

AMERICA AT THE EASTERN CROSSROADS

BY E. ALEXANDER POWELL

WE are an inconsistent and contradictory people. Though we boast of being a world power, with interests as alien and far afield as Vladivostok and Peking, Danzig and Fiume, our national horizons in reality are Sandy Hook and the Golden Gate, the Great Lakes and the Rio Grande. Though the most altruistic motives which ever animated a nation have led us to assume the white man's burden for fifteen millions of people in the Philippines, Guam, Samoa, Hawaii, Alaska, the Canal Zone, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Haiti, the Virgin Islands, and Porto Rico, we know and care far less about their needs and their problems than we do about those of many countries in which we have only the most vicarious interest. Though our colonial responsibilities have gradually expanded until they stretch from the Caribbean to the China Sea, we have neither a colonial office nor a colonial policy.

Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since George Dewey, his commodore's pennant flaunting from the *Olympia's* masthead, blazed his way into Manila Bay, sank the Spanish fleet, and gave to the United States a colonial empire. It would seem that this was ample time for the American people to become tolerably familiar with the politics, problems, and potentialities of the great archipelago of which, through the fortunes of war, we unexpectedly found ourselves the guardians; yet the discouraging fact remains that, in spite of all that has been said and written on the subject, the average American knows far less about the Philippine Islands, over which floats the American flag, than he knows about Mexico or Ireland or Germany or Russia.

The land area of the archipelago is considerably greater than that of England, Scotland, and Ireland put together, and its population is larger than that of the state of New York. Were you aware that the distance from Cape Bojeador, in northern Luzon, to Tawi Tawi, in the Sulu group, is equal to the entire width of the United States from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico? Your imagination doubtless draws for you a picture of a group of low-lying islands, like those depicted in the geographies of our school days, densely covered with jungle; so it may be something of a revelation to learn that the Philippines have no less than half a dozen mountains which are higher than any peaks in the United States east of the Rockies, that they have at least three rivers which are as long as the Hudson, and that two-thirds of their surface is covered not with jungle, but with splendid forests in which hard woods abound and with the mountains often clothed with pines. You think of the Philippines as being in the tropics, as they are; yet I imagine that you will be surprised to learn that the average maximum summer heat of Manila is considerably lower than that of New York. If you have read the accounts of the voyages of the early explorers you are aware that Cebu was a flourishing city when the only settlement on Manhattan Island was an Indian village, and that Manila had been founded for half a century when the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock.

Now, in considering the question of the Philippines, one should never lose sight of the fact that the Filipinos are not a people. They belong, it is true, to the great Malay race, as do the natives of

the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo; just as the Irish belong to the Celtic race, the French to the Latin race, and the Cubans to the Latin and African races. But that does not make them a people in the generally accepted sense of the word. As Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, in *The Mastery of the Pacific*, says: "No Malay nation has ever emerged from the hordes of that race, which has spread over the islands of the Pacific. Wherever they are found they have certain marked characteristics, and of these the most remarkable is their lack of that spirit which goes to form a homogeneous people, to weld them together. The Malay is always a provincial; more, he rarely rises outside the interests of his own town or village." The truth is that the Filipinos, instead of being a people, are a congeries of peoples which have come to the Philippines at various periods, in successive waves of immigration. Although, as the result of four centuries of white man's rule, they have gradually come to resemble one another more and more and to have more and more in common, they are still as distinct in their genealogies, their languages, and their characteristics, as the Chinooks, the Zuñis, the Iroquois, and the Sioux.

There are many methods of classifying the races of mankind and their subdivisions, but that which measures them by their speech is sanctioned both by long usage and by logic. Now, one of the first things that impressed the early explorers, as well as the missionaries who came after them, was the amazing multiplicity of languages among the inhabitants of the Philippines. And what was true in Magellan's time is equally true to-day, the only common medium of communication between the various peoples being the alien tongues which they have learned from their Spanish and American rulers, there being, in fact, more sharply distinct dialects than there are tribes in the islands. Though English is the official language, being a compulsory subject in the schools, the

proceedings of both the Philippine Senate and the House of Representatives are conducted in Spanish. Ability to read and write English or Spanish entitles a male citizen of the Philippines, who is twenty-three or more years of age, to vote. Yet out of the total of more than two million Filipinos of voting age in the islands in 1919, barely one third possessed this qualification. Though the Philippines were ruled from Madrid for more than three hundred and seventy-five years, the use of Spanish never became common, a knowledge of that language being limited to the educated few. It is a striking commentary on the efficiency of our educational methods that, after less than a quarter of a century of American rule, English is far more widely spoken than Spanish ever was.

There is another reason than the lingual one why the inhabitants of the Philippines cannot truthfully be called a people. I refer to the barriers of mutual dislike and prejudice which have separated the various island races ever since the dawn of their recorded history. Political power in the Philippines is at present about equally divided between the Visayans, most of whom live in the Visaya group, in the center of the archipelago, and comprise more than 40 per cent of the total population, and the Tagalogs, who dwell mainly in central Luzon and have less than half the numerical strength of their southern neighbors. The only other element which really counts politically is the Ilocanos, also from Luzon, who, though they form only about 20 per cent of the total population, are quite capable of holding their own. Though the Tagalogs, who are pre-eminently politicians, in which respect they might aptly be compared to the French-Canadians, have heretofore been the dominating Filipino people of the islands, their political supremacy has been successfully challenged in recent years by the Visayans.

Of all the Christian races, the Tagalogs are the most intelligent, the most progressive, and, it is usually conceded,

the least reliable. The Visayans, though in many respects less capable, are generally more docile and law-abiding. The Ilocanos have a well-deserved reputation for industry and for real ability which both of the others lack. These three peoples, which among them control the governmental machinery of the islands, are at heart about as mutually friendly as the South Irish and the Ulstermen, though it must be admitted, in all fairness, that they have to a great extent buried their animosities for political reasons. But whether these mutual animosities would be permitted to remain buried were the islanders granted complete independence is quite another question.

The Visayans, the Tagalogs, and the Ilocanos, together with the Bicolos, the Pañgasinans, the Cagayans, and the Zambalans, comprise the seven Christian peoples generally referred to as Filipinos and form approximately seven eighths of the total population of the islands. In addition to the racial divisions just enumerated, there are some twenty-seven non-Christian, or pagan, tribes, such as the Igorots, the Ifugaos, and the Kalingas, all from the mountain districts of Luzon and all until quite recently addicted to the exciting pastime of head-hunting; and the Mandayas and Monobos, two large tribes inhabiting Mindanao. Another of the pagan tribes is the Negritos, black dwarfs, numbering only some twenty-five thousand, who are the aborigines and the original owners of the Philippines. The Negritos had been in undisturbed possession of the islands for centuries when there came a stronger and more advanced race, the Igorots, who conquered the aborigines and appropriated their lands, precisely as we appropriated the lands of the Indians. Later came the wave of Malays we now know as Filipinos and took from the Igorots what they had gained. Though several of the pagan tribes have attained to quite the same level of civilization as the Christians, the latter, nevertheless, treat them, both

socially and politically, with undisguised contempt, exploiting them mercilessly whenever the opportunity offers and superciliously referring to them as "wild men." Finally we find, far to the southward, in the Sulu Archipelago, something over a quarter of a million Moros, intensely warlike and fanatical Mohammedans, whom the Christian Filipinos profess to despise, but of whose fighting qualities they have in reality an inherited and well-grounded fear.

Even more significant, however, than the differences which separate the Christians, the Mohammedans, and the pagans, or the dissensions which disunite the Tagalogs, the Ilocanos, and the Visayans, are those which divide the individuals themselves. I refer to the covert but none the less existent antagonism of the great brown mass of the people for the *mestizos*, or half-castes. For it must be kept in mind that very few of the political leaders are of pure, or anywhere near pure, Malayan blood. One has only to trace their ancestry back a very little way to find indubitable evidence of the admixture of European or Mongolian blood.

Having already pointed out the differences which exist between the various Christian races, between the *mestizos* and those of undiluted Malay blood, and between the Christians, the Mohammedans, and the pagans, it is obviously unsafe to indulge in generalizations. Yet the Filipinos, taken as a whole, possess certain characteristics which are so outstanding that they are admitted by both their critics and their champions. Were I asked to name those of their qualities which most impressed me I should say, without hesitation, their hospitality, their good nature, their innate courtesy, their love for their children, and their passion for education. No matter how poor a Filipino may be, no matter how scanty his food and how wretched his dwelling, he may always be relied upon to offer a stranger the best that his house affords. American soldiers have repeatedly told me of the hospitality

shown them in remote Filipino villages in which they happened to find themselves at nightfall, the natives frequently sleeping out of doors in order that their guests might have shelter. Among no people that I know—and I can claim familiarity with something over a hundred countries—have I met with such universal courtesy as in the Philippines, the native character combining the politeness of the Latin with the easy complaisance of the Malay. They are passionately devoted to their children and will make any sacrifice in order to educate them, a quality which offers great encouragement for their future. The family bonds among the Filipinos are much closer than with us. In fact, a Filipino will make no decision without first consulting with his family. This love of family is carried to an extreme, however, in the so-called *pariente* system, which is almost universal in the islands; that is, when a man begins to make money, or when he obtains an even moderately profitable position, he is expected, as a matter of course, to support all those members of his family and of his wife's family who cannot support themselves, even to first and second cousins, his poorer relatives not infrequently moving to his home, bag and baggage, and proceeding to make it their own. This is family affection carried to the *n*th degree, but it has the obvious disadvantage of inflicting a penalty on any effort to better one's condition. "Why should I work any harder?" argues the Filipino peasant. "If I make any more money I shall be expected to support my mother-in-law and my sisters and my cousins and my aunts."

Though the Filipinos still suffer among foreigners from the evil reputation which they gained as a result of their cruel and inhuman treatment of Spanish and American captives, and though they are certainly callous of the pain suffered by others, they are not, under ordinary circumstances, treacherous. In fact, when they are well disciplined and led by American officers, they make faithful

and dependable troops, as has been proved on a hundred occasions by the Philippine Scouts and the Philippine Constabulary.

And now we come to one of the gravest, if not, indeed, the gravest of the numerous problems which go to make up "the Philippine Question"—the Moro. Though these warlike Mohammedans of the south embrace five different tribes—Sulu, Yakan, Samal, Magindanao, Tanao—they may be considered, for the purpose of this article, as one people. They were the last of the Malays to migrate to the Philippines, having at one period overrun the islands as far northward as Manila, just as the Moors—from whom, by the way, the Moros derive their name—overran Spain, and, like the Moors, they have never been completely subjugated. Though they comprise less than a third of the total non-Christian population—there are only about three hundred thousand of them in all—their relative numerical insignificance is very far from being a criterion of their military strength and ability. Not only have the Filipinos been unable to protect themselves against these bloodthirsty fanatics, but the Spaniards for nearly two centuries and a half were unable to give them adequate protection, the shores of northern Luzon being dotted to-day with the forts which were built for defense against the Moros.

The bulk of the Moro population is found within the limits of the recently created Department of Mindanao and Sulu, though a few thousand of them inhabit the southern districts of Palawan. Until very recently their chief pursuits were piracy, brigandage, murder and arson, in which they still indulge when a safe and favorable opportunity offers, though of late, thanks to the patience and tact of American officials, they have made surprising progress in agriculture. Though they are cruel, haughty, and often treacherous, they are at the same time exceedingly courte-

ous, observing their own code of manners rigidly. They are inordinately fond of brilliant colors, blacken their lips and teeth with betel-nut, and are justly proud of their skill with their characteristic weapons—the serpentine-bladed Malay *kris* and the terrible Moro *barong*. The Moro usually carries his *barong*, which is a knife with an exceptionally broad and heavy blade, slung over his left shoulder in a scabbard consisting of two thin pieces of board held together with string. When he goes into action he wastes no time in freeing the weapon from its sheath, but sweeps it down, sheath and all, on the head of his enemy, the razor-sharp blade cutting the strings of the scabbard as it whistles through the air. The Moros are, curiously enough, fine horsemen and magnificent boatmen. Mounted on their wiry island ponies, they hunt the native stags over incredibly rough country, tiring them out and killing them with spears. In their slim *vintas*, dugouts equipped with double outriggers, they jeer at the roughest seas, it being for this reason virtually impossible to suppress the smuggling which forms one of their chief pursuits. Though they proudly profess themselves followers of the Prophet, theirs is not the Mohammedanism one finds in Turkey or North Africa, but a brand of religion peculiarly their own.

The Filipinos are afraid of the Moros, and they have the best of reasons to be, for the Moro is not only a desperate fighter, a dangerous and resourceful enemy, but he goes into battle with the conviction that he is certain of gaining Paradise if he kills a Christian. The fighting record of the Moros is written large in the history of the Philippines. Not only did they successfully defy for two centuries and a half the best troops that Spain could bring against them, but it was only by turning Moroland into an armed camp that we were ourselves able to subjugate them. Let me add, parenthetically, that the Moros took no part in the Filipino insurrection against the United States, being deaf to the appeals

made to them by Aguinaldo. The guerilla warfare which they waged against us for several years was due to much the same reasons which inspired the various outbreaks among the Indians. Though the Filipinos are by no means lacking in courage under ordinary circumstances, no American, familiar with the facts, with whom I talked, believes for a moment that these could impose their rule on the Moros, or that they could even keep them at home. Let the Moro be ruled with justice and unyielding firmness, and, though he will still be far from making an ideal citizen, he will not be a troublesome one. A striking example of what can be accomplished with the Moros when properly handled is provided by the Moro battalions of the Philippine Scouts, which are fully the equal of the Pathans and the Ghurkas, the best troops in the Indian army. But I am convinced, from what I have seen and heard of both races, that Filipino rule in Moroland would be neither just nor firm, first, because the Filipinos hate the Moros too bitterly to give them a square deal; and secondly, because they are in too great fear of them to rule them with the necessary firmness. In spite of the fact that the Moros fought us desperately for years, they have become, of all the peoples in the archipelago, save only the Igorots and the little group of mercenaries known as Maccabebes, our staunchest friends. They still occasionally indulge in outbursts of lawlessness, it is true, just as a party of cow-punchers occasionally shoots up a cattle town, but these are wholly without political significance. As long as they are permitted to continue under American rule they will remain as peaceable as their naturally turbulent natures permit, but once attempt to replace the American troops and officials with Filipinos and there will be an outburst that will shake the archipelago. That their suspicion and distrust of Americans has been replaced by confidence and liking is very largely due to the extraordinary tact and ability in handling them shown by the Hon.



FILIPINOS THRESHING RICE

The grain is separated from the chaff by the family and neighbors who put in several not over-strenuous days leaning against a revolving rail, smoking, gossiping, and singing as they work.

Frank W. Carpenter, until recently Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu. Carpenter is of the stuff from which sirdars and viceroys are made.

The Filipino officials at Manila complacently assert that the Moros are now completely disarmed, and therefore powerless; and, in order to lend color to their assertion, they cabled Governor Rogers last winter that the magnificent collection of blade weapons, which he had borrowed from the local chieftains, must not be included in the Moro exhibit at the 1920 Manila exposition. Not only are the Moros very far from being disarmed, but I was told by officials in British North Borneo that arms and ammunition in small quantities are constantly being run across the Sulu Sea from the Dutch islands in swift-sailing *prahaus*, it being openly asserted by the Moro leaders that, though they like American rule, they will resist any attempt to impose Filipino domination upon them as long as there is a Moro left alive. I discussed the question of dis-

armament with Governor Rogers, who told me that, though a few *datos* and *panglimas* had been granted permission to carry *barongs* or *krises* as emblems of authority, it was an open secret that there were blade weapons in every house, and that the official who attempted to deprive the Moros of these would precipitate an insurrection.

Another official who knows how to handle the natives is Captain Link, the provincial treasurer, a lean, lithe South-Carolinian who has spent fourteen years in Moroland. Captain Link is what is known in the cattle country as a "go-gitter." It is told of him that he once nearly lost his commission, while an officer of constabulary, by sending to the governor, as a Christmas present, a package which, upon being opened, was found to contain the head of a much-wanted outlaw. Atop of the bookcase in his study—the bookcase, by the way, contains Burton's *Thousand and One Nights* and President Eliot's tabloid classics—is a grinning skull surmounted

by a Moro fez. Both skull and fez once belonged to a notorious Moro brigand. Across the front of the fez is printed this significant legend:

THIS IS JOHN HENRY
JOHN HENRY DISOBEYED CAPTAIN LINK
Sic Transit Gloria Mundi

The return to power in 1913 of the Democratic party was the signal for a complete reversal of American policy toward the Philippines. Though, during both the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, the Filipinos had been granted a steadily increasing measure of autonomy, certain departments of the insular government, particularly those which related to public security, public instruction, and public health, had been kept under American control. But with the inauguration of President Wilson the so-called "Filipinization" of the Philippines—by which is meant the appointment of Filipinos to government positions—which had begun with the American occupation of the islands in 1898 and had made steady progress under Governors-General Taft and Forbes, was suddenly expanded to a degree which those best acquainted with the Filipino and his limitations believed to be unwise and inimical to the best interests of the natives themselves. Whereas Taft and Forbes began to Filipinize the insular government from the bottom up, cautiously feeling their way and placing natives at first only in the lower positions, the Democratic administration

jumped in and Filipinized the highest positions in the government, appointing natives of little or no experience as judges, chiefs of bureaus, and secretaries of departments, many of these appointments being based on political considerations rather than on merit, as had been the case theretofore. That, and the establishment of an elective Senate in the place of the appointed commission which had acted as a Senate, comprise the principal measures of Filipinization effected under the Wilson administration. As a result of this policy of wholesale Filipinization, the executive departments of the insular government, with the sole exception of the Department of Public Instruction, the portfolio of which is held, according to law, by the American Vice-Governor, are now in Filipino hands.

Of the school system in general it may be said that American teachers

have been almost entirely supplanted by natives in the lower and intermediate grades, and that higher education is rapidly being turned over to the latter, there now being upward of eleven thousand Filipino teachers and less than four hundred American ones in the islands, though recently the government has attempted to obtain additional teachers from the United States. I am not sufficiently familiar with educational conditions in the Philippines to discuss them intelligently, but my observations convinced me that, though the wholesale elimination of American teachers has unquestionably resulted in a marked



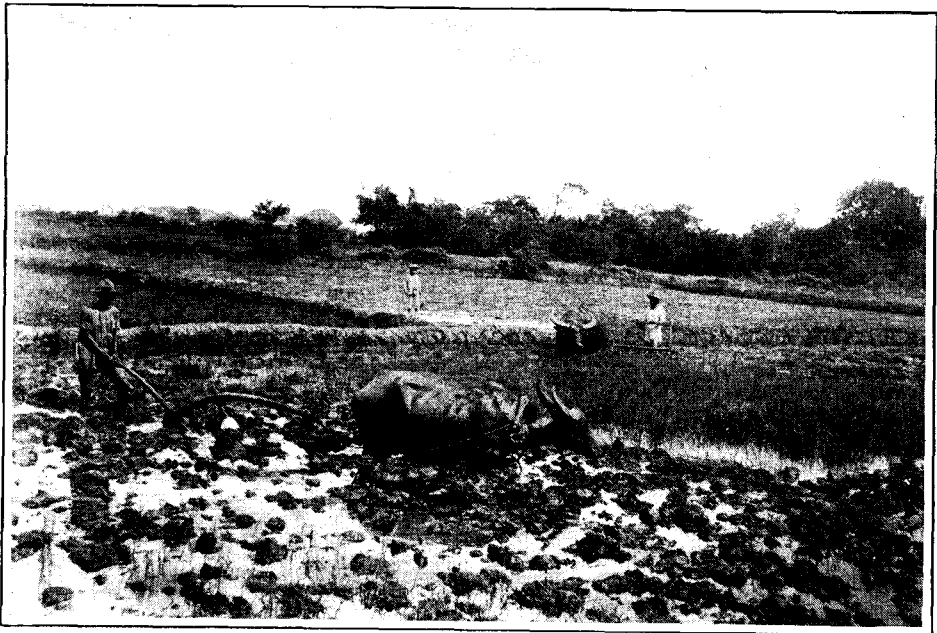
A BAGOBOS YOUTH FROM MINDANAO
The garments of this picturesque pagan tribe are beautiful specimens of embroidery with beads and shells.

lowering of educational standards, the native teachers are, everything considered, doing surprisingly well. One of the regrettable results of the Filipinization of the schools—regrettable from the point of view of Americans, at least—is the movement which has as its object the substitution of Spanish for English in their curricula. This may be, changed, however, when the young Filipinos who are being sent in steadily increasing numbers to the United States to be educated begin to make themselves felt in the public life of the Philippines.

One of the most important accomplishments of the Philippine Commission was the establishment in Manila of the great Bureau of Science, for the purpose of co-ordinating, in one building and under one head, all the agencies of scientific research, such as geology, zoology, botany, mineralogy, forestry, ethnology, and medicine. When it was completed we were able to say that the opportunities offered at Manila for tropical research work were probably unequaled

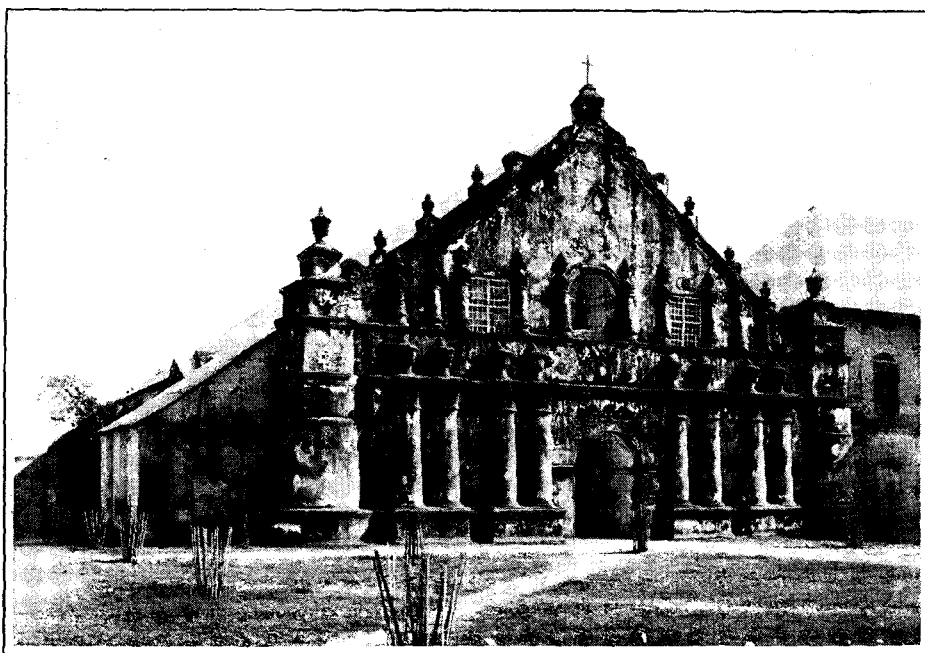
anywhere in the world. Yet this remarkable institution, at one time the best staffed, most completely equipped, and most efficient of its kind in the entire Orient, is now a veritable morgue, its once busy corridors comparatively deserted, much of its costly and delicate apparatus unused and covered with dust. Before its Filipinization the Bureau of Science boasted a staff of truly remarkable men, who were employed solely on the strength of their qualifications and regardless of their nationality. But today, as a result of the policy of filling every lucrative post with a Filipino, only a handful of Europeans remain.

Far-reaching in its ultimate effect on the progress of the islands as the Filipinization of the educational system will be, equally serious and far more immediate developments are almost certain to result from the Filipinization of the Health Service. In fact, its director, Dr. J. B. Long, resigned in January, 1919, in spite of the remonstrances of the Governor-General, because he as-



PREPARING THE LAND FOR PLANTING

The peasants do their plowing by means of a pointed wooden snag, sometimes iron-tipped, which is drawn by a leisurely carabao.



CHURCH AND BELL TOWER AT LAOAG, LUZON
Erected at the time when Manhattan Island had no churches but Indian wigwams.

serted that his organization was falling to pieces as a result of the wholesale replacement of Americans by Filipinos, so that he could no longer assume responsibility for the maintenance of public health in the islands. When the Americans landed in the Philippines in 1898, smallpox and cholera stalked almost unchecked throughout the archipelago, and bubonic plague was always at the islands' gates, but, with the establishment of the Health Service all three of these diseases were stamped out, making the Philippines the healthiest tropical country in the world. But within the past two years, due, it was asserted by those American physicians with whom I talked, to the impaired efficiency of the Filipinized Health Service, both cholera and smallpox have reappeared in virulent form. As the Quarantine Service remains under American control, there has been no plague in the islands for nearly fifteen years.

Public order is maintained throughout the islands by the police forces of the

various municipalities and by the Philippine Constabulary, which has long had an enviable reputation for discipline and efficiency. The Constabulary, which was organized and trained by officers of the American army, at present consists of about three hundred and sixty officers and nearly six thousand men. At the height of its efficiency the Constabulary had three hundred and seventy-five American officers, most of whom had been drawn from our volunteer forces in the war with Spain; but, as a result of the Filipinization of the service, only twenty American officers remain. Though the present Chief of Constabulary, Brigadier-General Crame, is ostensibly a Filipino, he is, both by blood and training, far more European than Asiatic, being three quarters Spanish and having received his military education in Spain. He has displayed such marked energy in the pursuit and punishment of malefactors, and has in his secret files so much embarrassing information in regard to many influential Filipinos, that he is said to

have remarked that he would leave the islands the day the American flag was hauled down, because his life would not be safe were he to remain.

No nation was ever more faithfully served by its public servants than the Philippines have been served by the American officers of its Constabulary. They have given their best years and the best that was in them to the service of the islanders. Most of the handful of Americans remaining in the Constabulary have worn the scarlet-trimmed khaki of the service for close on twenty years; several of them bear on their breasts the bit of red ribbon sprinkled with silver stars which is the badge of the Philippine Medal of Honor; one of them irretrievably ruined his health while caring for the refugees during the eruption of Taal Volcano; others still carry on their bodies the marks of bullet, spear, and knife wounds which they received while making the Moro islands safe for the Filipino. Yet the Filipino politicians, recognizing how powerful a weapon the Constabulary offers to the faction which controls it, have almost completely eliminated the men who brought the famous force to its present standard of efficiency. The politicians succeeded in getting rid of most of the American officers in the lower grades by the enactment of a bill cutting off their fogies—that is, their increases in pay for long service—yet, after all but the senior officers, who were too old to embark on new careers, had been forced out of the service, the fogies were restored in order that the Filipino officers might have the benefit of them. Just as military men of experience predicted, the Filipinization of the Constabulary

is resulting in the steady deterioration of the force's morale, discipline, and efficiency; for the enlisted men, particularly those recruited from the non-Christian tribes, will not accord to their Filipino officers the same respect and obedience which they did to the Americans.

The Philippine Question naturally divides itself into two distinct problems. First, how would the granting of independence to the Philippines affect our own constantly increasing interests in the Far East? And, second, would in-



A SCENE IN ZAMBOANGA

Zamboanga, the capital of Mindanao and Sulu, is not only the most beautiful city in the Philippines, but is one of the most attractively kept municipalities in the world.

dependence be best for the Filipinos themselves? The Filipinos assert, and with truth, that the former is a purely selfish consideration, but the lessons of the Great War have taught us that national considerations, selfish though they may be, cannot safely be disregarded. England did not remain in military occupation of Egypt for forty years through any desire to exploit the Egyptians, or because she was financially benefited by her hold on the Valley of the Nile—on the contrary, the occupation of Egypt added enormously to the burdens borne by the British taxpayer—but because, in controlling Egypt, she was insuring the safety of the Suez Canal, which is the gateway through which passes Britain's enormous commerce with the Farther East. Our own position in the Philippines is somewhat analogous to England's position in Egypt. And, as surely as darkness follows the day, as smoke goes upward, our commerce with the Orient, now growing by leaps and bounds, will, in a considerable measure at least, be won away from us by those nations which are better situated geographically to push their commercial interests—England through Hongkong and Tientsin, France through Hai Fong and her concessions in Yunnan, Japan through Korea and the Shantung Peninsula—if our flag comes down in the Philippines.

Though, prior to our entry into the Great War, certain Japanese militarists and jingo politicians unquestionably looked with favor on an attempt to gain the mastery of the Pacific by force of arms, the illustration which we gave to the world in 1917-18 of our ability to raise and equip and transport overseas an army of staggering dimensions had a profound effect on public opinion in Tokyo. As a result of this sudden awakening to what a trial of strength with the United States would mean, I consider it unlikely in the extreme that we shall ever be forced to resort to arms in defense of our interests in the Pacific, but that does not mean that there is no

possibility of such a contingency arising. As this possibility, remote though it may be, always exists, let me call your attention to the immense military and naval advantages afforded us by the Philippines, which are within easy striking distance of every Asiatic port between Yokohama and Singapore and lie squarely athwart every trade route between the Far East and Europe, Australia, South America and Mexico. With a powerful fleet having its base in Subig Bay, we could not only guarantee our own coasts, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Canal Zone against enemy attack, but we should hold the commerce of the Pacific at our mercy. Deprived of the Philippines as a base of operations, in any struggle in which we might become involved in the Pacific we should be forced to fight on the defensive, which, as most naval experts agree, is usually doubtful strategy.

"The Philippines are more trouble than they are worth. Let's get rid of them," has long been a popular slogan with the uninformed in America. Let me call the attention of those who hold this view to the fact that the Philippines are not costing the American taxpayer a single penny, the insular finances, for several years past, having shown a surplus instead of a deficit. In making this statement I do not include, of course, the cost of maintaining our naval and military forces in the islands, for it is to be assumed that, should we grant the Filipinos independence, these forces would not be disbanded, but would merely be stationed elsewhere, so that the expense of their maintenance would be, if anything, increased. The Philippines, as I have attempted to show you, constitute America's military and commercial outpost in the Orient. Whether, in view of the present condition of world affairs, it is high patriotism, sound strategy, good business, to abandon such an outpost, with the possibility that it might fall into unfriendly hands, is a question which the American people must decide for themselves.



A BUSY SCENE ON THE PASIG RIVER, MANILA
Where eastern small craft and western steamers anchor side by side.

In considering the question of whether independence would be best for the Filipinos themselves, it must be kept in mind that very few educated Filipinos expect, or really want, *complete* autonomy. What they seek, rather, is a form of independence which will insure them complete security without expense or anxiety. While vociferously demanding the assets of the business, they are unwilling to assume its responsibilities. The fact that their legislative measures are subject to the veto of the American governor-general, that their finances are under the control of an American auditor, that a few positions in the Constabulary, the Health Service, and the Department of Public Instruction are still held by Americans, makes the Filipinos almost childishly resentful; yet they would instantly become panic-stricken were we to announce that we intended to withdraw immediately from the islands, taking our troops and our warships with us. The Filipinos bitterly resent the suggestion of an American protectorate, yet naively assert in the next breath that in the event of their becoming involved in hostilities

with another Power they would expect us to protect them. Let me remark here, for the benefit of those Filipinos who may read this article, that, if they seriously believe that the American people, once our flag was hauled down and our troops withdrawn, would ever consent to engage in a foreign war in order to defend the Philippines against external aggression, then they are only deceiving themselves. The sentiment of the majority of the American people is, I believe, that, if the Filipinos insist on cutting themselves adrift, then they must paddle their own canoe and need not look to the United States for assistance if a storm arises.

Though I am convinced, from my conversations with a large number of prominent Filipinos, that they would view with the gravest apprehensions a complete evacuation of the islands by the Americans, the politicians have harped so long on the theme of "*la independencia*" that the great ignorant mass of the people have been led to believe that only in complete independence will they find their national salvation and happiness. It should always be kept in mind that

the Filipinos have no political parties as we have in the United States for the reason that there is no question of sufficient importance to divide public opinion. Hence, the only political parties are the "Ins" and the "Outs," both of which, in lieu of any other national issue, such as taxation or the tariff or the League of Nations, insistently clamor for immediate independence. Though the "Ins" are, I imagine, quite contented with present conditions, they do not dare to drop the demand for independence for fear that the "Outs" would seize on the issue and use it as an excuse for ousting them. The whole hullabaloo for independence has been instigated and fostered by the politicians; the ignorant *tao* has only the haziest idea of what independence would mean.

The average Filipino's conception of independence is well illustrated by a story which was told me in Manila. A provincial political boss, who had been a candidate, but had been overwhelmingly defeated at the polls, burst into his party headquarters, shortly after the

results of the election had been announced, livid with rage. "I'm for independence!" he bellowed. "I'm for independence at once! If only these cursed Americanos were out of here, I'd come into town with a thousand of my bolo men and wipe out the gang that defeated me and get the governership. It's all the fault of the damned interfering Americanos. They're always insisting on law and order! *Viva la independencia!*" Now that man, *opéra bouffe* as he may seem, represents the sentiments of a by no means inconsiderable number of Filipino politicians. Such men, in order to attain their selfish ends, would prefer to see the Philippines saddled with the brand of "independence" that Mexico enjoyed under the rule of Carranza, or that Russia is enjoying today under Lenin and Trotzky, to the reign of decency, justice, and security which Lord Cromer gave to the Egyptians. As a matter of fact, the Filipinos are already as free, under the existing form of government, as the peoples of Canada and South Africa and Australia, and they enjoy what experienced and



THE SUNDAY MORNING DOG-MARKET AT BAGUIO

Hundreds of dogs bought or stolen in the villages of the plain, are sold here for food.

impartial observers have declared to be the most just, the most honest, and the most advanced government in the world. but to this truth they stubbornly close their eyes, insisting that they must have independence in name as well as in substance.

Much of the unrest, uncertainty, and discontent which exists in the Philippines to-day is directly traceable to certain American politicians, who, eager to obtain cheap publicity and to make political capital, have espoused the cause of Filipino independence, regarding which few of them possess first-hand knowledge and which still fewer are qualified intelligently to discuss. What we need for a just and intelligent solution of the Philippine Question are not the philippics of politicians or the appeals of impractical sentimentalists, but the reasoned advice of men with long experience in colonial administration, men of the stamp of Clive and Hastings, of Cromer, Milner, and Curzon, men who serve neither personal nor party interests. Until we abolish our present system of selecting our colonial officials on the strength of their political records and affiliations instead of for their actual qualifications for the duties to be performed; until the government at Washington will give heed to the disinterested advice of men who know through long experience whereof they speak, and who have the best interests of the Filipinos themselves genuinely at heart; until we adopt and adhere to a definite colonial policy, regardless of the political party which may be in power, the Philippines will not know enduring tranquillity or prosperity. In forest, mineral, and agricultural resources they are enormously rich, but for the proper development of these resources great quantities of capital are required, and nothing is more certain than that foreign investors will not risk their capital in islands whose future is so cloudy and uncertain.

If the Filipinos could present more convincing proofs than they have yet done that they are really fitted for the

independence which they covet; if they could show, beyond all peradventure, that they are prepared to take care of themselves without further assistance or protection from the United States, then, I believe, the majority of the American people would say: "Here is your independence. Take it, and God be with you." But before that happy state of affairs could be realized, we should have to ask ourselves, in all seriousness, certain questions. If we were to grant the Filipinos their independence, to which of the various races should we hand over the machinery of government—to the Tagalogs, the Ilocanos, the Visayans, to name only three of them? Then, again, should we intrust the reins of power to the great brown mass of people who are the real natives of the islands, or should we give them to the little group of half-caste politicians and agitators who are at present in the saddle? Should we deliver the pagan tribes—the Igorots, Ifugaos, Kalingas, Mandayas, Monobos, and the rest—to the Christians, to be exploited and oppressed as they were before the American occupation? Should we attempt to compel the Moros to submit to the rule of the Filipinos, whom they despise and hate, and, if we did make such an attempt and they revolted, as they almost certainly would, should we send troops to the islands to aid the Filipinos in subjugating them? If the Republic of the Philippines should become, as the result of internal jealousies and dissensions, another Haiti, should we intervene and restore order, as we have done in the black republic? Should Japan, or China, or both, insist on the unrestricted admission of their nationals to the rich lands of the Philippines, and should the Filipinos refuse them such admission, would we be prepared to back the refusal of the Filipinos with men and guns, or would we stand aloof and see the archipelago overrun by yellow men? And, finally, if we guaranteed the independence of the young republic, and that independence should be menaced by a covetous and warlike

neighbor, would we be prepared to spend thousands of lives and billions of dollars in rescuing the Filipinos and setting them on their feet and starting them in business all over again? In stating these hypothetical questions, nothing is further from my purpose than to embarrass the Filipinos, whom I frankly like, or to belittle their very real abilities, or to prejudice my readers against them. But, embarrassing or not, these are questions which the American people must answer, and answer in the affirmative, before they can conscientiously turn adrift the ten million "little brown brothers" whom they so lightheartedly adopted nearly a quarter of a century ago.

The Filipinos should think twice before insisting on independence. What the Philippines most need is the investment of the outside capital which is essential to the proper development of the great natural resources of the islands. And one reason—perhaps the chief reason—why capitalists hesitate to make investments in the archipelago is this very talk of independence. It is entirely possible that the islanders, if given independence, might succeed in establishing and maintaining a just, stable, and progressive government. But those who

have money to invest have not yet confidence in the stability of character of the mass of the Filipinos, so that independence would almost certainly mean an emigration rather than an immigration of capital. Nor would the markets of the United States remain open to the Filipinos as at present. In that respect a Philippine republic would stand in exactly the same position as other foreign countries. These are considerations which those Filipino leaders who have the best interests of their country genuinely at heart would do well to think over.

But, in any event, nothing is to be gained by further drifting. The present policy of uncertainty and procrastination irritates the Filipinos, works hardship on Americans having interests in the islands, and greatly retards the economic development of the archipelago. If we are convinced that the best interests of the Filipinos and ourselves would be realized by granting the islanders independence, let us do it without further delay or argument. Otherwise, let us have the courage to solve "the Philippine Question" for good and all by declaring that the flag which was raised by Dewey shall not be hauled down.

A CHILD QUESTIONS ME

BY JACK BURROUGHS

HE broke the fragile bit of painted wood
That was his favored toy. Though confident
In my maturer wisdom, as I bent
Down close to him in playtime's brotherhood,
To mend the treasured bit of trash, he stood
And marveled, while he voiced his wonderment
At my strange skill. It was a life event,
And I was numbered with the great and good.

"Tell me"—a child's irrelevance found word,
Voicing a new-born reverence for me—
"Who made the hills and every tree and bird,
And all the world?" I answered, musingly:
"Ask me to mend your toys, dear. I have heard
The World ask vainly who that One may be."