanish rule may be briefly considered.

John Foreman, the historian of the Philippines who speaks with more authority on the subject than any other writer, says: "Landed property was undefined. It all nominally belonged to the state, which, however, granted no titles; squatters took up lands where they chose without determined limits and the embroilment continues in a measure to the present day. * * * The astute ecclesiastics quietly appropriated to themselves the best arable lands within easy reach of the capital and the arsenal of Cavite. * * * About the year 1885 the question was brought forward of granting government titles to all who could establish claims to land. Indeed, for about a year there was a certain enthusiasm displayed both in the application for and the concession of 'titulos reales.' But the large majority of holders—among whom the monastic element conspicuously figured—could only show their title by actual possession. It might have been sufficient, but the fact is that the clergy favored neither the granting of 'titulos reales' nor the establishment of the projected real estate registration offices. * * * In September, 1890, a lawsuit was still pending between the Dominican corporation and a number of native residents in Calamba (Laguna) who disputed the Dominicans' claim to lands in that vicinity so long as the corporation were unable to exhibit their title. For this implied monastic indiscriminate acquisition of real estate several of the best native families (some of them personally known to me) were banished to the island of Mindoro.

"* * * The conditions of land tenure under Spanish rule in this colony (1885) stood briefly thus: The owners either held the lands by virtue of undisturbed possession or by absolute freehold under title deeds granted by the State. The tenants—the actual tillers—were one degree advanced beyond the state of slave cultivators, inasmuch as they could accumulate property and were free to transfer their services. They corresponded to that class of farmers known in France as metayers and amongst the Romans of old as Coloni Partiarii, with no right in the land, but entitled to one-half its produce. Like the ancients they had to perform a number of services to the proprietor which were not specified in writing, but enforced by usage. Tenants of this species recently subsisted—and perhaps still do—in Scotland. Leases for long periods were exceptional, and I never heard of compensation being granted for improvements of Philippine estates."

DUTCH CULTURE SYSTEM IN LUZON.

The Dutch culture system itself was reproduced in Luzon in the cultivation and sale of tobacco from 1781 as late as 1882, between which dates the handling of tobacco was a government monopoly.

Foreman says: "Compulsory labor was authorized, and those natives in the northern provinces of Luzon Island who wished to till the land (the property of the State)—for title deeds were almost unknown and never applied for by the natives—were compelled to give preference to tobacco. In fact, no other crops were allowed to be raised. Each family was coerced into contracting with the Government to raise 4,000 plants per annum, subject to a fine in the event of failure.

The planter had to deliver into the state stores all the tobacco of his crop—not a single leaf could be reserve for his private consumption. Lands left uncultivated could be appropriated by the Government, who put their own nominees to work them, and he who had come to consider himself owner by mere undisturbed possession lost the usufruct and all other rights for three years. His right to the land, in fact, was not freehold, but tenure by villein socage. * * *

"From sunrise to sunset the native grower was subject to domiciliary search for concealed tobacco—his trunks, furniture, and every nook and corner of his dwelling were ransacked. He and all his family—wife and daughters—were personally examined. * * * The leaves were carefully selected, and only such as came under classification were paid for to the grower. The rejected bundles were not returned to him, but burnt—a despairing sacrifice to the toiler."

The tobacco monopoly was the largest source of public revenue, the profits being great, but the system finally broke down and was abandoned in 1882 because the Spanish Government swindled its compulsory workmen, and did not permit them to share, as in Java, in the material prosperity which would naturally result from the system.

OPPRESSING AND SWINDLING THE NATIVES.

Foreman says: "Palpable injustice, too, was imposed by the Government with respect to the payments. The treasury paid loyally for many years, but as generation succeeded generation, and the native growers' families came to feel themselves attached to the soil they cultivated, the treasury, reposing on the security of this constancy, no longer kept to the compact. The officials failed to pay with punctuality to the growers the contracted value of the deliveries to the state stores. They required exactitude from the native—the Government set the example of remissness. The consequence was appalling. Instead of money, treasury notes were given them, and speculators of the lowest type used to scour the tobacco-growing districts to buy up this paper at an enormous discount. The misery of the natives was so distressing, the distrust of the Government so radicate, and the want of means of existence so urgent, that they were wont to yield their claims for an insignificant relative specie value."

Ramon Lala in his work on the Philippines says: "A native can not own land. He may hold it under certain conditions. What these are in the tobacco districts has been stated. The regulations outside these districts are as follows: He must plant useful trees suitable to the soil; raise wheat, rye, maize, vegetables, cotton, pepper; maintain every species of appropriate cattle; keep fruit growing in his orchards and around his house; have at least 12 hens, 1 cock, and a sucking pig. Failing in these impossible conditions the land may be confiscated at the end of two years."

The land tenure and compulsory labor of the culture system are suggested by these descriptions, but the Spaniard apparently begrudged the native the smallest share of the profits of the system, and as a consequence bungled clumsily in the practical application of the Dutch method to Luzon.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

HINTS FROM JAVA.

MANY WELL-PAID NATIVE OFFICIALS STRENGTHEN DUTCH POWER—POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY—PRACTICAL PROTECTION OF JAVANESE AGAINST CHINESE COMPETITION—NATIVES AS SOLDIERS.

[Editorial correspondence of The Evening Star.]

Further questioning at the Batavia residency disclosed other evidences of thoughtful and considerate treatment of the natives by the Dutch under the policy which now prevails.

The government of Java employs natives as far as possible in the official positions which come into immediate contact with the native population. Every province is divided into regencies, with a native regent in nominal charge who receives a monthly salary of from 1,000 to 1,200 guilders or $400 to $480. The real governor of the regency is the Dutch resident, who represents in it the governor-general. Every regency is divided into districts, over each of which a native wedana presides, at a monthly salary of from 200 to 250 guilders, or from $80 to $100. Assistant wedanas have charge of subdistricts, at a monthly salary from 100 to 150 guilders, or from $40 to $60.

The small annual land tax or rent paid by the Javanese for the government land leased out to them for cultivation is received by a native collector called a lurah (a government official) and turned over by him to the wedana, the native chief of the district. It often occurs that the cultivator pays his annual land tax by giving the lurah a certain proportion of the produce. This official turns the goods thus tendered into cash, paying the wedana the annual land tax.

The extent to which the natives are utilized by the Dutch in subordinate positions is to be noted; also the liberal compensation made for the services rendered, and the good policy of thus reducing friction by intrusting to natives unpopular tasks, like collecting taxes from their own people. The regents and wedanas are men of standing and influence in the community, and through them the Dutch exercise unlimited control over the natives. The Spanish in Luzon destroyed the petty native rulers and substituted in their stead Spain's rule. They also, under the Maura municipal government law of 1893, utilized the natives in many of the same functions intrusted to them by the Dutch; but while the latter with these offices conferred high honor and a salary, the Spanish imposed unpaid and obligatory positions upon unwilling recipients, many of whom were financially ruined through holding an office which they could not safely refuse. This small difference of detail caused the Spanish policy in this matter to increase the native's detestation of his rulers, while the policy of the Dutch wonderfully strengthens their hold upon the Javanese.

POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.

The Javanese are nominally all Mohammedans. Polygamy has always prevailed among them, but outside of Djokja and Solo there are few polygamists, except among the very rich. The luxury is too expensive. There is no challenge to arouse their fanaticism over polygamy as an article of faith by the Dutch Government, which leaves their religion and everything which in any shape is connected with it severely alone.

The same kind of slavery prevailed in Java as now exists in the southern Philippines until abolished by edict shortly before our civil war. Compensation was provided to the owners of the emancipated slaves in the following amounts, expressed in guilders, a guilder being about 40 cents:

Slave under 10, 50 to 120 guilders; between 10 and 20, 100 to 220 guilders; between 20 and 30, 150 to 350 guilders; between 30 and 40, 125 to 300 guilders; between 40 and 50, 100 to 200 guilders; above 50, 40 to 100 guilders.

But such limiting and restricting conditions were attached that very little money was paid for this compensation. For instance, a registration of slaves had been ordered; but a great part had not been registered. The Government would only pay for slaves registered, and would not pay for those suffering from any permanent disease (as leprosy), nor for escaped slaves longer than three months after date of the edict, nor for slaves condemned to forced work (convicts), nor for slaves on which on January 1, 1859, taxes had not been paid for four years.

In most cases, while the edict nominally freed the slave, the latter continued to the end of his days in practically the same relation of feudal servitude to his master. But with the growth of the new generation the law gradually became operative and slavery was ended.

JAVANESE ARE PROSPEROUS AND CONTENT.

The Dutch now show in every way the greatest consideration for the natives' old customs and traditions. The people are, as a rule, satisfied, contented, easily managed. The last revolt in the island was in middle Java, between 1825 and 1830. There has since been one small insurrection, of little importance.

[I will add that the later insurrection referred to was in the district of Bantam, in west Java, in July, 1888. It was headed by a Javanese priest (hadji), and some 500 natives rose against the Dutch in that district. At one place the assistant resident, his wife and children, with some eight other Europeans, were murdered. This insurrection was soon quelled by the Government, and the ringleaders, with about a hundred of their followers, were shot. American Vice-Consul Rairden, who is serving capably as consul in the absence on sick leave of Mr. Everett, was living 10 miles from the place where the insurrection occurred, and was warned by a friendly native to leave. He escaped to a sailing vessel with his wife and child, and they lived in this vessel for three days until the trouble was over. Mr. Rairden, who has been a resident of Java for a great many years, considers the Javanese a contented, happy, and prosperous people, although this can not be said of the people of Sumatra and Borneo, who are always in petty wars with the Government. In Sumatra the Dutch have been at war with the Achinese for some twenty-five years, and seem to be no nearer the end than they were a year after the war began.]

JAVANESE AS DUTCH SOLDIERS.

The natives are utilized largely in the army as well as in civil life. The military forces of Netherlands India number 40,000, of which 34,000 are infantry and 6,000 are artillery and cavalry. Of this army

two-thirds are natives and only one-third is European. The commissioned officers, numbering 1,428, are all Dutch. The noncommissioned officers are natives. Pensions are given after twelve years of service or if the soldier is wounded. The native troops are almost all from Java and the neighboring island of Amboyna. They are considered faithful, and seldom, if ever, has there been any trouble with them. Certain precautions are taken, however, as, for instance, the stationing of natives from East Java in West Java, and of those from West Java in East Java and the Moluccas. As the natives from the different parts of Java are not on very friendly terms, there is thought to be little danger of the native troops joining in any insurrection.

The rule which forbade the natives to learn the Dutch language no longer exists, and Dutch is taught to those who can afford to learn it. The natives are so poor that the majority can not spare the time to learn Dutch. A very small percentage of them can read or write.

[The American policy in the Philippines in respect to instruction in English is clearly to follow the example set by the British in their colonies of encouraging in every way the learning by the natives of the language of the governing nation, and to avoid the policy of the Spanish in the Philippines and formerly of the Dutch in Java, which kept the natives as far as possible in ignorance of the langnage of their white rulers.]

JAVA'S LABOR FOR THE JAVANESE.

Coolie labor is performed almost entirely by the Javanese at a very low rate—20 cents per day in the interior and 60 cents per day in the cities. Chinese coolies are unknown in Java.

There is no law protecting Javanese against Chinese competition, but the conditions of labor and the restrictions upon the Chinese are such as to furnish practical protection.

Javanese labor is so cheap that it has nothing to fear from the Chinese or anybody, especially when it is considered that the Government strains through a sieve proposed immigrants into Java and heavily taxes those Chinese who are permitted to come.

There are about a quarter million of Chinese in Java, as against 25,000,000 Javanese. They are engaged almost universally in commercial pursuits, though some in East Java run sugar plantations under seventy-five-year leases. They control very largely the retail trade.

The Chinese are treated as natives so far as the courts and penalties are concerned—that is, they have no consul in Java—but even when they are born here they are not treated as natives in the enjoyment of the communal right to cultivate land. No Eastern nation or people has a consul here except Japan and European Turkey, and the Turkish consul has no jurisdiction over the Arabian population. The status of the half-caste is determined by that of the father.

The Chinese are compelled to live in special quarters assigned them, like other Eastern strangers, which further restricts them.

But the great safeguard is in the rigid inspection of every newcomer into Java, and the requirement of permission even to breathe the air of the island and of a probationary period, followed by a second permission to live in and do business here. The Government thus has at hand a flexible exclusion law. It excludes anyone who may possibly become a charge upon the Government, and there is no review of its assigned reason for exclusion or appeal from its decision.

I asked what would happen if the Chinese in large numbers should come into Java, and Mr. Valetti replied that they would be shipped back to Singapore as lacking means of support.

In all minor matters the Chinese here are governed by their own laws, administered by their own chiefs, who are appointed by the Government. The head Chinese official is called the major of the Chinese, who has under him captains and lieutenants. The Chinese are burdened with taxation to the limit of their endurance.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

WILL MALAYS WORK?

THEY DO IN JAVA—THEY MAY IN THE PHILIPPINES—PROTECTION FOR THE NATIVES—CONTRAST OF SPANISH AND AMERICAN POLICIES CONCERNING CHINESE—LIMIT LABOR COMPETITION.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

The record of Java throws light on a syllogism which is supposed to have an obvious and practical bearing upon the labor problem in the Philippines: "Malays will not work; Filipinos are Malays; Filipinos will not work."

The generalization that Malays will not work is reached by calling Malays who will work by some other name and attaching to the title only the characteristics of the worthless remnant. There is a Malaysian archipelago as well as a Malaysian peninsula, and the bulk of the Filipinos may turn out to be Malays after the order of those who live and labor in Java and not in the class of the Malay loafers of the Straits Settlements.

A like hasty generalization ascribes to the Chinaman, universally, in contrast with the Malay, the attributes of industry, commercial probity, and capacity to labor effectively anywhere, unaffected by fatigue, tropical heat, and disease germs. This generalization lumps indiscriminately the myriads of Chinese water rats and ex-pirates, and the millions in whom decades of official robbery and oppression have ingrained untruthfulness and deceit with the comparatively small commercial class, in whom training has made business honesty instinctive, and with the coolie, who may be either lying or truthful, but who has developed in the school of hard necessity into perhaps the most effective and least expensive human laboring machine in the world.

The disposition among all men in the languor-breeding tropics is to work only as necessity requires, which in favored sections, if one's wants are few, is very little, nature supplying freely the means of supporting life.

There are also differences in the aptitudes and inclinations of the different tropical peoples as to the kind of life-supporting labor to which they will have recourse when forced by necessity to work. One will cultivate the soil, another will draw his food from the sea with the hook or net, and another will hire the service of his muscles in exchange for food or the money with which to buy food.

But the record of Java shows that the Malay under pressure can occupy satisfactorily every field of labor and can develop a tropical garden which is the admiration and delight of every visitor and which supports well one of the densest populations on the face of the globe.

SHOULD WORK IN LUZON AS IN JAVA.

In the Philippines, which extend from the northern edge of the Tropics to a point less than 5 degrees from the equator and include a vast variety of soils, of altitudes, and of temperatures, which work out varying results upon the men who live subject to their environment, a diversity in the human products as well as in the fruits of the soil is naturally expected and realized. Not all the Filipinos will labor in the same way, and some will not work at all. But if we must generalize let us say, and make it good, that the Filipinos in general will work, like the Javanese; not binding ourselves by this generalization to force the Filipinos to the total exclusion of other peoples into occupations for which they are conspicuously unfitted—without guaranteeing, for instance, that a Mabini or an Aguinaldo would make an efficient wharf coolie, or that an ex-pirate follower of the Sultan of Sulu would prove a reliable comprador or a model house servant.

Though the old methods of compulsory labor may not now be applied, and are not, in fact, employed by the Dutch themselves, being long ago abandoned under pressure of a world-wide public opinion, the evidences taken together suggest that the Filipinos can meet the labor requirements of the islands in most fields of employment and that by judicious selection of workers all kinds can, if necessary, be Filipino performed. The Filipinos of the interior of the islands labor well as agriculturists; the coast natives have an aptitude for seafaring pursuits. The Manila-Dagupan road, the only railway in the Philippines, was built entirely by native labor, and natives filled the subordinate positions in running it. The Chinese have not been permitted to get a foothold as cultivators of the soil in the interior of Luzon any more than in Java, though the Spanish for many years admitted them to the island solely for this purpose. Almost universally both planters and field hands are Malays. Farming is the characteristic native occupation. The Filipinos take pleasure in the cultivation of rice, the most exacting, painstaking, and fatiguing of agricutural labors.

MANY FILIPINOS DO WORK.

The natives of the different islands find congenial employment in varied forms of labor. Some, like those of the island of Bohol, are noted for their superior industry and efficiency as field laborers, and go at harvest time to other islands and provinces to gather the crops. Old residents say that the Visayans and the people of northern and extreme southern Luzon (the tobacco and hemp districts of the island) are industrious, but that the Tagalogs of central Luzon have been demoralized in the turmoil of the struggle against Spain; and that a period of settled, peaceful conditions will be necessary to convert the bolos into pruning hooks and the bolo men into reliable field hands. Filipinos are credited with being as strong as the Chinese, but lazy. They monopolize, however, such hard work as lighterage for ships, and they labor in the mines in Bulacan. The weight of opinion is that if there were no Chinese here they would perform satisfactorily all kinds of work, though perhaps at slightly greater wages, the Filipino having higher aspirations in the direction of living well than the average Chinaman. The expectation that they would, if Chinese competition were absent, fill all the trades is based with reason upon the evidence of old residents to the effect that they did work in all these

lines before the Chinese came and drove them out. For instance, years ago nearly all the carpenters, stonemasons, builders, bricklayers, and similar workmen of Manila were natives; now they are nearly all Chinese. Then the retail trade of Manila was in the hands of the Filipinos; now the Chinese have it, almost to the exclusion of the native. Formerly all the carabao drivers were Filipinos; now the Chinese are steadily driving them out of the business.

A POOR CLASS OF CHINESE.

The Chinese in Manila have not the reputation for business morality which their mercantile countrymen enjoy in many other places. It is said that many of the Chinese in the Philippines were in the beginning ordinary coolie laborers from Amoy, who have escaped from day labor into the field of small shopkeeping, and in their new sphere of activity have tampered with their scales, swindled the natives, adulterated and discredited the native products which they handle, and often failing in business have disappeared in the ocean of China, leaving worthless debts and exasperated creditors. They are credited with succeeding as traders because they cooperate and stand closely together. They remit their earnings to China and have no interest in the land where they live, and are not considered to be good citizens.

Spain applied the principle of the Dutch culture system in very oppressive shape in the Philippines in the cultivation of tobacco as a Government monopoly. If this system, even when cruelly enforced, has the merit of forming the habit of work, the Filipinos have enjoyed this opportunity of acquiring the habit. The Spaniards, however, do not compare with the Dutch as capable instructors in agriculture.

Ramon Lala defends his countrymen against the charge of indolence other than the lassitude which is bred in everyone, Europeans included, by the tropical heat.

CAUSES OF FILIPINOS' APPARENT LAZINESS.

In explanation of the Filipinos' apparent laziness he says:

"Deprived by the Spaniards from all active participation in the affairs of government, and robbed of the fruits of industry, all incentive to advancement and progress was taken away. He therefore yields with composure to the crushing conditions of his environment, preferring the lazy joys of indolence rather than labor for the benefit of his oppressors. * * *

"In the more civilized districts where modern and humane business methods prevail hundreds of thousands are employed to the profit both of themselves and their employers."

Unwillingness to work without pay in advance, which is sometimes cited as rendering unsatisfactory the Filipino laborer, is pronounced by Lala to be "undoubtedly the result of generations of Spanish robbery, where these people were forced to labor for their employers—frequently the priests—having no reward save the lash or promises of a golden crown in heaven."

If Lala's diagnosis of the case is accurate, it is easy to see how, without any great trouble, we can largely increase the Filipino's working efficiency by supplying the incentive of full security to life and property and the enjoyment of the fruits of his toil.

Protection of the native Malay against the Chinese does not require the absolute exclusion of the latter. As we have seen, there are a quarter of a million of them in Java, largely in mercantile pursuits in the large cities, a very few engaged in planting; but their number is insignificant compared with the mass of the population. They are not all pervading and dominating, as in the Straits Settlements, where Foreman pronounces them to be "obstinate, self-willed, and riotous." "Wherever," he adds, "the Chinese settle they exhibit a disposition to hold their footing, if not to strengthen it, at all hazards, by force if need be. In Sarawak their secret societies, which threatened to undermine the prosperity of that little State, had to be suppressed by capital punishment. Since the British occupation of Hongkong, in 1841, there have been two serious movements against the Europeans. In Singapore the attempts of the Chinese to defy the Government have met with only feeble measures of repression."

EVILS OF CHINESE DOMINATION.

Henry Norman in The Peoples and Politics of the Far East confirms Foreman's suggestion that fresh difficulties are raised by a solution of the labor problem in the East which permits unlimited Chinese immigration.

He says: "This question of the relations of foreigners and Chinese presents much the same general aspect in Hongkong as it does in Shanghai. Here, too, the Chinese merchant is crowding out the British middleman; here, too, it can not be very long before the bulk of the real estate of the colony is owned by Chinese. Every day they are advancing further into the European quarter, and Chinese merchants are among the richest men in the community. 'In every dispute between the Chinese and the government,' said a well-informed resident to me, 'the former have come off victorious.' By and by, therefore, we shall have virtually a Chinese society under the British flag, ruled by a British governor. * * *

"To my thinking Hongkong is in more danger from the Chinese than from any other quarter. Kowloon City is a mass of roughs; Canton is the most turbulent and most foreign-hating city in China; 20,000 Chinese could come down to Hongkong in a few hours, and a strike of Chinese servants would starve out the colony."

Concerning the Chinese resident in Hongkong, Norman quotes from S. B. J. Skertchly, late of Her Majesty's geological survey, who says: "The sad fact has to be faced that some 200,000 Chinese are living voluntarily among us for the sake of the facilities the colony offers, and that they hate us, despise us, and fear us at the same time."

This comment was based upon the behavior of the Chinese during the plague, when they resisted every effort to cleanse and purify the city and to isolate the sick in hospitals. They threatened to fire the city and to poison the water supply, and the purification of the Chinese quarter was accomplished only through the menace of a British gunboat, which covered the quarter with its guns, while British volunteers performed the labor of saving the plague-threatened Chinese in spite of themselves.

The same spirit cropped out among the Chinese in the recent outbreak of plague in Manila, two-thirds of the cases being among the small fraction of Chinese in the city's population; so in San Francisco to-day.

In Singapore an unpopular ordinance is the signal for rioting in the streets until the government gives way.

THE CHINESE FLOOD.

European Shanghai, in which Chinamen were not permitted by the letter of the law to live, is coming to be owned and occupied by the Chinese, who number 175,000 as against 4,956 foreigners, including 1,759 British and 450 Americans, and who have the native city in addition, immediately adjacent, with 120,000 population.

Hongkong in 1893 had 8,545 whites, including the garrison, and 210,995 Chinese, besides 32,035 Chinese boat population.

Singapore, in 1891, had 6,000 Europeans and Americans, including the garrison, 16,000 Indians, 30,000 Malays, and 120,000 Chinese. The latter are credited with adding 144,558 to their Singapore population in 1893 alone. They are overwhelming, also, the Malay protected States, where they already exceed in number the Malay population.

The choice for the Philippines is between the Chinese conditions of Java and of the Straits Settlements. The statements quoted show that the unlimited use of John Chinaman is not an unmixed blessing even to the dominating whites, who would profit by his efficiency as a laborer. That the Dutch policy in this matter in Java is better for the Malay natives than the English policy in the Straits Settlements is admitted by the English themselves, who have studied the subject. Rev. George M. Reith, of Singapore, in describing his travels in Java in 1896, questions whether the natives would be better off under British rule, and adds: "In some respects their condition would be worse, for Englishmen could have no patience with the indolence of the natives and would permit John Chinaman to invade the country with an army of coolies, before whom the less hardy Malayan races would pass through poverty and debt out of existence. The Dutch more truly protect their native subjects than the English do."

Speaking broadly, the Dutch policy makes of the Malay a worker; the Straits Settlements policy confirms him as a loafer.

JAVA'S POLICY BEST FOR LUZON.

Luzon has already more than the Javanese percentage of Chinese in its population, and as in Java they are very largely engaged in trade. In Manila the Chinese are estimated at 15,000 in number, and the Mestizoes—half Chinese, half Filipino—at 45,000, aggregating 60,000 in a total population of less than 300,000. In the whole of the Philippines Foreman estimates that the Chinese number 100,000. These thousands are ample to perform for years those functions for which the Chinese are believed to be essential. When the great works of the islands are undertaken, as in extensive railroad and highway building, and in the thorough development of vast areas of rich timber and mineral lands now uninhabited or peopled only by wild tribes; after full utilization of available and suitable Filipino labor the temporary importation of some Chinese workmen may possibly be taken into consideration, but it is not necessary to cross that bridge until we reach it.

The methods employed in Java of protecting the native population in the possession of the arable land and of the labor field, and of pressing them in every fair and justifiable way to work is clearly better

for the welfare of the natives than the other policy of seeking the cheapest and most effective labor wherever it may be found, and of throwing open the soil and the self-supporting occupations of the land to the unrestricted competition of the whole world.

A CHOICE OF POLICIES.

Our ultimate purpose with reference to the Filipinos will determine our wisest policy in the labor problem. If it is conceivable that we should in the end abandon in despair the idea of working in partnership with the refractory Filipinos, and should devote ourselves exclusively to the task of amassing the greatest possible profit from the productive soil of the Philippines, regardless of the welfare of their present inhabitants, we would in that event do well to flood the islands with several million Chinamen. These invaders, gradually depriving the natives of the means by which life is sustained, would destroy the Filipinos more completely and more surely than the largest army and the strongest navy which we could send against them.

If, on the other hand, we succeed in convincing the Filipinos that our interests are identical with their own, and that our desire is to move forward hand in hand with them to the development of the islands and into an era of common prosperity, our policy will be to shut out for the present the threatening Chinese flood and so to regulate incoming labor in the future as both to protect the people of the Philippines in their opportunities to secure life-sustaining work, and to develop to the fullest extent the resources of the islands, a task essential to the welfare of both Filipinos and Americans.

In The Star of January 8 was published a statement of Mr. Wu Ting Fang, the accomplished Chinese minister at Washington, which intimated that exclusion of his countrymen from the Philippines would engender a harsh feeling among the people of China toward the United States, and asserted that development of the abnormally increasing trade with China was undoubtedly due to the friendship which exists between the two countries, and that it surely would continue to grow, providing nothing occurred to disturb the present feeling of the people of his country for America.

THE CHINESE MINISTER'S THREAT.

The veiled threat in this statement is sufficiently obvious. China's trade with the United States and the friendly feeling upon which the Chinese minister says that it is based developed in the face of the fact that the United States had excluded the Chinese from the entire Republic, without the excuse of military necessity or expediency, and even regardless of treaty stipulations. If a trade-increasing affection was born in the Chinese after this exclusion in an offensive manner from the United States it might be expected to survive a like exclusion from the Philippines. And especially would this expectation be reasonable when it is considered that the Chinese who come and who wish to come to the Philippines are from south China (Amoy and Canton), while the bulk of our increasing trade is with north China. The two sections are not quick to make sacrifices in each other's behalf. The Pekin Government is not strong in Canton. South China did not work up much fighting enthusiasm against Japan or rush to north China's defense, even when Japan's choking hand was at the latter's

throat. If the north Chinamen find it to their interest to trade increasingly with the United States (and Russia permits) they will not be apt to cease to do so because some of their beloved brethen of Amoy have been compelled to stay at home instead of abandoning their country for Manila.

CONTRAST OF AMERICAN AND SPANISH POLICIES.

The Chinese minister, in reproachful comparison between American and Spanish policy, says: "Under the administration of the archipelago by Spain Chinese were allowed to freely enter and depart from the islands."

The records of the Chinese in Manila as given by Foreman show that in 1603 the Chinese were first goaded into hopeless revolt and then slaughtered, about 24,000 being killed or taken prisoners.

In 1639 the Chinese again unsuccessfully revolted against official robbery and oppression. During this conflict an edict was published ordering all the Chinese in the provinces to be slain.

In 1660 there was another rising of these people, which terminated in a great massacre.

In 1755 all non-Christian Chinese were expelled from the Philippines.

In 1763 the Chinese cooperated with the British who occupied Manila, and about 6,000 of them were murdered by the Spanish in the provinces.

In 1820 a general massacre of Chinese and other foreigners took place in Manila.

The history of the last hundred and fifty years shows that the Chinese, although tolerated, were always regarded by the Spanish colonists as an unwelcome race, and the natives have learned from example to despise them.

As the Chinese minister truly says, Spain allowed the Chinese "to freely enter and depart from the islands," but they were murdered by the natives if they attempted to cultivate lands in the interior, and they retained their foothold in Manila largely through continuous bribery of the Spanish officials and held it subject to official robbery, and to the chance of losing their lives in one of the periodical massacres. They were allowed "to freely enter" a place where they were hated, despised, insulted, burdened with heavy taxes, robbed through official extortions, goaded to discontent, and then slaughtered.

EVEN MASSACRES DO NOT LESSEN CHINESE TRADE.

On the occasion of the first great massacre of the Chinese by the Spanish the latter feared lest their trade with China might be affected thereby; "consequently they hastened to dispatch an envoy to China to explain matters and to reassure the Chinese traders. Much to their surprise they found the Viceroy of Canton little concerned about what had happened, and the junks of merchandise again arrived as heretofore."

If the massacre of thousands of Cantonese in Manila did not affect Canton trade with Manila even for a month, shall the preventing of Cantonese now at home from going to Manila diminish the trade of the United States with North China? Is it not more considerate to shut out the Chinese from Manila than to permit them freely to enter, as the Spanish did, in order to rob and murder them?

The Chinese Government has not always shown that tender care of

its people who insist on leaving home which Mr. Wu Ting Fang thinks would be shown if no more Chinese are for the present permitted to enter Manila. Its indifference to their massacre was displayed not only in the case of the Manila incident, but as late as the middle of the eighteenth century in Java also.

Miss Scidmore, in her volume concerning Java, says: "In time the Chinese (in Batavia) fomented insurrection against the Dutch, and in 1740, joining with disaffected natives, intrenched themselves in a suburban fort. The Dutch in alarm gave the order and over 20,000 Chinese then within the walls were put to death, not an infant, a woman, nor an aged person being spared. In fear of the wrath of the Emperor of China elaborate excuses were framed and sent to Pekin. Sage old Keen Lung responded only by saying that the Dutch had served them right; that any death was too good for Chinese who would desert the graves of their ancestors." Unless this Emperor erred, which is unthinkable in China, the American policy must receive celestial indorsement as preventing certain Cantonese and Amoy men from unpatriotically and sacrilegiously deserting the graves of their ancestors.

EXCLUSION IN THE INTEREST OF THE CHINESE.

The Filipinos hate the Chinese. One of the planks of the platform of the revolt against Spain demanded the exclusion of the latter. They will not be permitted to enter under our control of the islands for the purpose of robbing them and of killing them if they resist. They will be protected by us. The duty to defend the newcomers, taken in connection with the Filipinos' jealous hatred of them, will cause them to become an unending source of disturbance to us, a constant annoyance and care. If there were no other reason than this for preventing a large increase of their present numbers, it might not suffice. But the fact remains that if the United States, in the interest of the Filipinos, regulates and restricts firmly and justly the incoming of additional Chinese, it will serve the real interests of the Chinaman as well as of the natives. It is better for the Chinese themselves that they should be kept at home under the American policy than that they should freely enter under the Spanish policy to face the hostile Filipinos. At this time, when the United States is laboring with all its might to eliminate the causes of Filipino disturbance and to quiet the land, it would be folly to take on deliberately and unnecessarily a fresh breeder of strife.

The Chinese minister does not do well to threaten the United States even indirectly and remotely with loss of Chinese favor and Chinese trade. The Republic is the only great power which is not covetous of China's territory, which has never played the part of national highwayman toward it, whose present policy distinctly tends to prevent China's dismemberment, and whose trade aspirations in Asia, if realized, will be as beneficial to China as to the Republic itself.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

HINTS FROM CEYLON.

WISE HANDLING OF THE PUBLIC LAND IN THE BRITISH ISLAND—CINGHALESE AND TAMIL LABOR—DEVELOPED LUZON CAN EQUAL JAVA OR CEYLON IN PRODUCTIVENESS—WEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

Ceylon lies approximately between 6 and 9 degrees north of the equator; Java between 6 and 9 degrees south of the equator. The wet and dry seasons in the two islands do not coincide, though both claim to be always wet, if sometimes wetter. Ceylon, however, in March, when I visited it, was suffering prolonged drought in its hottest month, during the interval between the two monsoons which bring it rain, and failed to display the overflowing richness of tropical vegetation which was in evidence in Java during the rainy season in February. The plantation and labor exhibits of the island seem on a smaller scale than those of Java, which is twice the size of Ceylon and has eight times its population. With these limitations the effect produced upon the observer by Ceylon is similar to that which has been noted in the case of Java. Both islands are beautiful tropical gardens, cultivated to the highest degree, and displaying intense human industry directed by the keenest intelligence.

Colombo, the seaport and metropolis, with its excellent hotels, fine drives, and attractive shops corresponds to Batavia. Kandy, hidden in tropical foliage, 75 miles away in the hills, beautifully and healthfully located, represents Buitenzorg. Even the counterpart of the latter's famous botanical gardens is found at Peradenya, near Kandy. In mountain sanitariums there is Nuwera Eliya in Ceylon to offset the Sindanglaya and Tosari in Java. The ruins of the ancient Buddhist city of Anuradhapura in Ceylon tell the same story of an ancient and superior civilization once flourishing in that island which is proclaimed concerning Java by Boro-Boedor and Brambanan. The mountain and valley scenery and the tropical vegetation seen on the trip from Colombo to Nuwera Eliya are to be compared with those observed in Java.

Terraced rice fields, extensive tea plantations, a small showing of coffee, bananas, palms, and bamboo are conspicuous in the vegetation of both islands, and even the same peculiar red earth is to be seen.

Ceylon, with its rubies, sapphires, amethysts, and other precious stones, its elephants, its cinnamon and other spices, is believed to be the Ophir of the ancients, and the same extravagant eulogies upon its attractions have been applied to it as I have quoted from the Englishman, Alfred Russel Wallace, concerning Java. M. M. Ballou, an American, prints of Ceylon that it is "one of the most beautiful regions in the world," "the very gem of the equatorial region," "a very Gan-Eden, the fairest known example of tropical luxuriance in all its natural features, its vegetable and animal kingdoms, its fruits, flowers, and scenery."

LUZON NOT TO BE LEFT BEHIND.

Luzon is not to be left behind in this distribution of superlatives. Ramon Lala sounds the praises of that island and the Philippines generally in a manner which shows that they are worthy to be compared

with the other insular gardens, and which leaves nothing in the way of eulogy to be desired. He says: "Earth possesses no scenes more beautiful than those to be found in this verdant and blooming archipelago—from its northern to its southern verge, this magnificent rosary of glowing islands that nature has hung above the heaving bosom of the warm Pacific. Of them all none is more beautiful than Luzon, the largest and richest of the whole, with its vast variety of attractive scenery, mountain and plain, lake and stream, everywhere rich with glossy leafage, clustered growths of bamboo and palm, fields of yellow cane, and verdant coffee groves. * * * Here an abundant rainfall, an equable climate, a rich soil, and the warm influences of the equatorial waters combine to yield a luxuriant beauty and variety of scenery."

In 1815 the native king of Kandy was overthrown by the British, and Cinghalese independence was extinguished. Title to the soil, previously in the native sovereign, passed to the British Government. The island has been governed as a crown colony, which is described as "a despotism tempered by the colonial office and question day in the House of Commons." Voicing public opinion feebly in the machinery of government is the legislative council of 17 members, 9 of whom are officeholders, and 8 unofficial members, of whom 3 are Englishmen and five are are Cinghalese, Tamil, Moormen, and Eurasian.

LAND TENURE IN CEYLON.

The British Government adopted, after an experimental interval, an entirely different policy in handling the soil of the island from that pursued by the Dutch in Java and in Ceylon. Instead of leasing land or giving annual possession and participating with the cultivator in division of crops, the government, when it parted with the land, sold in fee simple and its responsibility ceased. Compulsory labor was abolished in 1832, and the cinnamon monopoly in 1833.

Until 1833 the government gave title to planters who would cultivate the soil. Since that year a price gradually increasing has been charged.

Total area of Ceylon, 15,809,280 acres.

Crown land sold between 1833 and 1896, 1,471,272 acres.

Areas disposed of to private parties by grants, sales, etc., prior to 1833, 2,500,000 acres, approximately.

Roughly, therefore, private lands are nearly 4,000,000 acres, or about one-fourth of the island. Of the remaining three-fourths the greater part belongs to the Crown as uncultivated ground.

It is estimated that about 800,000 acres of land (say 600,000 suitable for hill-country products, tea, cinchona, coffee, etc., and pasturage, and 200,000 lower down for tea, cocoa as well as cocoanuts, and cinnamon) are held by European planters, against nearly three times this aggregate held by natives.

It is estimated that the total area of the island which may be cultivated is from five to five and one-half million acres, of which from two and a half to three and a half million acres, according to varying estimates, are under cultivation. Thus there are approximately 2,000,000 acres of land in Ceylon still held by the government which may be taken up and cultivated.

Though the government did not become a direct cultivator of the

land, through a series of active and intelligent governors-general and other officials it cooperated heartily with the large individual landowners in developing the agricultural resources of the island.

The British planters in Ceylon have associated themselves to experiment and investigate in order to work their property to the best advantage, and through their intelligent and cooperative labors much has been done for the development and prosperity of the island. When blight had destroyed the coffee plants, which were their main product, and Ceylon's resources seemed exhausted and the island threatened with bankruptcy, they abandoned coffee, revolutionized the agriculture of the island, substituted tea, and pushed the new experimental product with tremendous vigor, with the result of rehabilitating the island financially and introducing an era of renewed prosperity.

CEYLON'S LABOR SYSTEM.

In Ceylon the Chinese have no foothold whatsoever. This productive little island not only furnishes means of support to its three millions of permanent population, but an army of Tamils is brought over each year from closely neighboring southern India to supplement the Cinghalese labor in the tea and other plantations. Thus the British are enabled by combination to utilize the resources of their Asiatic possessions to ward off famine in drought-threatened southern India, and to develop fruitful Ceylon. The Cinghalese are not seriously injured by division of the plantation work, since they find ample and more congenial life-sustaining opportunities in trading, small farming, carting produce, and in handicrafts. A similar annual migration of Tamils moves to Burma and returns. In 1895 123,611 Tamils came to Ceylon, and in 1896 128,350. The number recorded as returning in each of these years was less than 100,000, so that part of the immigration may be viewed as natural and permanent. Of Ceylon's fixed population of 3,000,000 over 700,000 are Tamils. This importation of plantation labor, though all in the British colonial family, so to speak, involving a very slight change of location, as from one province to another, and unaccompanied by any striking injury to the Cinghalese residents of the island, is still objectionable as reducing the strictly local opportunities for labor. John Ferguson, in the Ceylon Directory for 1898–99, says on this point: "In the interests of this colony and of its great tea industry, as well as that in other new products now receiving attention, apart from the public works in hand, we must hope that there may be a gradual advance in arrivals of Tamils for some years to come, although it may even be an advantage to the island that the local native population, especially Sinhalese (Cinghalese), should more largely share in the earnings for work on plantations."

POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.

The author above quoted is the editor and proprietor of the Ceylon Observer, an old resident and champion of the planting interests, and a high authority on all matters pertaining to Ceylon. I met him in Colombo, and through him obtained information on a variety of pertinent topics. Concerning England's method of abolishing slavery in Ceylon he said: "Slavery was abolished here by proclamation, but fifteen years, approximately, between 1830 and 1845, were required

before it became completely effective. There was provision for compensation, but most of the slave owners did not exact it. The amount paid in this compensated emancipation was consequently small, and was received almost exclusively by the poorest of the slave owners. The slaves had been well treated, their burdens were light, and their nominal liberation made little difference in the domestic relations, the ex-slaves remaining as servants, and generally treated precisely as before."

Concerning polygamy he said: "The English do not meddle at all with Mohammedan polygamy. It is part of that religion; but the practice has been decreasing and may die out on account of the increasing expense which it involves. Among the Cinghalese the associated practice of polyandry existed as a custom. With consent of the Cinghalese leaders polyandry was abolished fifty years ago by ordinance. But the legislation was far ahead of the times. The mass of the people knew nothing of the statute aud followed old customs. Finally, twenty years ago, another ordinance became necessary, recognizing polyandry during the period and legitimatizing issue."

PROSPEROUS AND REASONABLY CONTENTED.

The Cinghalese are free from famines and epidemics, industrious and well-employed. They are apparently prosperous and happy in spite of the habit of growling, which may be accepted as evidence of the extent to which they have been Anglicised.

Ceylon as a colony pays; that is, its receipts readily meet its expenditures, and its possession, instead of involving any drain on the imperial treasury, is a financial gain to England.

Though it contains 3,000,000 of Asiatics, its affairs are so well regulated and its docile population has so little real cause for discontent that a single regiment constitutes Great Britain's military representation on the island. The force in Ceylon in 1898 was composed of 1,483 Europeans and 238 natives. There is also a volunteer regiment, paid for by the island, which in 1898 numbered nearly 1,100, including officers, made up of British-born Eurasians, Malays, Tamils, Cinghalese, and others, and a police force of 1,600 men, of whom only 42 are Europeans.

The English in Ceylon, as in India, have respected the rights, traditions, and religions of the natives, and have increased local prosperity, while expanding imperial trade by creating extensive public works, which have developed to the utmost the resources of the colonies. India imports more from Great Britain than any nation of the world, and stands third in exports, being surpassed (1895) only by the United States and France.

The lessons taught by India are many and valuable, but when I traveled through it in the spring it was cursed with famine, plague, cholera, smallpox, dust, and heat, and its external appearance and the condition of its people forbade its use as a shining example of a prosperous and obviously well-managed colony. Attractive Ceylon furnished much greater inspiration to the study and emulation of British colonial methods.

The English policy in respect to the education of the natives, which includes teaching them systematically the English language, is clearly, as I have already said, that which the United States should adopt,

rather than the Spanish and old Dutch policies of forbidding the natives instruction in the language of the dominating whites and of keeping them ignorant in order that they might continue docile. There is a confession involved in the abandonment by the Dutch of this policy.

DEVELOPED LUZON CAN EQUAL JAVA OR CEYLON.

The geographical position of the Philippines is such as to give to the islands a wonderful variety of climates and temperatures and a corresponding diversity in products. Their greatest dimension is along the north and south line. They stretch from near the northern edge of the torrid zone at 21 degrees north latitude for more than a thousand miles to a latitude less than 5 degrees from the equator. Luzon covers nearly twice as many degrees of latitude as the larger Java, which stretches east and west. It is also farther from the equator, and approaching as it does to the edge of the temperate zone, through the addition of the low temperature contributed by the altitudes attained by its hills and mountains it has a wide range of products—from rice, sugar, and coffee to tobacco and hemp, from tropical growths to many which flourish in the temperate zone. It is located in the same volcano belt with Java, and its soil on this account displays the same extraordinary fertility and productiveness. It has as large a percentage of arable land and as favorable conditions of sun and rain, and, as stated, it is fitted by nature to produce a wider diversity of crops than either Java or Ceylon. There is no reason why Luzon should not be developed into a tropical garden, highly and scientifically cultivated like Java and Ceylon, just as beautiful to the eye, just as prosperous and profitable commercially, with people at least as well governed and just as well fed and content.

THE WEALTH OF OUR ASIATIC POSSESSIONS

is suggested by the fact that if Luzon did not belong to us we would still be able to offer for comparison with Java and Ceylon an island endowed by nature with the soil and climate of which fit it to be developed in their likeness, and distant from the equator almost precisely the same number of miles as the Dutch and English islands.

	Area.	Latitude.
Java (Dutch)	50,800	Between 6° and 9° south.
Mindanao (America)	37,256	Between 6° and 10° north.
Ceylon (English)	25,365	Between 6° and 9½° north.

Our tropical possessions and present dependency (Cuba) are so admirably situated, with so large a percentage of their area just within the torrid zone, and of highly diversified surface, that not merely the products of the temperate zone, but some portion of its health-giving atmosphere may be found within their limits. In other words, by judicious use of their altitudes Cuba, Porto Rico, the Hawaiian Islands, and Luzon are readily habitable by people from the southern portions of the north temperate zone, and the dictum that white men can not live and flourish under the equator misses its application.

Islands arranged according to latitude, the figures showing degrees of north latitude:

	Area in square miles.	Extent.
Cuba	45,883	To over 23 degrees from nearly 20 degrees.
Oahu	600	To nearly 22 degrees from over 21 degrees.
Hawaii	4,200	To over 20 degrees from 19 degrees.
Porto Rico	3,668	To over 18 degrees from nearly 18 degrees.
Luzon	40,885	To over 18 degrees from nearly 13 degrees.
Panay	4,600	To 12 degrees from 10 degrees.
Cebu	1,650	To over 11 degrees from nearly 10 degrees.
Mindanao	37,256	To 10 degrees from nearly 6 degrees.

Cuba is thus the largest and the most northern. Then in size comes Luzon, followed by Mindanao.

Panay, on which Iloilo is situated, is a little larger than Hawaii, which in its turn somewhat exceeds Porto Rico in area.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

ORIENTAL LESSONS.

HOW TO DISPOSE TO THE BEST ADVANTAGE OF THE PUBLIC LANDS—MORE RAILWAYS AND BETTER ROADS—CEYLON AND JAVA TO HOLD A LANTERN TO GUIDE LUZON'S FOOTSTEPS—HUSTLE NOT THE MOHAMMEDAN.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

The thorough and systematic methods pursued in Ceylon of surveying, classifying, and in every way obtaining accurate information concerning the public lands, and then of building highways and railroads and encouraging in every conceivable manner the opening up and cultivation of these areas are worthy of imitation in the Philippines.

Spain had title at the time of the treaty of Paris to the millions of acres of uncultivated land in the islands and to the cultivated areas also, so far as she had not legally parted with the title thereto. By the treaty of Paris all these public lands were ceded to the United States.

The necessity in the public interest of examining carefully and speedily into the validity of the title of the monastic orders to the vast tracts claimed by them has already been pointed out; but this examination may be made naturally and without discrimination, as a necessary incident of Uncle Sam's survey, classification, and development of his own property.

In seeking a wise disposition of the land question (which ranks with the labor problem in importance and difficulty) the first step will naturally be to ascertain accurately what lands in the Philippines have not been legally alienated by the Spanish Government, and are consequently now the property of the United States. A thorough examination of all titles and of all claims to ownership, based upon deeds or upon adverse and undisturbed possession, will be necessary to fix definitely the land held under private ownership, and the lines separating the property of individuals or ecclesiastical corporations and that of the United States must be surveyed and authoritatively laid down.

It will doubtless be the policy of the Government to cooperate

heartily with the individual landowners, when they are ascertained, in the improvement of both the private and the public lands. The latter are to be accurately and rapidly surveyed, their character and productive capacity learned, and a system adopted of selling or leasing them under conditions which will insure their highest development through the thorough and scientific cultivation of those products for which in each case the soil is best fitted.

DEVELOP RAILROADS AND HIGHWAYS.

The development of Java and Ceylon is largely due to the network of railroads and connected highways—broad, hard, smooth roads—which cover the surface of the islands, and are gradually opening up every nook and corner. In this important work the government can, directly or indirectly, most effectively cooperate. The extensive railroad and highway system in Java has been already touched upon. In comparatively small Ceylon there were over 297 miles of railroad open in 1896, the construction of 71 miles in addition had been sanctioned, extension of 152 miles had been surveyed, reported on, and recommended to the secretary of state, extensions of 130 miles had been roughly surveyed and estimated, and of 50 additional miles projected. The planters are urging the construction of other lines, aggregating 260 miles, including one which will give direct communication with India by way of Adam's Reef. The government operates and extends the railroad system at a profit. The net earnings of 1896 were 3,690,042 rupees. There has been a profit every year of the government's control except the first two, 1865 and 1866.

The same vigor is shown in the extension of roads. In 1896 1,239,800 rupees were spent upon 3,492 miles of road. Since 1883 an average of a million rupees a year has been spent on highways. Between that year and 1896 nearly a thousand miles have been added to the highly improved (metalled) roads. The system has also the benefit of a thoroughfares ordinance, imposing a poll tax, under which 635,002 persons were enrolled in Ceylon in 1896 as liable to perform labor. The construction of about 146 miles of new highway is urgently recommended by the planters. On this point Mr. Ferguson says:

> Every one of these roads would be of great advantage to the Sinhalese cultivators and villagers, apart from Sinhalese and Tamils who are connected with plantations. The labor force saved by a road in an agricultural district is immense, and a new road is to a considerable degree a gain to the whole colony (part of whose capital is its soil), as well as to the cultivators directly affected. Besides which every mile of road made attracts trade and population, wayside gardens, and boutiques multiply; a new road, too, attracts European capital, creates or draws traffic to existing railways, or ultimately facilitates railway extension.

GOOD ROADS FOR LUZON.

Before Luzon's resources can be equally developed it must be blessed with railroads and highways like those of Java and Ceylon. Its harbors along the sea and its interior waterways give it a start in facilities of communication. But its 120 miles of railroad must be multiplied, and it must be opened up everywhere by a system of good roads in place of its present wretched apologies for such highways. The municipalities of Luzon have not availed themselves of the permission granted by law to levy a tax on real estate for the construction of highways and other public improvements, and there are few worse roads to be found anywhere. Both in Java and Ceylon a poll tax, involving

the liability to do unpaid work for the public, is imposed as a substitute for the old system of compulsory labor. So in Luzon every adult Filipino, with certain exceptions, was under obligation to give to the State fifteen days' labor a year or commute the service by money. But much of the fund thus collected was diverted from its legitimate purpose, and the road work done by individual Filipinos was not systematically and effectively utilized, and from its haphazard application was practically wasted. Through the authorized municipal tax and through judicious use of the unpaid workmen, commuting their poll tax, Luzon should readily equip itself with a system of good roads, a monument to compulsory human labor which will bless the workmen.

The Government will wisely foster in every way the planting interest on the island and agricultural development. "In all that concerns the prosperity and social advancement of the people," says Mr. Ferguson, "its influence can not be overestimated; for to those districts where its direct benefits in the dissemination of wealth through laborers, artificers, cartmen, exchange of products, etc., do not reach, there come the votes of surplus revenue due to planting, opening up roads, restoring irrigation tanks, building schools, hospitals, and dispensaries, and otherwise providing the means of material and moral progress. In such districts no public money could be spent were it not for the increased and increasing revenue created by the planting enterprise."

FOSTER BOTANICAL AND CULTURE GARDENS.

In addition to increasing the facilities of communication and transportation the Government can aid in the full development of the agricultural resources of the island by fostering culture gardens where experiments may be constantly made tending to improve the quality of present products of Luzon and to indicate new and valuable growths, not now cultivated, for which the soil may be adapted. The experience of both Java and Ceylon, and especially of the latter, indicates the danger of reliance upon a single great staple. The coffee blight was on this account an almost irretrievable disaster to Ceylon, and under present conditions of prosperity too much reliance is, it is conceded, placed upon tea planting. As already pointed out, the geographical situation of Luzon, in connection with its larger area, endows it with greater capacities for the cultivation of diversified crops than are given to Ceylon.

It is to be hoped that the Government will so dispose of the public lands as to build up, in connection with present private landowners, a vigorous and progressive aggregation of planters, corresponding to the men who were attracted to Java by the money advances and the assurance of raw material furnished by the culture system, and to Ceylon by the gratuitous land grants at first, cheap land always, and the encouragement and fostering care of the Government.

To the energy and intelligent enterprise of the Planters' Association in Ceylon is attributed much of the island's prosperity. Conan Doyle, referring to the manner in which these men rallied from the blow administered by the coffee disease, says:

> Not often is it that men have the heart when their one great industry is withered to rear up in a few years another as rich to take its place, and the tea fields of Ceylon are as true a monument to courage as is the lion at Waterloo. My story concerns the royal days of coffee planting in Ceylon, before a rotting fungus drove a whole community through years of despair to one of the greatest commercial victories which pluck and ingenuity have ever won.

Culture experiments, careful, scientific, long-continued, prepared the way for the triumph which Conan Doyle thus eulogizes. The old botanical garden in Manila, long neglected, can easily be made to rival those at Buitenzorg and Peradenya, with culture gardens for products of the low-lying soil of the island similar to those attached to the famous botanical gardens of Java and Ceylon. Then it will not be difficult to find in Luzon a suitable spot (as in Benguet province) for the experimental culture of growths adapted to the soil of the higher altitudes, like the culture grounds at Tjibodas, on Salak Mountain in Java, and at Hakgala and Anaradhapura in Ceylon.

The Philippines extend through so many degrees of latitude and are endowed with such a wonderful diversity of climatic conditions that the culture gardens can not be limited to Luzon, but must stretch a carefully located series of stations as far south as Sulu.

The Spanish created a Manila School of Agriculture in 1887, and established experiment stations at various points, but failed to push the enterprise to successful, practical results.

MAKE HASTE SLOWLY IN REMODELING THE MOHAMMEDAN.

On other points of doubt in our Philippines problem besides the vital ones of land and labor Java and Ceylon speak with equal distinctness. Concerning Mohammedan polygamy they say: Ignore it, permit it to die out naturally, as a barbarous and costly luxury, with the increase of modern influences in the environment of the man who may, if he can afford it, have many wives. Concerning slavery of the mild type that prevails in the Philippines they say: While not countenancing it (and never forgetting that the Constitution does not permit it to exist), do not be impatient if its complete abolition is not accomplished in twenty minutes. "Britons can never be slaves" and "the slave's fetters drop from him as soon as he passes under the British flag." Yet Ceylon was fifteen years a British possession before the abolition of slavery was proclaimed, and another fifteen years and a legislative enactment were required to make the proclamation effective. The suggestion of compensated emancipation in General Bates' agreement with the Sultan of Sulu is in line with the precedents. Both Java and Ceylon offered to compensate the slave owners, though in both cases, for the reasons stated, they managed to accomplish emancipation with the payment of very little cash. I was told by a British official in Singapore that at the present time through compensated emancipation England is slowly making Britons (who can never be slaves) of a section of the population of Zanzibar.

USE THE NATIVES AS CIVIL OFFICIALS AND AS SOLDIERS.

Java and Ceylon not only advise the most considerate treatment of the natives in all relations with them—protection of their means of support and their employment wherever possible in civil official positions—but also give a hint concerning the extent to which they can be safely utilized in the military force as auxiliaries. Two-thirds of the Dutch army in Netherlands India are natives. The single imperial regiment in Ceylon has over 200 natives associated with it, and by its side is a volunteer regiment of Ceylon Asiatics. (Spain, prior to the last insurrection maintained in the Philippines a civil guard numbering 3,482 and an army of 13,291, of whom only 2,210 were Europeans.)

Exclusively European officers are employed as a natural safeguard, and as a similar precaution native troops are stationed elsewhere than in their home province. Java and Ceylon suggest for the Philippines, after the islands are quieted and on a genuine peace footing, the extensive use of natives as auxiliaries, with American officers, and with Tagalog and Visayan soldiers stationed in the southern Philippines and Moro soldiers in the Tagalog and Visayan islands. The good policy of the immediate use of native troops, on the same basis as the Macabebes, arming them at first, perhaps, with an inferior rifle using different ammunition from the Regular Army supply and difficult to replenish by deserters, has been strongly urged in conversation with me by several capable army officers.

The teaching of the Dutch and English policies in the Java and Ceylon of to-day is that American welfare and that of the Filipinos coincide and are promoted together; that whatever advances the material interests of the Philippines will benefit the Republic also, and that the nation can not permanently and with success selfishly separate its interests from those of the islands, but must profit by sharing in the local prosperity, which in cooperation with the Filipinos it will create and develop.

At every step of the present stage of Luzon's development the experience of Ceylon and Java will repay study.

If the uses to which the precedents of the Dutch and English islands may be put, superficially suggested by me, are systematically and thoroughly developed, Java and Ceylon may hold a lantern to guide Luzon's footsteps in safety over many a dark and difficult path.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

MANILA'S FUTURE.

TO RIVAL ALL OTHER ASIATIC CITIES IN HEALTH AND BEAUTY—OUR PACIFIC TERMINAL CITY—NEEDS CLEANSING, SMOOTH STREETS, MORE SCHOOLS, FEWER SALOONS—ITS UNIQUE ATTRACTIONS.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star.]

In transforming Luzon into another Java or Ceylon Manila will, of course, enjoy a corresponding development, displaying all the municipal merits and avoiding all the municipal blunders of the great cities of the East. The attractions of Colombo and Batavia, of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, of Singapore, Hongkong, and Shanghai are to be noted and reproduced in the model capital of the Orient. Whatever tends to make these cities healthful, whatever renders them beautiful, and whatever gives them increasing prosperity is to be adopted, bettered if possible, and applied in the development of Manila.

In Asia the cleanliness which means health is the first municipal virtue. The filth which breeds cholera and the plague is to be the object of incessant assault. Municipal housekeeping is to be characterized by the use of abundant soap and water.

The Dutch and the English have performed the miracle of compelling the Malay and the Chinaman, packed in the close quarters of a city, to be clean. They shall be clean also in Manila.

TO BE CLEANED AND PURIFIED.

Our Asiatic metropolis will lend itself as well to thorough and scientific drainage and is as easily furnished with an ample and wholesome water supply as any of the cities enumerated.

Like all of them but Hongkong, Manila lies practically at the sea level. There is no general sewerage system, though in the old city sewer connections have been made contrary to law with the extensive surface drainage system emptying into the moat. The "dry earth" or night-soil bucket system which has been introduced and enforced by the American authorities is expected to solve one part of the sanitation problem, while a reduction or cremation plant will be a necessity of the immediate future to dispose satisfactorily of the garbage.

Through the beneficence of a philanthropist of the last century Manila is supplied with water of very good quality from the San Mateo River, the pumping station being over 8 miles outside the walled city. Ninety-seven per cent of the inhabitants of Manila use water from free public hydrants, and in addition all the streets are sprinkled without cost, and all barracks and schools and many churches and public buildings have free water. A small percentage of property owners pay a water rent, and a tax on meat sold at the markets has paid the remaining expense. The American task in this connection is one of development, improvement, and adornment, and not of original creation.

SMOOTH STREETS AND IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES.

If it requires cleanliness of the individual the municipality must itself keep in perfect order the public spaces, the streets, and parks. The irregular stones of that part of Manila which is paved give a street surface which can not be perfectly cleansed, which jolts and wears the wheels of lighter vehicles, and which harmonizes with and serves as a defense for the abominable means of public transportation which are imposed upon the people. Sanitary considerations require that the streets of Manila shall, like those of the other capitals of the East, be smooth and hard; æsthetic and economic considerations point in the same direction. And when they have had the proper effect the rough stones and the irregular unpaved surfaces will disappear, the uncomfortable and dirty carromattas and other public vehicles will give way to cabs, 'rickshaws, bicycles, and automobiles, The carromatta men need not go out of business with the advent of the 'rickshaw, but, cleansed and purified and improved as to their vehicles, they can share the carrying trade with the 'rickshaw men, like the gharry drivers of Singapore. The dirty mule-drawn street cars must make way for the underground electric system. In no other respect does Manila compare less favorably with the attractive cities of the Orient than in the condition of its streets and in its means of public transportation. A reform in this respect can not be accomplished too quickly.

The well-regulated tropical city has within easy reach, for the sake of the health of its people, breathing places, sanatoriums, in the hills or mountains, where the lungs can be refurnished with oxygen and new vigor given to the languid dweller at the sea level in the Tropics. Colombo seeks fresh air in the hills at Kandy or in the mountains at Nuwera Eliya. Batavia refreshes itself at Buitenzorg or at some

mountain sanatorium like Sindanglaya or Tosari. Singapore, having no mountain resort of its own, has recourse to Ceylon or Java. The cities of India are well supplied with refuges from the heat of summer in Darjeeling, Simla, and other hill stations. For central and eastern Asia Japan serves as a cooling-off place.

A WEALTH OF HEALTH AND PLEASURE RESORTS.

Manila has close at hand and soon to be in quick communication with it a wonderful variety of sites suitable for sanatoriums. Mountains, hills, and lakes are in the immediate vicinity. At the mouth of Manila Bay lies mountainous Corregidor, demonstrated through its use by our Army for hospital purposes to be always cool and healthful, the ideal site of a summer resort, which mingles in desirable proportions the atmosphere of the hills and of the sea. Within easy reach farther in the interior are picturesque mountain towns, like Majajay, with the waterfall of Botocan, 600 feet high and 60 feet wide, as an additional attraction. A 20-mile ride in any direction from Manila will give any required temperature, any desired mixture of sea and mountain air. In his suburban residence the business man of the Manila of the future will be able to sleep, after an hour's railroad ride from the city, in a temperature of 40° F. Cool and healthful spots may also be found close at hand and easily accessible through the Pasig, fringing the great basin of Laguna de Bay.

Forty-five miles south of Manila is Lake Bombon, with a most interesting smoking volcano, Taal, on an island in its center. South Luzon boasts two other volcanoes, Bulusan and Mayon, the latter 8,900 feet high. This Luzon Vesuvius is next to Apo in Mindanao (over 10,000 feet in height), the highest mountain in the Philippines. (America boasts the highest mountain in the Pacific Ocean in Mauna Kea, on Hawaii, 13,805 feet high.) A funicular road to Mayon's crater may reasonably be expected. There are also sulphur springs to add to the attractions of Mayon. The tobacco-growing region of North Luzon, with its great river, the largest in Luzon, and its mountains and hills, has not yet been developed as to its sanatorium capabilities, but the whole region lies in the coolest latitudes attainable in the Philippines, the altitude of its mountains is considerable, its scenery is magnificent, and in connection with the development of Aparri, at the mouth of the Cagayan, into a city of great commercial importance from this location and as the nearest point in Luzon to San Francisco, to Honolulu, to Hongkong, and to Japan, there will doubtless be found an abundance of convenient health resorts there to refresh the weary citizens.

The mountain region of Benguet, in North Luzon, lies at a general elevation of 4,000 feet above the sea level, and has some peaks 7,000 feet high. It is said to be always cool and comfortable, with pure air and fine water. The Spanish planned to build a sanatorium there. In the winter season there is frost and sometimes snow and ice. In the warm season the average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit; and in winter the mercury goes down to about freezing point. The province is also rich in mineral springs, carrying sulphur and iron especially. Tea and coffee, apples and other fruits of the temperate zone grow well there. Gold is found in the Benguet district. A mountain railway connecting by a short level line with Dagupan would enable one to reach Benguet from Manila in twelve hours.

A steamer ride of 14 miles up the Pasig River from Manila brings

one to Laguna de Bay, the largest body of fresh water in the Philippines, 25 miles long by 21 miles broad. Its eastern shore line rises in mountains, and at one of its southern ports some famous hot springs issue.

LUZON'S GREAT LAKE.

When in Manila last winter I made the Pasig-Laguna de Bay-Hot Springs trip on a quartermaster's launch, which towed two heavily laden cascoes. It was on that day in January when our troops and gunboats made the second and final capture of Santa Cruz, the most important lake port. Strong resistance was expected, but our plan of attack leaked out (as nearly all have done in the past), and the insurgents abandoned the town just before our troops arrived, and not a hostile shot was fired in resistance. At Calamba, the terminus at that time of the run of the quartermaster's launch, where it lay over night before starting on the return trip, I saw our victorious gunboats, including the Laguna de Bay, which has done such effective work on the lake and elsewhere in operations against the Filipinos. I met also some of the officers engaged in the movement then in progress against the concentrated Filipino force in Cavite Province south of Manila, one column of the aggressive Americans moving from Calamba. Among these officers were Dr. Wales and Dr. T. B. Anderson, of Washington. This trip, taken at that time, brought one in touch with the most important military operations then in progress in the Philippines, and in addition furnished two days of interesting experiences on the lake and in the Pasig.

A TRIP UP THE PASIG.

The so-called Pasig River is the short, narrow, and swift outlet of the Laguna de Bay, by which its overflow reaches Manila Bay and the ocean. Near and at its mouth it separates the old walled city of Manila from Binondo, the modern business city. Starting from the custom-house landing, the view from the launch discloses on one side the gray walls and battlements of a middle-age stronghold, with convent roofs and upper stories rising even above the walls. On the other side is the abundant small shipping of Manila, including square-ended, pole-propelled cargo lighters and native dugout canoes, landing places, official buildings, and business establishments. Near the water's edge in front of the walled city, at a point where it is pierced by a gate opening, stands a monument to Magellan, in the inclosure about which river-washed clothes are drying. Now the launch passes under the Bridge of Spain, an impressive structure of stone and iron, connecting old Manila and Binondo, always crowded, always interesting. From its mouth clear to the point where it issues from the lake the Pasig shows every minute on one side or the other some object of interest, some historic point or building, some characteristic scene, or some picturesque bit of scenery. Here one passes the spacious insane asylum buildings on an island in the river. Here one sees at the water's edge in the suburbs of Malacanan the summer palace of the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines, now the residence of General Otis, which is accessible both from the river, over which it projects a balcony at its back, and by carriage at its front, through the tropical garden which surrounds it on three sides.

PALACE AND BREWERY.

Through the development of modern conditions this noted building now finds itself in inconvenient proximity to a great brewery, which looks out upon the river and fills the air with smoke. Now we see the long ropewalk and the hospitals at Santa Mesa in the vicinity where the first shot of the Filipino war was fired, and an officer on the launch points out the place where the first American was killed in the engagement which followed. Santa Ana comes into view, with the Spanish town on the right side of the river as we travel from ocean to lake, and on the other side picturesque collections of huts constitute the native town.

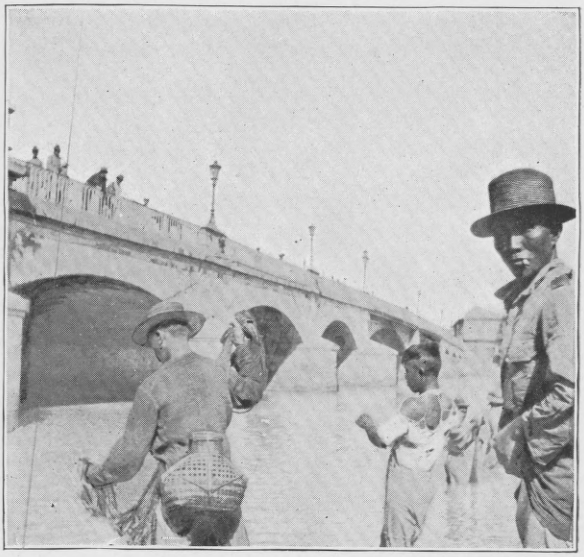
Santa Ana's old church shows conspicuously, as seen from the Pasig, and the town pushes large buildings and fine residences to the very edge of the river. Here native laundries are in full operation on stone steps descending to the river, and, wonderful to relate, men are assisting in the operation. If the male Filipino will do laundry work and the back-breaking labor of rice cultivation he should be found ready to work at anything. Here a treadmill, worked by boys, is in operation at the water's edge, serving the purpose of the Egyptian shaduf in raising water from the river with which to flood the rice fields. Now we see a carabao or water buffalo drawing the plow in a field on the bank. At this point a two-storied Filipino dwelling is being transported exclusively by human muscle to another location.

FORTRESS-LIKE SAN PEDRO MACATI.

At San Pedro Macati we catch a glimpse of the old church, but the conspicuous sight is the old Spanish barracks, whose high stone walls project fortress-like to the very edge of the stream. The native huts along the bank are mainly of bamboo thatched with nipa palm, but are of all shapes and sizes, and some of them present a patchwork appearance, being of varied material, in which tin cans enter as a factor, as in the pauper settlement at the Hot Springs, Arkansas. The banana is the tropical tree most frequently seen. Many kilns are visible, used for making brick and native pottery, most of them shaped like a sugar loaf, one resembling a flume stretched along the hillside. Native canoes shoot past, in many cases filled with cans of cocoanut oil. Little bamboo landings project into the water from which the patient fisherman throws his net hour after hour, satisfied with the catch of a few small fish as his day's work. Now we see the front of what appears to be a stone edifice on the bank leading at one side to a cavern cut from the solid rock. Numerous explanations of its existence were given, which represented it as everything from a Chinese temple to the whimsical work of a crazy Spanish princess.

SHELL-BATTERED PASIG.

Near the junction with the lake is Pasig village, which, like almost all of the towns along the river, is sadly battered by shot and shell. The pretentious houses on both sides of one whole street are in ruins. The Americans quickly seized control of the Pasig, retained it by hard fighting in which the gunboats did good work, and thus severed direct and easy communication between the insurgents north and south of Manila. The scenery beyond Pasig village is extremely interesting. The land and its inhabitants give way only gradually and reluctantly



THE BRIDGE OF SPAIN.

THE MAGELLAN MONUMENT.

THE BANKS OF THE PASIG.

ON THE BRIDGE OF SPAIN.

to the unbroken water of the lake. On both sides of the Pasig's channel is a vast area of marshy ground, covered completely by water in the rainy season, now cultivated by wading men aided by numerous carabao, which are here seen in herds that include many calves. Thousands of white birds, cranes and gulls, fill the air. At the lake mouth of the Pasig is Napindam village, whose people live in bamboo houses built on piles, and in long canoes, and who supervise the acres of elaborate fish traps through which the launch winds before reaching the open waters of the lake.

THE HOT SPRINGS OF LUZON.

Los Banos, the lake port, where the hot springs are found, is only a few miles from Calamba. In old times a fine Spanish sanatorium was situated here. The extensive buildings of this hospital resort still remain in part, and are used as officers' quarters and barracks by the company of American soldiers stationed here. The old church is utilized as a storehouse for commissary supplies. The native village consists largely of a single street lined with huts and little booths, which did a brisk trade in bananas and oranges. There are numerous hot springs, some of them of great volume. Two or three issue near the edge of the lake, and the smoke rising from its surface at points near the shore shows that the hot water gushes out from the bottom of the lake and mingles with its waters.

Manila is thus wonderfully endowed by nature with easily accessible health resorts, situated on a beautiful bay with Corregidor at its mouth, having only a few miles eastward a large lake with hot springs equal to those in Arkansas at its edge, with mountains and hills and picturesque scenery in the immediate neighborhood in almost every direction, with a wonderfully interesting volcano, Taal, only 45 miles away, and with the volcanoes Bulusan and Mayon, with its accompanying sulphur springs, to be rendered accessible by the future railroad of south Luzon.

Not only will Manila have an ample supply of health resorts, but nature has so favored it that it will not be a herculean task of sewerage, drainage, improved water supply, and general cleansing to render the city itself attractive from its comparative healthfulness.

UNIQUE ATTRACTIONS OF MANILA.

Manila possesses some features of unique interest. It can show to the tourist a Spanish walled city of the middle ages, with moat and bastions, fort, and dungeons, and with palaces, churches, and residences of Spanish architecture and suggesting nothing else than a Spanish town. There will not be seen anywhere a greater mixture of races than in Binondo, the cosmopolitan, modern, business section of Manila, where Asia, Europe, America, Africa, and Australia come together. Tobacco factories furnish Asiatic rivals in interest to those of Seville and Habana. Native markets supply scenes of unique interest to the European or American. When "this cruel war is over" and a period of peaceful development follows the series of struggles which have cursed Luzon and checked progress in Manila, the fine gardens about the handsome residences of Manila, now in many cases neglected, will blossom and bloom in tropical luxuriance. A fraction of the intelligent care bestowed on its vegetation by Honolulu (which lies on the dry side of Oahu) will render Manila a tropical paradise.

AMERICAN HOTELS AND BANKS NEEDED.

Among the city's conspicuous needs are one or more carefully managed, clean, and comfortable American hotels. A strong national bank, with American correspondents in the great cities of Asia, is as necessary to Manila as it is for the reaping of the full benefits by Americans of the vastly increased trade with Asia, which the United States is to enjoy. The bankers are the money-makers of Asia. We must create and use our own merchant marine and our own banking system in the competition for Asiatic trade. It must not be permitted that the American shall continue to find his gold dollar worth less in silver in the banks of Manila than in the banks of any other large Asiatic city.

Manila Bay is much too large for a safe harbor at certain seasons of the year. A perfected harbor improvement, such as that which has built up Colombo, is much to be desired. Botanical and culture gardens like those of Buitenzorg, Peradenya, Calcutta, Penang, and Singapore are to be fostered in Manila, not only, as already pointed out, for a useful, practical, economic purpose in the highest development of the agricultural resources and capabilities of the island, but also as providing an attractive park and breathing place, both for resident and tourist visitor.

The botanical gardens and the waterworks reservoir, beautiful as at Singapore, should add new drives to that provided along the water's edge outside the walled city by the famous Luneta.

MORE SCHOOLS AND LIBRARIES; FEWER SALOONS.

Health of mind will receive attention, as well as health of body. Manila will share with all Luzon the benefits of a system of thorough public education. The efforts to establish a public library, initiated by public-spirited Mrs. Greenleaf, should reap deserved success, and the reading facilities provided for the soldiers through the Y. M. C. A. by the beneficence of Miss Helen Gould will serve a very useful purpose.

While increasing its churches, its schools, and its public libraries, Manila can afford to reduce the number of its saloons, and to deprive those that are permitted to remain of some of the conspicuous and ostentatious proclamations of their presence, which last winter offended the ear and eye on the main street of Manila. Asiatic cities have the merit of forbidding vice to flaunt itself openly before the public. The shop where the national intoxicant is sold is as quiet and orderly as the shop for the sale of any other product. The brothels are isolated and regulated and hemmed about with restrictions to the last degree. Neither the intoxicated man nor the courtesan brushes against you in the streets or loudly proclaims presence in a public house. In visiting many cities in Asia during the last few months I saw no man boisterous from drink in public outside of Manila except one English soldier at the Peak in Hongkong, who was promptly and unceremoniously hustled away out of sight by other soldiers, with apologies by them for his condition.

This matter, which has already received the earnest attention of the responsible officials, should be regulated by the Government with a firm hand. It is not a reformatory movement which will clash with

local public sentiment, like a campaign against cock fighting, for instance. Neither the Spaniard nor the Filipino has been in the habit of getting drunk in public.

PRESERVE AMERICAN PRESTIGE.

Outside of the moral question, there is a consideration of national self-respect and international prestige. An essential of the proper relation between the American and the Filipino is that the latter shall respect the former and give him his confidence. Of so much importance was it considered by the Dutch that the Javanese should habitually look up to them that, we are told in Miss Scidmore's work on Java, the resident can order any planter or trader out of his domain who "does anything to compromise the superior standing or prestige of the white people." "The Dutch," she adds, "are severe upon this latter point, and the best of them uphold a certain noblesse oblige as imperative upon all who possess a white skin. The European military officer is sent to Holland for court-martial and punishment that the native soldiers may remain ignorant of his degradation, and the European who descends to drunkenness is hurried from native sight and warned."

I have personally seen very little of the public intoxication in Manila which has been described, and there may be, as is alleged, much of exaggeration in the accounts. It may be true that the obviously too numerous and too noisy saloons took the place of still more numerous booths where a native drink which crazes the foreigner (traffic in which is now prohibited) was sold. It is even barely possible that conditions on the Escolta were more discreditable in this respect under Spanish rule than under our own. A spectacle far worse is to be seen along the main street of many of our mining towns and in certain sections of any of our large cities. But the Escolta is the main show street of our representative city in Asia. It is compared not with the principal avenue of Poker Flat or with a slum street of New York, but with the main thoroughfare in each of the Asiatic commercial capitals. It should be put in condition to stand this comparison. The story of the Escolta's discreditable state has been told with exaggerations all over Asia, and the American everywhere is so assailed by disparaging question or comment on this point that he feels profoundly humiliated.

The American traveling in Asia is proud of our army in the Philippines and gratified at the high regard in which it is almost universally held for courage, dash, and effectiveness.

Only a very small fraction of the army is intemperate, but a fraction of this fraction, when in disorderly and boisterous evidence in and about the saloons along the Escolta, gives undeservedly an ill-repute to the whole organization, which the temperate or self-restrained officers and soldiers indignantly resent.

Our Army officers in charge of municipal affairs have already reduced the number of saloons under a license system and have otherwise improved the conditions complained of. This policy should be steadily pursued. An increase of the license may rid the city of additional saloons, and even more stringent restrictions may regulate in the direction of quiet and good order the conduct of the business; but in one way or another it should be rendered impossible for any rum-

seller to fill his saloon, overflowing into the Escolta, with men boisterous from drink, who wear, or are entitled to wear, the uniform of the United States; and impossible for an American officer or soldier thus to discredit that uniform and all that it represents in the eyes of the Filipinos and of the world.

COMMERCIAL CAPITAL OF THE ORIENT.

Manila will grow in wealth, population, and commercial importance, not merely in proportion to the development of the Philippines, but corresponding to the increase of American trade in the Pacific, and especially with China, for which it will naturally be the principal distributing point. With the opening of an isthmian canal under American control, with the laying of necessary American cables in the Pacific, with the creation of an American merchant marine, and with the sincere application of the principles of the merit system to our foreign consular and diplomatic service, and especially to the delicate task of governing the Philippines, the desired result of American supremacy in Pacific trade will be attained, and Manila will wrest the commercial scepter from the strongest and most prosperous of her competitors among Asiatic cities.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

HOW TO GOVERN.

THIS IS THE REAL PHILIPPINE PROBLEM, NOT SHALL WE ABANDON—A FREE HAND FOR CONGRESS IN THE INTEREST OF WISE DISCRIMINATING LAWS FOR THE FILIPINOS—FLEXIBILITY A VITAL NEED.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star, June 23, 1900.]

Study of Javanese, Cinghalese, and other oriental precedents for useful hints in dealing with our Asiatic possessions assumes that the real Philippines problem is: "How shall we manage Philippine affairs to promote to the highest degree the welfare of both Filipinos and Americans?"

It treats as already conclusively answered the preliminary query: "Shall we hold or abandon the Philippines?"

Without considering at all the merits of the popular verdict, it assumes that the same public opinion which brought about the acquisition of the islands will assure their retention.

There is no apparent evidence of a change of mind on the part of the merchants, manufacturers, agriculturists, and workingmen who are interested, directly or indirectly, in an expanded foreign commerce, in the retention and increase of our Chinese and Asiatic trade. These classes, covering and representing every section of the Republic, continue to think on this subject as men would naturally do who find increasing prosperity in the transfer to Asia of the cotton of the South, the kerosene, the machinery, and the countless minor products of the manufacturing East, the flour of the West, and the timber and general supplies of the Pacific coast.

The trend of the influence of the churches, with their powerful missionary organizations, is still in the same direction. They appreciate that the victory of Manila Bay and the possession of the Philippines

not only open up new missionary fields, but make every American missionary in all Asia more respected and safer in his person, and, as a consequence, more effective in his labors.

The aggressive, acquisitive spirit of the great West, fresh from frontier struggles, was enthusiastic for the war with Spain, and now seems equally vigorous for retention of the fruits of the war. This spirit meets with sympathetic response from the hot-blooded youth of the Republic of every section, in the North and East and South no less than in the West.

PHILIPPINES TO BE RETAINED.

While commercial, missionary, and war-spirit influences thus urge toward retention, there has been no change in our relations with foreign powers and in the greater evils of every alternative course, consideration of which at Paris caused even the antiexpansion representative on the peace commission to assent to the acquisition of the whole of the Philippines. There are the same threatened alternative results from present abandonment of the islands as from refusal then to take them, to wit, vengeful and cruel harrying of the Philippines by the Spanish Cuban army, anarchy for the Filipinos, transfer of the islands from Spain to Germany, international war, and final domination of the Philippines by some foreign power whose occupation would render worthless for commercial and strategic purposes the Philippine stations reserved for our own use.

As if to render impossible abandonment of the islands, the bulk of those Americans who opposed their acquisition and retention have curiously enough adopted and are now urging a construction of the Constitution which, if sustained by the Supreme Court, would make the Philippines an integral part of the United States for all purposes and prevent absolutely their secession or separation therefrom, even with the consent of Congress. If Congress may not constitutionally treat the Philippines as not included within the words "United States" when uniformity of duties is the issue, it may not suffer them to be distinguished from the "United States" for the purpose of setting up in them an independent government under Aguinaldo. No one will contend that the powers of Congress, express or implied, include that of consenting to the secession of an integral part of the United States, and unless under coercion of superior force to any diminution of the Union. Thus it results that those who argue the most vigorously that the Philippines ought to be separated from the United States are at the same time urging that they are constitutionally inseparable.

When the opponents of the acquisition of the islands are apparently convinced that the Constitution forbids their abandonment the vote for retention might perhaps be made unanimous.

THE REAL PHILIPPINES PROBLEM.

Assuming that the Philippines are to be held and to be governed in the manner most promotive of Filipino and American welfare, it is in order to determine what relation of the islands to the Republic will best serve this beneficent purpose.

The lessons of Java and Ceylon are practically lost if they do not teach the necessity of flexibility in the legal systems to be applied to the various parts of the archipelago. Different tariffs, different labor regulations, different general laws, different degrees of self-government

must prevail in the various sections of the Philippines, and all must differ, if the welfare of the natives is to be promoted, from those which exist in the United States. Neither the Tagalog nor the Moro can to-day, with comfort to himself, be forced into the American mold.

To permit this adaptability of methods in accordance with the conditions confronted in each case it is desirable the Congress should have as free a legislative hand as possible, not in order that we of the United States may gratify our tyrannical instincts by placing a despotic heel upon the neck of Asiatic millions, but in order that the most valued rights and privileges, the ingrained sentiments and traditions, of these millions may be to the limit of national safety respected and protected.

American protection and guardianship of the Filipinos should be as a light, strong, flexible, easily fitting coat of mail, and not as a uniform, unyielding, cramping strait-jacket.

NOT OUTSIDE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

It is unnecessary to take the position that "the Constitution does not extend to the Philippines" in order to secure for them the considerate and discriminating treatment which is advocated. The Consti, tution, as the organic law of the United States, creates Congress-makes it the governing body of the Philippines, and fixes the status of the archipelago as "territory belonging to the United States" and among places "subject to their jurisdiction." The Philippines are not outside of the Constitution, but are recognized by that document and take the niche in the governmental structure assigned to them by it.

To say that certain constitutional limitations upon the power of Congress are not intended to apply to it in legislating for the Territories is not to place the latter outside of the Constitution. Congress may be thrown thereby for some purposes outside of certain constitutional restraints. But the Constitution gives to Congress, as the legislature of the Territories, express power to make all needful rules and regulations concerning them. If no one of the constitutional limitations upon the power of Congress is held to apply to it in this capacity, it will not then cut loose from the Constitution, since it will, in legislating for the Territories, be fulfilling a function intrusted to it without restriction by the Constitution itself.

STATUS OF TERRITORIES.

The vital question affecting the Philippines is: In what cases is "territory belonging to the United States" to be construed as included within the words "United States" as they appear in different sections of the Constitution?

Upon the answer to this question depends the degree of freedom with which Congress may legislate discriminatingly for the welfare of the Philippines.

In its relation to the States Congress has only the powers of legislation specified and necessarily implied in the Constitution; in its relation to "the territory belonging to the United States" it has all the powers conceivable in the legislature of a republic, limited only by the express or implied qualifications of the Constitution. The fewer the number of these applicable limitations the broader the scope of the powers of Congress in respect to the Philippines.

In the thirteenth amendment the Constitution clearly distinguishes

between the United States and places "subject to their jurisdiction," said places being unmistakably the territory belonging to the United States. When the Constitution says that slavery shall not "exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction" it asserts by implication that there are places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States which are not within the United States. Otherwise the words "or any place subject to their jurisdiction" become mere surplusage. Evidently the Constitution does not agree with the speakers and writers who view the status of those thus subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, but not within it, as one of virtual slavery, for it recognizes this status in the very words which abolish and forever forbid slavery and involuntary servitude.

The Philippines, as territory belonging to the United States, are part of the United States in the geographical and popular sense, and Congress, in legislating for them, will doubtless be bound by those constitutional prohibitions and affirmations which state republican principles of legislation and which constitute the individual American's Bill of Rights. Either the courts would declare that these provisions of the Constitution were intended to apply to the Filipinos as the inhabitants of territory belonging to the United States or Congress would, in any event, feel constrained to legislate in accordance with the spirit of these privilege-guaranteeing declarations.

It does not appear that injury to the Filipinos is to be apprehended from the extension to them of the American Bill of Rights, whether this is accomplished directly, through the constitutional provisions, or by Congressional enactment.

OUTSIDE OF THE UNION OF STATES.

But while the Philippines are part of the United States popularly and geographically, they are not a part of the United States as the term is most frequently employed in the Constitution, which is made up exclusively of the united States, and is the governing entity, the Union.

For instance, when the Constitution says that the day for choosing Presidential electors shall be the same "throughout the United States" it evidently does not include nonvoting territory like the Philippines within the meaning of "United States."

Are the Philippines included within "the United States" when the Constitution provides that all duties shall be uniform "throughout the United States?" Does "the United States" mean the same thing in the two sections of the Constitution, or is the term of varying dimensions, contracting to exclude the Philippines in one case and expanding to include them in the other?

What is the area of the United States mentioned in the fourteenth amendment, which declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States * * * are citizens of the United States?"

These questions can, of course, be answered finally only by the Supreme Court of the United States in the light of modern facts and conditions and the war amendments to the Constitution.

I do not intend to discuss the constitutional question or to attempt to forecast the Supreme Court's decision upon it; but if the welfare of the parties in interest, both Filipinos and Americans, is to be considered in the matter, the United States will not be held to include the Philippines either for the purposes of uniformity in duties or for conferring upon the Filipinos indiscriminately national citizenship.

UNIFORMITY PROVISION DISASTROUS FOR FILIPINOS.

In the discussion of this matter the dangers to American industries and interests have been thoroughly considered, but not enough attention has been paid to the injury with which the Filipinos are threatened.

To extend the Dingley law to the islands would, to cite, for example, a single important item, increase the duty on rice (the Filipino's bread) a thousand per cent over the Spanish rate. It would work disaster, discontent, and probable riots in the northern and central Philippines and certain bloodshed in Moroland, whose people, unaccustomed to taxation, were worked up almost to the point of revolt by our attempt to collect the comparatively light duties exacted by the Spanish law in Luzon and the Visayan Islands.

Under the treaty ceding Louisiana at the beginning of the century and under the first Congressional legislation concerning Hawaii at the century's end the duties to be paid in these possessions were not uniform with those exacted in the United States. If the uniformity provision of the Constitution did not apply to this territory of the United States from the moment of annexation, it does not apply to the Philippines. If Congress could specifically authorize the collection of Hawaiian duties in Hawaii instead of the rates imposed by the Dingley law and could continue these nonuniform rates until it was ready in its wisdom to extend the American tariff with an organized Territorial government to these islands, then the same course may constitutionally be pursued in respect to the Philippines; and for this considerate treatment petitioning Filipinos should ever pray.

Full national citizenship would be a burden upon the mass of Filipinos, and conferring it would tend to deteriorate and discredit that citizenship. Our experience with the negro question in the South ought to warn us against going too fast in this kind of expansion. The Southern negro was enfranchised by the Constitution, and later was deprived of his rights by force and fraud, apparently the whole Republic consenting. The nation, every State, and all Americans are profoundly humiliated when the facts enable a Southern Senator to boast at the Capitol that the people of his section are deliberately disregarding and nullifying certain sections of the Constitution, and when the North and West tacitly acquiesce in this subversion, apparently confessing by their failure to enforce against the offenders the constitutional penalty of reduced representation in the House that their own original action had been premature and unwise, beneficial to nobody, not even to the negro himself.

In handling this branch of the Philippine problem we should treat national citizenship as a precious thing, not to be lightly conferred, not to be imposed where it would become an unbearable burden. The injunction not to cast pearls before swine not only warns the pearl owner against wasteful extravagance, but recognizes that swine are not for their own welfare to be fed on pearls.

The policy of the expansionists requires that the Philippines be treated as territory belonging to the United States, and not as in every respect and under all conditions an integral part of the Union, in order that through their possession without injury to the Republic our Asiatic trade may be vastly developed, and our hold upon the Pacific, the great ocean of the commercial future, may be strengthened and confirmed.

The policy of the antiexpansionists also demands continuous treatment of the islands as territory subject to the disposal of Congress, in order that there may be left the possibility, after full examination and discussion, of cutting the tie which binds the Philippines to the United States on the ground that it is injurious to both peoples.

The interests and welfare of the Filipinos themselves demand this treatment, in order that there may be a considerate flexibility in the government and laws applied to them, which would be impossible if the islands were subjected to the constitutional limitation concerning uniformity of duties and the other restrictive provisions applicable to the States of the Union.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

UNITED STATES KINDERGARTEN.

TERRITORIAL PUPILS IN PRIMARY CLASS OF REPUBLICANISM—UNCLE SAM A CHRONIC, CRUEL DESPOT, WHO HAS LONG BOUGHT MEN LIKE CATTLE AND RULED THEM AS SERFS—CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star, June 25. 1900.]

The Philippines enter at the foot of Uncle Sam's primary class in republicanism and self-government. At the head of the class stand organized Territories, like New Mexico; in the middle are Hawaii, the District of Columbia, Alaska, and Porto Rico. They are all in the same class, because the ultimate government of them lies in a body outside of themselves, in which they are not represented and in whose acts they do not participate. A territorial Delegate, unrecognized by the Constitution and voteless, is not a part of Congress, does not constitute representation in Congress, and is merely a petitioning agent of the Territory, with the privileges of the floor of the National Legislature.

The actual status of the Territory in its relation to the Union does not turn upon the possession or nonpossession of a Delegate, or of any privilege granted by a legislature in which it is not represented. If any territory is in slavery, all are slaves, notwithstanding variations in the number and weight of their respective shackles.

It is an honor to be entered in the Republic's school, even in the primary class and at its foot. No one who understands what the Filipinos have gained in escaping to Uncle Sam's premises from Spanish monastic rule, from the bloody dictatorship of Aguinaldo, from anarchy, or from the threatened blood-and-iron domination of a European military despotism, has any tears to shed over the alleged unhappy lot of the people of the Philippines.

To be a territorial citizen of the United States is to enjoy a dignity less only than that of being a State citizen or a national citizen of the United States.

Injustice to Uncle Sam and deception of this newcomer to his own injury are involved in the efforts which have been made to foster discontent in the Republic's latest pupil and to convince him that he is the victim of outrageously unfair treatment. He is taunted with entering the national kindergarten under compulsion, and with being humiliated and degraded among his associates by this neglect to secure his consent.

CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

In establishing the jurisdiction of Congress over the Philippines as territory belonging to the United States the same "consent of the governed" will have been obtained from the Filipinos as was secured from the inhabitants of the land contained in the Louisiana purchase, of Florida when annexed, of the territory conquered and purchased from Mexico, of Alaska, and from the Indians who were the first occupants of the original thirteen States. The same consent to government by Congress which the District of Columbia and Alaska now give will be given by the Filipinos. In all of these cases the benefits of the proposed government are held to be so obvious that the consent of the governed is assumed.

Forcible resistance contradicting this assumption is immaterial. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, and in accordance with the precedents, the consent of the rebellious Tagalogs to government by the United States will be presumed, as was that of the people of the South after the civil war, and that of the rebelling Mexicans in California and New Mexico after our acquisition of that territory.

It appears that all the members of Uncle Sam's primary class were entered therein without their consent, and that there is at least nothing peculiar or discriminating in the course pursued toward the Philippines.

Let us see how the treatment proposed for the Philippine newcomer will compare with that to which some of the old pupils have been subjected in the severe discipline of the Republic's school. Let us discover how much agonized sympathy is reasonably to be lavished upon the Filipinos as the victims of a sudden and startling development of despotic cruelty in Uncle Sam.

UNCLE SAM A HARDENED OFFENDER.

If to acquire territory by purchase or conquest without consulting the inhabitants as to their wishes, and then to govern it arbitrarily without their consent, make of the Republic a despot, overthrow the Constitution, cast republican principles to the dogs, and threaten national chaos and ruin, then Uncle Sam is a hardened offender in this class of political crime, and the Constitution has been outraged and the country ruined as often in the national history as the opportunity has been afforded.

Our first acquisition was that of Louisiana. Of the circumstances of its entrance into Uncle Sam's kindergarten the historian (Henry Adams) has this to say:

> Within three years of his inauguration Jefferson bought a foreign colony without its consent and against its will, annexed it to the United States by an act which he said made blank paper of the Constitution; and then he who had found his predecessors too monarchical and the Constitution too liberal in its powers * * * made himself monarch of the new territory and wielded over it against its protests the powers of its old kings.

The Republicans and Federalists, the political parties of that day, disputed over the relation of Louisiana to the Republic and over the powers of Congress in respect to the acquired territory, but they agreed in placing very few limits upon Uncle Sam's despotic tendencies.

The Federalists [says Adams] maintained that the central Government, representing the States in Union, might, if it pleased, as a consequence of its inherent sovereignty, hold the rest of America in its possession and govern it as England governed Jamaica or as Spain was governing Louisiana, but without the consent of the States could not admit such new territory into the Union. The Republicans seemed rather inclined to think that new territory acquired by war or conquest would become at once a part of the general territory mentioned in the Constitution, and as such might be admitted by Congress as a State, or otherwise disposed of as the general welfare might require, but that in either case neither the people nor the States had anything to do with the matter. At bottom both doctrines were equally fatal to the old status of the Union. In one case the States formed or to be formed east of the Mississippi had established a government which could hold the rest of the world in despotic control, and which bought a foreign people as it might buy cattle to rule over them as their owner; in the other case the Government was equally powerful, and might also admit the purchased or conquered territory into the Union as States.

By an act of sovereignty as despotic as the corresponding acts of France and Spain Jefferson and his party had annexed to the Union a foreign people and a vast territory, which profoundly altered the relations of the States and the character of their nationality. By similar acts they governed both.

DESPOTIC RULE OF LOUISIANA.

A bill for the temporary government of Louisiana, emanating from the Executive, was introduced and passed.

It was a startling bill [says Thomas H. Benton], continuing the existing Spanish Government; putting the President in the place of the King of Spain; putting all the Territorial officers in the place of the King's officers, and placing the appointment of all these officers in the President alone, without reference to the Senate. Nothing could be more incompatible with our Constitution than such a government—a mere emanation of Spanish despotism, in which all powers, civil and military, legislative, executive, and judicial, were in the intendant-general, representing the King; and where the people, far from possessing political rights, were punishable arbitrarily for presuming to meddle with political subjects.

Federalists objected that the bill was unconstitutional. Republicans replied that Congress had a power in the Territories which could not be exercised in the States, and that the limitations of power found in the Constitution are applicable to States and not to Territories.

Later, by act of Congress, Louisiana was divided at the thirty-third parallel. The country north of that line was subjected to the government of Indiana Territory. For the southern section the bill created a Territorial government, in which the people of Louisiana were to have no share. The governor and secretary were to be appointed by the President for three years; the legislative council consisted of thirteen members, to be appointed by the President without consulting the Senate. Senator Adams, during the debate on the bill, offered a resolution to the effect that no constitutional power existed to tax the people of Louisiana without their consent, and carried but three votes with him in support of the principle. Representative Campbell said of the bill:

It really establishes a complete despotism; it does not evince a single trait of liberty; it does not confer one single right to which they are entitled under the treaty; it does not extend to them the benefits of the Federal Constitution or declare when hereafter they shall receive them.

Louisiana [says Henry Adams] received a government in which the people who had been solemnly promised all the rights of American citizens were set apart not as citizens, but as subjects.

At that time the American Republic, to which the flag meant freedom, contained only 830,000 square miles; the American monarchy of

Louisiana, to which "the flag meant despotism," contained 1,200,000 square miles. Will the Republic of to-day, with its 3,603,844 square miles, extending from ocean to ocean, be overcome and hurled to destruction by a monarchic annex on the order of Louisiana, containing only 114,000 square miles and on the other side of the world?

OTHER VICTIMS OF AMERICAN OPPRESSION.

New Mexico began to be governed by the United States without the consent of its people, who had enjoyed and had never abjured the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the Republic of Mexico; a revolt by the Mexican George Washington-Aguinaldo was crushed mercilessly by the grinding oppressors, the American despots who struck down New Mexican liberties; military government and government by Congress, through the machinery of an organized Territory, have in succession ruled this people, and after the lapse of over fifty years they are still excluded from participation in the national councils, and are still outside the Union, so far as national elections and government are concerned.

The District of Columbia has for a hundred years been governed without its consent, taxed without representation, subjected to the jurisdiction of a body in whose counsels it has never participated. Direct taxes are collected from the District, but no representatives are allotted to it, though the Constitution expressly couples the two things. When the words "throughout the United States" are employed in the Constitution, they have been held to include the District when uniformity of duties is prescribed, and to exclude the District when the time of national elections is fixed. The District has been pronounced a State under a treaty with France, a construction conferring privileges on aliens, but not a State under the Constitution, whose people can sue in the Federal courts. It is thus treated as a part of the Union of States when burdens are to be imposed, and not a part of the Union when privileges are to be conferred. Technically the political status of the people of the District of Columbia is the most deplorable and their unhappy political lot is theoretically the most heart-rending of any recorded in so-called republican annals. Our grief over imaginary political woes may well begin at home if it begins at all.

GRINDING TYRANNY IN ALASKA.

Alaska's entrance into the Republic's primary class exhibits some notable similarities to that of the Philippines. As the first noncontiguous acquisition of the United States, it set the precedent for our annexations in Asia. Though it covered, according to varying estimates, anywhere from 500,000 to 800,000 square miles, it resembled the Philippines in offering "little or no prospect of ever becoming fit for admission to the Union on an equal footing with the States." Its main value was supposed to be in its fisheries, and commercial and broad international considerations urged its annexation.

Undoubtedly our tropical territory and its people will have good reason to complain if they are not treated as liberally and considerately as our frigid territory and its people. How, then, have Alaska and the Alaskans fared?

The treaty of cession provided that—

The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice, reserving their natural allegiance, may return to Russia within three years, but if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may from time to time adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.

Thus Russians who remained in Alaska were promised citizenship in the United States. No such promise were made to the natives. And the Constitution does not seem of its own force to have conferred such citizenship upon anybody immediately upon treaty ratification.

In the case of the Philippines nobody was promised American citizenship by the treaty. The civil rights and political status of the natives are to be determined by Congress. Why should the Constitution bind Congress more tightly in dealing with the Filipinos than with the Alaskans? Why should our uncivilized tribes near the equator be transformed by the Constitution instantly upon treaty ratification into national citizens of the United States when treaty ratification had no such effect upon our uncivilized tribes near the pole?

If one born since annexation among the uncivilized native tribes of Alaska is not under the Constitution a citizen of the United States, why must one born among the uncivilized native tribes of the Philippines since annexation be necessarily such a citizen? If we may constitutionally classify the natives of Alaska with our Indian tribes in their relation to citizenship, may we not treat the natives of the Philippines after the same analogy?

ABSOLUTE MILITARY DESPOTISM.

From the time of the transfer [says A. P. Swineford, ex-governor of the Territory, in his book on Alaska] the newly acquired Territory was looked upon and treated by the President and Congress as an Indian country, and the rule of General Davis and succeeding military commanders was little, if any, less than absolute. * * * There was no semblance of civil law in all the Territory which was not subservient to the military authority. * * * The period of seventeen years following the transfer, with rare intervals, was one of gloom and ignominy. The people long resident, who hailed with joy the transfer as a deliverance from half a century of oppression bordering on degradation, and who were eager to declare their allegiance to the Government which by solemn treaty stipulation had guaranteed to them "all the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States," were treated more as conquered foes than as friends delivered from a long period of bondage. * * *

The ill-treatment accorded the Russian people decided a very large majority of them to avail themselves of that clause of the treaty which provided for their return to Russia within a period of three years, and the year following the transfer their exodus began and was continued until all but a mere fraction of the whole number had availed themselves of the free transportation provided by the imperial government. They preferred to take their chances under an absolute despotism to the blessings of a free government as exemplified in their brief experience of United States military rule in Alaska.

Petitions for a civil government were very soon sent to Washington. Twice delegates to Congress were informally elected, but seats in that body were denied them.

Military garrisons were established immediately after the transfer at Wrangell, St. Paul, and Kenai, but the last two were withdrawn in 1870. Those at Sitka and Wrangell were retained until 1877, when they too were withdrawn, and for nearly two years the people were left not only without any form of government, but with-

out any protection whatever. * * * Believing that a withdrawal of the troops meant the abandonment of Alaska by the Government, the natives became arrogant and domineering, and during the whole of February, 1878, the white people of Sitka were constantly under arms and on guard, fearful of a surprise and attack, in which the lives of all would be sacrificed. * * *

It was not till 1884, seventeen years after transfer, that Alaska was accorded even the semblance of civil government. In that year Congress passed a bill entitled "An act to create a civil government for the district of Alaska," which was approved by the President May 17. And such an act was never before conceived in the brain of statesman, whether of high or low degree.

SHAM CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

* * * After the lapse of seventeen years, during the whole of which time the white residents of Alaska lived in a condition either of absolute civil anarchy or military absolutism, their prayers for relief were answered by the enactment of an organic law in which all the more important and valued rights, privileges, and immunities of American citizenship are expressly and positively denied them. * * * It sets up an anomalous form of civil government; assigns laws that are wholly inapplicable, and devolves upon the officers it creates duties that are impossible of performance; a government without the machinery necessary to its operation; a form without the substance. It has but served to prolong in a lesser degree the cruel injustice of which these people were for seventeen years the helpless victims, in that it is a governmental denial to them of those—

rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, guaranteed to them by solemn treaty. * * * Even at this late date (1898) the people of that hitherto unappreciated, long-neglected territorial acquisition are without voice in any legislative body by which the defects in their anomalous "civil government" can be remedied, and are practically without any provision of law whereby they may secure titles to their homes.

Even the legislation of 1900 (thirty-three years after the transfer) fails to give them a Territorial delegate.

The precedent of Alaska would justify the retention of the Philippines under military government for seventeen years, and under a form of civil government that is a sham for sixteen years more. But no one believes that Uncle Sam will be as inconsiderate of the people in his tropical territory as he has been of the inhabitants of his frigid possessions.

EXCESS OF KINDNESS FOR NEWCOMERS.

The prompt granting to Hawaii and Porto Rico of such considerate measures of civil government without retaining them for indefinite periods under military domination, when compared with the treatment to which Alaska and Louisiana have been subjected, suggests that Uncle Sam is kind to excess to the latest acquisitions to his family, and gives pleasing promise to the Philippines of what is in store for them.

Outside of the imposition of slight temporary duties on Porto Rican products (which action seems impolitic because it is irritating and prematurely strife-breeding, without being necessary to protect any vital interest either of the Union or Porto Rico) the policy pursued toward Hawaii and Porto Rico has been extraordinarily considerate, and beneficial in the highest degree.

If any member of Uncle Sam's kindergarten may reasonably grumble, it is not the new pupil who has the good fortune to enter at a time when the authorities have adopted a coddling policy and hazing is strictly prohibited, but the old members who have for many years been contemptuously neglected by the authorities and bullied and abused by the upper classes.

OUR TORRID AND FRIGID TERRITORY.

In the case of both Alaska and the Philippines the Republic's undertaking is to furnish a government for the territory without participation by the people therein until the time when the population shall become fitted in numbers and character to take part in the government. If that time never arrives, then the territory will continue indefinitely without direct participation in the government of the Republic. When Alaska was annexed there was no more reason than in the case of the Philippines to expect that it would ever acquire sufficient population of the kind entitled to representation in Congress to enable States of the Union to be carved from it. The objects sought in the annexation were national; the local interest and the Alaskan's rights under the Constitution were not at all considered.

If the Constitution was not smashed into fragments by the annexation of noncontiguous Alaska without the consent of the Alaskans, and by American government of Alaska without participation therein of the Alaskans, then the Constitution is uninjured by a similar annexation of the nonconsenting Philippines and their government by the United States without Filipino participation.

There are more Filipinos than Alaskans, but the constitutional question can not turn on the numbers of persons involved. The Constitution is as badly shattered in principle by the purchase and governing without their consent of a hundred Alaskans as of a thousand Filipinos.

The people of the temperate zones can not live and labor to advantage either near the pole or under the equator. For sound national reasons, distinct from the desire to form new States of the Union, we have annexed a large slice (580,000 square miles) of the arctic regions, with the white and red men who inhabit it, and now a small slice (114,000 square miles) of the tropics, peopled by yellow and black men. We will hold and govern both, not for the present, at least, as in every respect and for all purposes an integral part of the union of States, but on American principles, in the manner best adapted to their conditions, and promoting to the fullest extent the welfare of their inhabitants and of the Republic as a whole.

GRADUATING FROM THE PRIMARY CLASS.

Though there is not the slightest promise of immediate action in the direction of so wise and equitable a policy, the District of Columbia, with increase of its permanent resident population, may some day, without necessarily losing its status as national territory governed directly by Congress, be permitted to enjoy the privilege of participation in the national councils as a quasi-State. The discovery of gold in Alaska and the rush of population toward it give some slight promise of similar privileges, in time, to that region, which would have appeared impossible and preposterous if suggested concerning it when

it was purchased. The Philippines seem hopeless now as the seat of future States. I do not believe that the islands will ever be States of the Union. But in the light of the prospect of the happening of the impossible in Alaska, who will venture to predict with confidence on the subject?

But if the Philippines never graduate from the primary class in self-government during the existence of the Republic, and the archipelago is left in time as the sole member thereof through the promotion of its classmates, it will nevertheless have been during the entire period of tutelage far better governed, more prosperous, more peaceful, more content, and more free than under any alternative form of government which is among the reasonable possibilities of its future.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

CHINA'S OPEN DOOR.

POSSESSION OF THE PHILIPPINES MAY PREVENT ITS CLOSING, AND THUS PROMOTE ASIATIC TRADE—AMERICAN AND FILIPINO WELFARE COINCIDE AND ARE PROMOTED TOGETHER—GROUNDS OF ANNEXATION.

[Editorial correspondence of the Evening Star, June 27, 1900.]

Senator Hoar, in his notable speech concerning the annexation of the Philippines, contends that every American acquisition of land in the past, even though not authorized by the Constitution, has been made with a distinct constitutional purpose, as to establish a seat of government, to provide the sites of forts and arsenals, or to furnish land for the creation of new States; that this purpose alone justified the acquisition, and that such condoning purpose is absent in the case of the Philippines, which, he alleges, have been acquired merely that we may govern them as colonies and rule their population as subjects. "In every acquisition of territory we ever made," he says, "we meant to make States of it."

Was the creation of new States the main idea even in our first annexation, that of Louisiana? Did not Jefferson in making it have more distinctly in mind the importance of control of the mouth of the Mississippi and of free navigation over that stream for safeguarding the commercial and military interests of the Republic as it then stood than any national necessity of securing ground for new States? Jefferson asked from Napoleon only a harbor at the mouth of the Mississippi as a place of deposit for exports and imports and unobstructed transit over its waters. He wished to secure an assured outlet for our trans-Allegheny settlements, whose natural course to the sea was by the Ohio and Mississippi and not across the mountains and forests to the thin line of settlements along the Atlantic coast. Jefferson at Paris in 1803 sought from France a single harbor, just as McKinley at Paris in 1898 would perhaps have been best pleased to secure from Spain a single Asiatic island. The opportunity and necessity to take all or none were presented in both cases, and the far-seeing statesmanship of the two Presidents promptly solved their respective problems in the same way.

NAPOLEON FORCES LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

Napoleon is quoted as saying to his ministers, on the subject of the American proposals concerning Louisiana:

They ask of me only one town in Louisiana; but I already consider the colony as entirely lost. It is not only New Orleans that I cede; it is the whole colony, without reserve.

In pursuance of instructions from Napoleon, Talleyrand asked Livingston (the American minister) whether we wished to have the whole of Louisiana. Livingston reported:

I told him no; that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas. He said that if they gave New Orleans the rest would be of little value, and that he would wish to know "what we would give for the whole."

Livingston then and later in the negotiations persisted that "we would be perfectly satisfied with New Orleans and the Floridas, and had no disposition to extend across the river (the Mississippi)." Livingston, writing to Madison of the proposal and of the price asked for Louisiana, said:

I persuade myself that the whole sum may be raised by the sale of the territory west of the Mississippi, with the right of sovereignty, to some power in Europe whose vicinity we should not fear.

Jefferson had sent Monroe to Paris as special envoy to purchase only New Orleans and west Florida. Napoleon might have adopted, says Henry Adams—

the simple measure of selling only the island of New Orleans and retaining the west bank, which Jefferson was ready to guarantee. This was the American plan; and the President offered for New Orleans alone about half the price he paid for all Louisiana. Still Napoleon forced the west bank on Livingston.

Jefferson, in defending his purchase, of course dwelt upon its future availability as the material of new States, and the carving of States from it was agreed upon in the treaty of cession; but it is very evident that the American policy did not contemplate its annexation primarily for that purpose. Livingston was ready to buy and sell again to some unaggressive foreign power, and expressions in Jefferson's writings of this date and later show that he thought the territory already belonging to the United States between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, far from needing enlargement to meet the demand for new States, would not itself be peopled for centuries to come. The original Union of 830,000 square miles, inhabited by a slender chain of settlements along the Atlantic coast and isolated colonies across the Alleghenies, had more than doubled itself by acquiring the 1,200,000 square miles of the Louisiana purchase.

The territory wrung by war from feeble Mexico was undoubtedly annexed for the specific purpose of creating new States—American slave States from Mexican free soil. The intent indicated by Senator Hoar as the only constitutional and justifiable purpose of American annexation was conspicuous in this case, but whether that acquisition was thereby rendered nationally creditable and a model for American imitation in the future may be doubted.

WHY ALASKA WAS ANNEXED.

In the case of Alaska, our latest acquisition prior to those which have come to us since the war with Spain, was not the primary purpose of

its annexation to gain fisheries and to give America undisputed control of the North American border of the Pacific, whose future importance in the world's trade Seward perceived with prophetic vision? Was the collection of sufficient population for a State on the narrow mountainous strip of south Alaska or among the glaciers and icebergs of north Alaska ever seriously considered at the time of the annexation?

The treaty of cession of Alaska differs from all that preceded it among transfers of territory to the United States in omitting to pledge the Republic to incorporate the ceded territory in due season into the Union as a State or States.

Representative Banks was the principal champion in the House of the measure appropriating $7,200,000 to carry into effect the Alaskan treaty, and he spoke long and eloquently on the subject.

It appears from his speech that in the case of Alaska, as in that of Louisiana and the Philippines, we took more than we originally sought in order to get something which we felt that we really needed and which could not be otherwise obtained.

In 1834 the American treaty right of fishery in Russian Pacific waters terminated. Our Government made repeated efforts to secure its renewal, but in vain. Finally, Russia offered, not the right of fishery, but the right of purchase, and in order to secure the fisheries we bought Alaska.

After a pointed reference to our national obligations to Russia for her effective friendship during our civil war, Mr. Banks inquires:

> Having sought from her for twenty-five years the fisheries of the northwest coast, and having received from her not only the incident of the fisheries, but the substance of the territorial possession incident to the fisheries, shall we do what never before has been done—refuse to execute the treaty she has made at our solicitation with our own Government?

TO CONTROL THE PACIFIC AND ASIATIC TRADE.

Commercial and political reasons are also indicated as justifying the annexation of this territory, arising from its commanding position upon the Pacific.

> That ocean will be the theater of the triumphs of civilization in the future. It is there that the institutions of this world will be fashioned and its destinies decided. * * * The possession of Alaska is the key of this ocean. * * * It brings this continent within 70 or 80 miles of the Asiatic coast on the north. * * * By the possession of Alaska on the north, with the Aleutian Islands in the center, and with amicable relations of commerce and trade with the government of the Sandwich Islands, we have in our grasp the control of the Pacific Ocean, and may make this great theater of action for the future whatever we may choose it shall be. But it is indispensable that we shall possess these islands, this intermediate communication between the two continents, this drawbridge between America and Asia, these stepping stones across the Pacific Ocean. If we give them to another government, if we subject the Pacific Ocean to the control of Europe and European civilization, the power of the future is theirs, not ours, and its progress is after their spirit and ideas and not ours.

Mr. Banks quotes from a speech of Henry Winter Davis, made in 1852, which points out the disadvantages to us of the possession of Alaska by Russia, not only threatening our Pacific coast from the military point of view, but menacing our trade with China.

TO PROTECT OUR CHINESE TRADE.

> From her Asiatic possessions, from the Kurile and the Aleutian Islands, she overlooks the natural and necessary course of our Asiatic trade—now, by the occupation of California, grown to stupendous magnitude and soon destined to equal that of the

Atlantic States. Her naval stations can command effectually the whole intercourse of California and Oregon with the chief seats of Chinese commerce, and render our communications insecure at any moment. * * * How that control (of Russia over China) would bear on our commerce with that Empire in the events which have been indicated it takes no prophet to foretell. We should be excluded from those markets, or subjected to burdens which would strip off the profits, impede the activity, and finally destroy our Chinese trade, or we should be forced to maintain our position against Russian armies on the spot, across the track of Russian navies, and at an expense and sacrifice which the most lucrative returns would scarcely compensate.

To gain control of the Pacific, the scene of the future triumphs of civilization! To Americanize this great ocean! To secure "stepping-stones" across it to Asia! To protect our Asiatic trade! To prevent the closing against us of the markets of China!

These are reasons assigned for the annexation of noncontigious Alaska. They may be repeated without the change of a word among the purposes of the acquisition of the Philippines.

Clearly Senator Hoar's list of national purposes justifying expansion is incomplete. Is it true that no intent to promote the national welfare can be discovered to place the acquisition of the Philippines upon the same footing as other annexations? Must this expansion be distinguished from all others as caused solely by our lust of land and the unholy desire to enslave politically our fellow-man?

PROMOTION OF TRADE JUSTIFIES ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY.

It may be conceded that the United States would not acquire the Philippines (any more than it annexed Alaska) merely for the purpose of governing them as colonies and their population as subjects; that such acquisition would be neither constitutional nor sensible. But it does not follow that annexation of the Philippines (any more than was that of Alaska) is for this indefensible purpose, merely because it is not clear that the acquisition will in the near future or ever furnish the material for new States.

Promotion of the trade of the Republic by opening to it and keeping open for its benefit the markets of Asia and of the tropical world is to be added to Senator Hoar's list of national purposes which justify territorial expansion. We shall need some such ground of justification in respect to the land to be acquired and the national responsibilities to be incurred in connection with the building and control of the Nicaragua Canal.

The acquisition neither of this limited area adjacent to the proposed canal nor of the vast stretches of Alaska or the Philippines is to be justified on the ground that they are on the footing of forts and arsenals, or the site of the seat of government, or the raw material of new States. The same factor in the advancement of the national welfare which Alaska supplied and which justified its annexation will vindicate also against the charge of unconstitutionality the acquisition both of a canal strip of Central America and of the Philippines.

NATIONAL WELFARE TO BE ADVANCED.

The United States will develop these tropical islands in such fashion as to give itself the full benefit of close and profitable trade relations with a considerable area in a productive portion of the Tropics, to increase its trade with all those parts of Asia to which the door may continue to be open, and to strengthen the outposts and strategic

points, commercial or naval, which are to make the Republic the first power in the Pacific.

The habitable lands of the Temperate zones are almost all occupied or preempted. They no longer furnish an outlet for surplus energy. The nations of continental Europe, believing that there must be national growth to preserve undiminished national power, and shut out to a large extent from the Temperate zones, are occupying the Tropics and dividing the Torrid Zone into possessions and protectorates and spheres of influence, from which it is threatened to cut off American trade.

The exchange of products and goods between the Temperate and Torrid zones is one of the most notable factors in modern commerce. Benjamin Kidd, in his Control of the Tropics, shows that over one-third of the entire imports of the United States in 1895 came from the Tropics, calling by that name the area between 30 degrees north and 30 degrees south latitude. These tropical imports aggregated $250,000,000, our exports to Tropics $96,000,000.

WILL ENLARGE PACIFIC TRADE.

The Pacific trade, including the commerce with the Tropics conducted over its surface and that with China north and south, is to be the great commercial prize of the future. With our long line of Pacific seacoast furnishing many good harbors, with the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, and the Philippines in our possession, with the isthmian canal completed, with our merchant marine built up, and with our consular service reorganized and improved, we shall enter confidently upon the competition for this vast trade. Our Pacific commerce is increasing by leaps and bounds, and if not checked will amount in the near future to hundreds of millions. Even now all sections of the Republic participate in it, the machinery and kerosene of the East, the cotton of the South, and the flour of the West being the most important items. With the completion of the isthmian canal the South and East will share with the Pacific coast direct and quick water communication with the area of the vastest trading operations of the future.

If the policy of partitioning the Tropics among European powers shall finally prevail, the Philippines will in themselves furnish the United States with an extensive area within the Torrid Zone and under its control through which, in connection with tropical America, there may be carried on that exchange of products between the Torrid and Temperate zones which constitutes so large a part of modern commerce.

Control of the trade of the Philippines will enable us to use it, if desirable, as a means of bargain with other nations which control the commerce of other sections of Asia, with the possible result that reciprocal freedom of trade or open-door arrangements may be instituted in respect to them all.

WILL PREVENT CLOSING OF THE OPEN DOOR.

The Philippines not only hold out promise of vast direct commerce, like that which Netherlands-India has furnished to Holland, but in connection with the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, Tutuila, Alaska, and the Aleutian Islands they place the Republic in such relations of proximity and intimate touch with Asia, and in such a commanding position from

the naval and military standpoint, that its rights as a Pacific power, commercial or otherwise, are sure to be respected.

With England and Japan, the United States desires open ports in Asia. It stands with them against the dismemberment of China and for equality of trade.

Every diplomatic and consular officer of the United States in Asia, every individual American there, whether merchant, missionary, or concession seeker, is more respected and safer in his rights as a result of the possession of the Philippines and of the events which led up to it. Even the powers of Europe recognize our increased prestige in Asiatic affairs, and comply, as they would not have dreamed of doing two years ago, with our request for pledges of scrupulous observance of the treaty rights of the United States in the sections of China leased to foreign powers.

The weak and corrupt central Government of China is pushed and pulled this way and that by the representatives of the European powers at Pekin, and has little control over the vast population and immense areas of the Celestial Empire. There is no spirit of nationality or patriotic loyalty permeating the people. North and south China provinces speak different dialects, and hate one another cordially and to the murder point. The Chinese detest the Tartar soldiers of the Manchu Government at Pekin, and the sentiment is reciprocated.

The beginnings of a wonderful American trade with this people have been made. They are fast learning, for instance, to use our flour and our cotton goods. Southern cotton and Western wheat, after passing through American mills, find here entrance to an unlimited market.

Existing conditions in China make eternal vigilance and decisive action the price of trade retention. Our merchants, no less than our missionaries, need ready and prompt protection, and against the maneuvers of foreign powers at Pekin no less than against the rioting secret societies, rendered doubly dangerous by the weakness and personal apprehensions of the Chinese governing clique.

In China, even in commercial affairs and in trade concessions, the physical power to hold what has been granted or won by untiring and intelligent energy is essential to its retention, and the people of the impotent nation in the clash of conflicting interests inevitably go to the wall.

Through possession of the Philippines the United States has now a trading emporium, an army, and a navy at the very door of China. In combination of land and naval forces quickly available we are to-day not lower than the third power in Asia; and when American lives are threatened or attacked by Boxers, or any other Asiatics, and when our commercial holdings in Asia are menaced from any quarter, the value of Manila as a safeguard of American interests is and will be demonstrated more and more convincingly.

Occupancy of the Philippines increases our chances of retaining our present trade in China and of vastly enlarging it, and tends to prevent the closing of the open Chinese door in European spheres of influence, the forcible annexation of the previously leased sections, and the inevitably resulting dismemberment of the Chinese Empire, accompanied by international war.

Thus the Philippines are a valuable asset for the purpose of tropical commerce in themselves, with their vast area of rich and productive

acres; they are a serviceable asset for bargaining for reciprocal open doors with other powers in the Orient, and they are an important factor in the fight for the vast trade of the Asiatic continent, since by means of them Uncle Sam plants a heavy foot across the threshold of the open door in China, and will perhaps prevent it from being closed.

FILIPINO WELFARE TO BE PROMOTED.

In developing the Philippines the United States will so treat the people who live in the islands as to make of them the most effective factor in this insular development, and to that end will maintain there a government under which they shall be prosperous and contented, in which they shall as far as possible participate, and which shall meet their reasonable aspirations by fully protecting them in life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

The government of the Philippines by Americans will be successful in proportion to the extent to which brainy, honest, and tactful men are selected to represent the Republic in the islands, and in proportion to the extent to which the reasonable hopes and wishes of the people are met and satisfied.

If little or no attention is paid to the development of the Filipinos, in exploiting the Philippines; if they are not to be carefully led, through education and experience, toward local self-government on American lines; if the main result of the possession of the Philippines is to create a batch of lucrative offices to be distributed under the spoils system to clamorous political strikers or used-up politicians, who need to be provided with means of support at the public expense; and especially if the appointments of the kind likely to be made under this system approach their difficult and delicate task with no appreciation of the national importance of their work, and inspired mainly by the impulse to get out of their office all there is in it financially, then the Philippines chapter in the Republic's history will chronicle a failure, a scandal, a disgrace, staining the American Administration and destructive of the Filipino.

An especial importance attaches to the treatment of the Hawaiians and the Porto Ricans by the Republic on account of the object lesson thereby furnished to the Philippines and to Cuba. Whatever can be safely done to demonstrate the value of the privilege of living on territory belonging to the United States should be done, with the purpose and result of causing the Filipinos to appreciate the advantages of this connection, and with the result, if not the purpose, of causing the Cubans to desire annexation, an end which will not be brought about in their case in the absence of this desire. If the Porto Ricans do not fare distinctly better in trade relations with the Republic than the West Indies islands which do not belong to the United States, and whose relations are regulated by reciprocity agreements, Cuba will be eager and impatient to exercise her privilege of severing the bond which temporarily attaches her to the United States. If the Republic in dealing with the Porto Ricans, as well as the Hawaiians, faithfully fulfills every agreement, express or implied, made to them, and shows itself in every way considerate, just, and liberal, the confidence of the Filipinos will be the more quickly gained, appreciation of the advantages of the American connection will be confirmed and strengthened, and the genuine peace in the islands, which is absolutely necessary for their present well-being and future development, may be the more speedily established and rendered permanent.

AMERICAN AND FILIPINO INTERESTS COINCIDE.

The philanthropy which makes the welfare of the people of the islands the primary purpose of the Government and the test of its success is also enlightened selfishness, for the development of the islands into a valuable national asset in our commercial and business relations with the world can be accomplished under the limitations as to methods now imposed by wholesome public opinion only through a development and improvement which apply to people as well as to soil, and which bring prosperity to both.

Let the Republic, then, prepare itself for the task of so administering the affairs of these islands that their people shall be well governed and as far as possible self-governed, thrifty, prosperous, and content, and that at the same time this American section of the Tropics may be so developed as to contribute most effectively to the national welfare.

The first page of the record of America as a Pacific power is as yet unwritten and unblotted. We can write upon it what we please.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

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